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SHAKESPEARE'S HOLINSHED

The Chronicle And The Historical Plays Compared

W. G. Boswell-Stone

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PREFACE.

About the compiler of the chronicles whence most of the historical excerpts in this book have been taken, we know nothing save what his will reveals. He there described himself as "Raphael Hollynshed of Bromecote [Bramcott] in the County of Warr[wick]"; and bequeathed all his property to "Thomas Burdett of Bromecote aforesaid Esq.," whom he calls "my Master." The will was made on October 1, 1578, and proved on April 24, 1582.[1]

The first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* appeared in 1577. John Hooker *alias* Vowell, Abraham Fleming, Francis Thynne, and others, produced a second edition, bringing down the English annals to January, 1587. In this second edition the text was altered or modernized,[2] and many new passages were added.

The historical authority used for some of the plays (when other works were not consulted) was apparently the second edition of Holinshed. In the subjoined parallel columns certain different readings of the two editions are collated, and a few enlargements of the second edition are noted. The left-hand column's references indicate the pages of this book, where the later readings or fresh matter will be found. The right-hand column gives references to the plays which have readings identical with or like the readings presented by the text of the second edition, or which embody matter added to that edition.

---

[1] Camden's *Annals*, I. cxlix, cl. For conjectures touching Holinshed's kindred, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under his name.

[2] In the story of Lear more than a dozen textual changes were made. I give two examples: *that you haue alwaies borne towards me*] ed. 2 (p. 3 below). *that towards me you haue always borne* ed. 1.—*scarslie*] ed. 2 (p. 4 below). *vnneth* ed. 1.

Holinshed, ed. 2.	Holinshed, ed. 1.	Play.
wild] p. 23.	*ferly*	*wilde*] Macb. I. iii. 40.
In this yeare . . . vnknowne euent] p. 103.	Not in ed. 1.	Rich. II., II. iv. 8.
pickthanks] p. 140.	,,	1 Hen. IV., III. ii. 25.
In this yeare . . . to be seene.] p. 158.	,,	2 Hen. IV., IV. iv. 125.
alledge euer against the kings of England in barre of their iust title] p. 169.	*alledge to defeate the Kyngs of England of their iust . . . title*	*There is no barre To make against your Highnesse claime*] Hen. V., I. ii. 34, 35.
dishonest] p. 169.	*vnhonest*	*dishonest*] Hen. V., I. ii. 49.
who vsurped] p. 170.	*which vsurped*	*who vsurpt*] Hen. V., I. ii. 69.
Numbers] p. 171.	*Numeri*	*Numbers*] Hen. V., I. ii. 98.
should shake the walles of the best court in France, p. 173.	*shoulde breake and batter downe the roofes of his houses about hys eares.*	*That all the Courts of France will be disturb'd*] Hen. V., I. ii. 265.
desolation] p. 177.	*destruction*	*desolation*] Hen. V., II. ii. 173.
offenses] p. 177.	Not in ed. 1.	*offenses*] Hen. V., II. ii. 181.
die your taunie ground with your red bloud.] p. 185.	*make red your tawny ground with the effusion of christian bloud.*	*We shall your tawny ground with your red blood Discolour: . . .*] Hen. V., III. vi. 170, 171.
In time of this siege . . . hereafter followeth.] pp. 210–212.	Not in ed. 1.	1 Hen. VI., I. ii.
for hir pranks . . . and witches.] pp. 238, 239.	,,	1 Hen. VI., V. iv.
Edward the third . . . his grandsire; . . .] p. 256.	,,	2 Hen. VI., II. ii. 10-20.
Lionell the third . . . died without issue.] p. 257.	,,	2 Hen. VI., II. ii. 34-38.
And the said . . . same king Edward.] p. 258.	,,	2 Hen. VI., II. ii. 44-52.
a taper in hir hand.] p. 261.	,,	2 Hen. VI., II. iv. 16 (S. D.).
created the lord Thomas...saint Edwards chamber.] p. 347.	,,	Rich. III., I. iii. 255, 256.
wishing and . . . casting away.] p. 410.	,,	Rich. III., V. ii. 20, 21.
The oration . . . his armie.] p. 414.	,,	Rich. III., V. iii. 236 (S. D.).
The oration . . . his armie.] p. 416.	,,	Rich. III., V. iii. 313 (S. D. in Qq.).
moothers meanes, . . .] p. 417.	*brothers meanes*	*Mothers cost?*] Rich. III., V. iii. 324.

The second edition of Holinshed must have been employed for those parts of *Henry VIII.* which are based on Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey;* if the dramatist did not resort directly to Stow, in whose *Chronicles of England* (1580) selections from this biography were first published.

With regard to the wider question of sources, the reader will find that, in *Lear, Cymbeline,* and the historical plays preceding 1 *Henry VI.*, most of the borrowed action and dialogue can be illustrated by excerpts from Holinshed. Passages in the following plays—not traceable to Holinshed—are compared with other likely sources at the references given below: *John* (pp. 48-51); *Richard II.* (p. 118); 1 *Hen. IV.* (pp.

139 n. 2, 141 n. 2); 2 *Hen. IV.* (p. 163); *Hen. V.* (pp. 172, 173 n. 1, 185 n. 3, 186, 188).

As most of the quotations from Holinshed, illustrating the three Parts of *Henry VI.*, are paraphrases of Halle, it is generally impossible to determine which of these authorities was used, and I have therefore in such cases added a reference to the latter chronicler. But, when Halle alone is cited, the reader will understand that the subsequent excerpt is not paraphrased or copied in the second edition of Holinshed.[1] It is clear that the dramatist of *The First Part of Henry VI.* availed himself of accounts of Jeanne Darc, given by Holinshed (see pp. 210-212, 238, 239), which are not in Halle; and we may conjecture that Holinshed's paraphrase of Halle was the source of 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. i. 5, 6. In the passage illustrating these lines (p. 234 below), both editions of Holinshed read *peace* for *concorde.* Holinshed has: "exhorting them . . . to conforme themselues to reason, . . . so that, in concluding a godlie *peace*, they might receiue profit and quietnesse heere in this world," &c. The equivalent words of Halle are: "exhorting . . . them, . . . that they would . . . conforme themselfes to reason, and to Godly *concorde*, by the whiche they should receaue honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse in the worlde," &c. Ll. 83 and 95, 96, Act III. sc. ii. (pp. 225, 226), were probably derived from Holinshed. Fabyan may have yielded some details in Act I. sc. iii. (p. 213), Act III. sc. i. (p. 221), and Act III. sc. ii. (p. 225). Ll. 61-71, Act IV. sc. vii. (p. 233), were copied from an epitaph published by Crompton and Brooke in 1599 and 1619, respectively.[2]

The reviser who turned *The Contention* into *The Second Part of Henry VI.* was indebted to Holinshed or Stow for York's full pedigree[3] (pp. 256-258). Amalgamated with the dramatic version of Cade's revolt are many particulars—recorded by these chroniclers—of the villeins' outbreak in the reign of Richard II. (pp. 271, 272, 272 n. 2, 273 n. 4, 277, 278). Recourse to Holinshed (p. 251) is indicated by ll. 163, 164, Act I. sc. iii.; and a hint for the Entry at Act II. sc. iv. l. 16, was probably taken from his chronicle (p. 261). The excerpts from Holinshed (pp. 246-249, 281), and from Stow (pp. 253, 261), may be regarded as possible sources of the play both in its

[1] *Halle*, 256 ("This deadly," &c., p. 306), the last clause of *Halle*, 293 (p. 334),—including the words "periured duke,"—and *Halle*, 300 (p. 338), are in the first edition of Holinshed. *Halle*, 296 (p. 337) and 295 (p. 338, n. 2), are slightly changed in *Hol.* ed. 1.

[2] Slight verbal resemblances suggest that the text of the inscription given by Brooke was the immediate source of these lines. See p. 233, n. 1, below.

[3] The pedigree in *The Contention* (1594) is very erroneous and defective. In *The Whole Contention* (1619) some mistakes were corrected, but York's descent from Philippa, daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, was not traced.

original and enlarged form. The same may be said of the quotations from Fabyan[1] at pp. 246, 268, 276, and 286; though, in I. i. 114, the reviser uses a phrase—not, however, an uncommon one—which occurs *verbatim* in that chronicler (p. 245). A doubtful instance of resort to Hardyng will be found at p. 262. Neither Halle nor Holinshed gives Sir Thomas More's story of the sham miracle at St. Albans (pp. 253-255); dramatized in both forms of the play.

The Third Part of Henry VI. is, as a rule, based on Halle or on his paraphraser Holinshed; but the dramatist appears to have profited also by Stow and parts of Holinshed's compilation which were not drawn from Halle. See pp. 291 n. 3, 293, 295, 296, 299, 302, 309.

Holinshed was the chief historical source of *Richard III.* Halle and Grafton contain the story mentioned in III. v. 76-79 (p. 374). In an Entry at III. vii. 94 (p. 383) Halle or Grafton's continuation of Hardyng was turned to account.

The primary authorities dramatized in *Henry VIII.* are Halle, Stow, Polydore Vergil, Foxe, and Cavendish. These materials—Foxe excepted—are brought together in the second edition of Holinshed. Most of the Fifth Act and some other portions of the play were derived from Foxe.

Valuable as Holinshed's *Chronicles* were as a store-house of our national history, the method pursued by the editors was uncritical. Thus, Raphael and his successors interwove the late and mostly fictitious *Historia Britonum* with authentic notices of British affairs, taken from Roman writers. (See pp. 7-13 below.) A few meagre facts recorded by Marianus Scottus, Tighernac, the *Ulster Annals*, and the *Saxon Chronicle* embrace nearly all that we know about the real Macbeth, but Holinshed presented to the reader a circumstantial romance composed by Hector Boece. From the scant genuine particulars extant, we may, I think, conjecture that Macbeth was not regarded as "an vntitled Tyrant" (*Macb.* IV. iii. 104) among his own Gaelic countrymen dwelling north of Edinburgh, though, in the Anglicized region of Lothian, his rival Malcolm—who had adopted the customs of strangers—was doubtless preferred.[2] It is certain at least that

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[1] *Halle* (246, n. 2) is a more likely source of I. i. 159 than *Fab.*, whom I have quoted in the text (246). From *Halle* (247, n. 2) also, perhaps, rather than from *Hol.'s* reprint of *Stow* (247), came I. i. 191-193.

[2] These facts, recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Ingram, p. 307), are significant: Malcolm III., and Margaret, his English wife, died in 1093. Disregarding the claim of their sons, "the Scots [the Gael] then chose Dufenal [Donalbain] to king, Melcolm's brother, and drove out all the English that formerly were with the king Melcolm."

Macbeth ruled for fourteen years;[1] from the time when young[2] Duncan was murdered to the day when Siward triumphed. Three of the stories commonly associated with Macbeth—the weird sisters' predictions, Birnam Wood coming to Dunsinane, and his death at the hand of a foe not born of woman—were first narrated by Andrew Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf, who finished his *Cronykil of Scotland* about 1424. According to Wyntoun, Macbeth saw the weird sisters in a dream (p. 24, n. 1, below), and was slain by a "knycht," whose name is not given. Subjected to the fancy of Boece, the dream became an apparition; and the nameless knight assumed definite shape as Macduff, Thane of Fife. Fordun,—who was writing in the last quarter of the fourteenth century,—and Wyntoun, first make mention of Macduff. Banquo and Fleance were, I suppose, creatures of Boece's imagination. Of Gruoch, Macbeth's wife, there is one contemporary memorial. It is a copy of a charter whereby "Machbet filius finlach . . . & gruoch filia bodhe rex *et* regina Scotor*um*" gave Kyrkenes to the Culdees of St. Serf's monastery on Loch Leven; free of all obligations save the duty of praying for the donors.[3]

The purpose of this book does not include a detailed examination of the evidence which a dramatist found in the printed chronicles of his times, and I therefore say no more anent the materials used by Holinshed. I warn the reader (if a caution be needed) to take with a large grain of salt what Holinshed, Halle, and others relate concerning the youthful follies of Henry V., the evil life and death of Cardinal Beaufort, and the crimes of Cardinal Wolsey. The shameful charges against Jeanne Darc need, of course, no comment. Before, however, closing these prefatory words, I shall briefly notice two cases in which treatment of character has far exceeded such historical warrant as was easily accessible. Margaret of

---

Duncan II.—a son of Malcolm by a prior union—assembled an Anglo-Norman army and deposed Donalbain. "But the Scots afterwards gathered some force together, and slew full nigh all his men; and he himself with a few made his escape. Afterwards they were reconciled, on the condition that he never again brought into the land English or French." See pp. 41, 42 below.

[1] In 1046, according to *Ann. Dunelm.* (*Pertz*, xix. 508), Siward dethroned Macbeth, who, however, was speedily reinstated. A revolt seems to have broken out on behalf of Duncan's sons, for under the year 1045 we find the following entry: "Battle between the Albanich on both sides, in which Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld [Duncan's father], was slain, and many with him, viz. nine times twenty heroes."—*Tighernac* (*Skene*), 78.

[2] Dreaming of Duncan's murder, Lady Macbeth says: "yet who would haue thought the olde man to haue had so much blood in him" (V. i. 43-45). The historical Duncan I. was slain "immatura etate."—*Tighernac* (*Skene*), 78.

[3] *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club), ed. T. Thomson, 1841, p. 114.

Anjou's guilty love for Suffolk is sheer fiction; or was perhaps inferred from expressions which describe him as a minister whom she trusted. "By the queenes meanes," we are told, Suffolk was "aduanced so in authoritie, that he ruled the king at his pleasure" (*Hol.* iii. 626/1/43. *Halle*, 207). She is said also to have "intierlie loued the duke" (*Hol.* iii. 632/1/9. *Halle*, 218). Moreover, Halle (219, om. *Hol.*) employed a phrase capable of injurious construction when he called Suffolk "the Quenes dearlynge." There can be little doubt that Richard III. was unscrupulous in gratifying his ambition, but he was not a flawless villain, who loved evil for its own sake, apart from its results. Just before the armies joined battle at Bosworth he is alleged to have thus disclosed to his followers remorse for his nephews' murder: "And although in the adeption and obteigning of the garland, I being seduced and prouoked by sinister counsell and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and detestable act, yet I haue with streict penance and salt tears (as I trust) expiated & cleerelie purged the same offense: which abominable crime I require you of frendship as cleerelie to forget, as I dailie remember to deplore and lament the same" (*Hol.* iii. 756/1/18. *Halle*, 415). Other parts of his speech were worked into the play (pp. 416, 417 below), but this passage was ignored, and some prelusive words,[1] well becoming the superhuman impiety of the dramatic Richard, were invented. Still, he was false to himself once, and a parallel of this passage is, perhaps, to be found in the confession (V. iii. 193-200) wrung from him by the dreams of his last night.

The plan of *Shakspere's Holinshed* requires brief explanation. The historical excerpts are arranged in the dramatic order, and the action of the play which they illustrate is briefly described. I quote the second edition (1587) of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Each excerpt is preceded by a bracketed reference to the volume, page, column, and first line of the quotation, as it stands in that edition. The three volumes of Holinshed are cited as *Hol.* i. *H. E.* (Holinshed, vol. i., *Historie of England*), *Hol.* ii. *H. S.* (Holinshed, vol. ii., *Historie of Scotland*), and *Hol.* iii. (Holinshed, vol. iii.). The line-numbers of the *Globe Shakespeare* (1891) are followed

[1] "Let not our babling Dreames affright our soules:
Conscience is but a word that Cowards vse
Deuis'd at first to keepe the strong in awe:
Our strong armes be our Conscience, Swords our Law!
March on, ioyne brauely, let vs to't pell mell;
If not to heauen, then hand in hand to Hell!"
(V. iii. 308-313. Q. reading of l. 309.)

in quoting or referring to the plays. Identical words are italicized both in the excerpts and the plays compared.[1]

New sidenotes, and additions to the original text or sidenotes of the chronicles quoted, are bracketed. The original punctuation of the excerpts from Holinshed's *Chronicles*, given on pp. 1-32, has been slightly modified, but, in subsequent pages, I have freely altered, augmented, and—in comparatively few cases—retrenched it.

The assistance and advice of Mr. P. A. Daniel, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, and the late Dr. Brinsley Nicholson have been of great service to me. I am much beholden to Mr. James Gairdner for his responses to various questions touching historical matters. I am also obliged to Mr. James E. Doyle and the Rev. S. J. Johnson for the communications which are given at pp. 66, 396, below. Mr. Oswald Barron and Mr. Halliday Sparling supplied me with those citations of public records which have appended to them the initials O. B. and H. S. To my brother I am indebted for the dedicatory inscription of this book, and my thanks are due to my sister for reading proofs.

I would here acknowledge my general obligations to the Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay's *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare*, and to Mr. G. R. French's *Shakspeareana Genealogica*. I have had the advantage of consulting Sir James H. Ramsay's *Lancaster and York*, and the published volumes of Mr. J. H. Wylie's *History of England under Henry the Fourth*.

WALTER GEORGE BOSWELL-STONE.

Beckenham, July 29, 1896.

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[1] The original black-letter sidenotes have been set in italic. A few words—for example, *Requiem* (p. 128 below)—have been left in the original italic. Italic has been substituted for the Roman type which, in copies of Holinshed, distinguish writers' names—for example, Galfrid (p. 14)—from the black-letter text.

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO IN THIS BOOK.

An asterisk (*) indicates that an authority is contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous with the event related below. A dash (—) precedes the last date of an authority, when the first year is not given.

* *Ann. Burton.* Annales de Burton. 1004—1263. H. R. Luard. (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. Annales Monastici. Vol. 1.)

* *Ann. Dunelm.* Annales Dunelmenses. 995—1199. G. H. Pertz. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Vol. 19.)

* *Ann. Marg.* Annales de Margan. 1066—1232. H. R. Luard. (Chron. and Mem. Annales Monastici. Vol. 1.)

* *Ann. R. II.—H. IV.* Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti. 1392—1406. H. T. Riley. (Chron. and Mem. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani. Vol. 4.)

* *Ann. Theok.* Annales de Theokesberia. 1066—1263. H. R. Luard. (Chron. and Mem. Annales Monastici. Vol. 1.)

* *Ann. Waverl.* Annales de Waverleia. 1—1291. H. R. Luard. (Chron. and Mem. Annales Monastici. Vol. 2.)

Anselme. Anselme de la Vierge Marie [P. de Gibours]. Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, &c., continuée par M. Du Fourny. 1726—1733.

Archaeol. Archaeologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. 20.

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* *Arrival.* Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England and the finall recouerye of his kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI. J. Bruce. (Camden Society, No. 1.)

* *A-S. Chron.* (*M. H. B.*). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 1—1154. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe. (Monumenta Historica Britannica.—1066.)

* *Avesbury.* Roberti de Avesbury Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III. 1308—1356. T. Hearne. 1720.

Bacon's Henry VII. The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. F. Bacon. 1622. J. R. Lumby. 1889. (Cambridge University Press.) Cited by page and first line.

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* *Beckington's Embassy.* Journal of Bishop Beckington's Embassy in 1442. N. H. Nicolas. 1828.

* *Benedict.* Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. 1169—1192. W. Stubbs. (Chron. and Mem.)

Boece. Scotorum Historiae. —1460. H. Boece. 1575. Continued by Giovanni Ferrerio, in this 2nd ed., to the year 1488.

Brewer. The Reign of Henry VIII. J. S. Brewer. 1884.

* *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*). Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII. J. S. Brewer and J. Gairdner. (Chron. and Mem.) Cited by volume, part, and numbered document. When *p.* precedes numerals, the reference is to the page.

* *Calend. RR. PP.* Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium. 1201—1483. (Record Commissioners' Publications.)

Camden's Annals. Guilielmi Camdeni Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha. T. Hearne. 1717.

* *Cavendish.* The Life of Cardinal Wolsey. G. Cavendish. S. W. Singer. 1825. Cavendish was Wolsey's gentleman usher.

* *Chron. Auct. Ign.* Chronicon Rerum Gestarum in Monasterio S. Albani, (A.D. 1422—1431,) a quodam auctore ignoto compilatum. R. T. Riley. (Chron. and Mem. Annales Monasterii S. Albani, a Johanne Amundesham, Monacho, ut videtur, conscripti. Vol. 1.)

* *Chron. de la Pucelle.* Chronique de la Pucelle. 1422—1429. G. Cousinot de Montreuil. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

* *Chron. Giles.* Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliae. 1399—1455. J. A. Giles. 1848. Cited by paginal references to the three Parts, which contain the respective reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI.

* *Chron. Lond.* A Chronicle of London. 1089—1483. N. H. Nicolas. 1827.

* *Chron. Normande.* Chronique de la Pucelle . . . suivie de la Chronique Normande de P. Cochon. 1403—1430. Vallet de Viriville. 1859.

* *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.* A Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., V., and VI. 1377—1461. J. S. Davies. (Camden Society, No. 64.)

* *Coggeshall.* Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. 1066—1225. J. Stevenson. (Chron. and Mem.) The last event recorded by Coggeshall (the banishment of Fawkes de Breauté) took place in 1225.—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), iii. 94.

Collins. The Peerage of England. A. Collins. 1714.

* *Cont. Croyl.* Alia Historiae Croylandensis Continuatio. 1459—1485. T. Gale and W. Fulman. 1684. (Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum. Vol. 1.)

Contention. The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster. 1594. F. J. Furnivall. 1889. (Shakspere Quarto Fac-similes.)

* *Creton.* (*Archaeol.*). 1399—1401. *Archaeologia*, vol. xx. (references to French text and translation), contains the narrative of Creton, a Frenchman, who accompanied Richard II. to Ireland in 1399, and returned with him. Creton gives an account (from hearsay) of Isabelle's return to France in 1401.—*Archaeol.* xx. 226 ; 416.

D. K. Rep. 3. Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records.

* *De Coussy.* Chroniques de Mathieu de Coussy (d'Escouchy). 1444—1461. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

* *Diceto.* Radulphi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. Ymagines Historiarum. 1148—1202. W. Stubbs. (Chron. and Mem.)

Doyle. The Official Baronage of England. J. E. Doyle. 1886.

* *Du Clercq.* Mémoires de Jacques du Clercq. 1448—1467. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

Dugdale. The Baronage of England. W. Dugdale. 1675—1676.

Edward III. King Edward III. Doubtful Plays of William Shakespeare. Max Moltke. 1869. Tauchnitz. Vol. 1041.

Eiton (p. 154 below). Thomas Otterbourne. See *Ott.*

* *Ellis.* Original Letters illustrative of English History. H. Ellis. 1825—1846. Cited by series, volume, and page.

* *Elmham.* Thomas de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis. 1388—1422. T. Hearne. 1727.

Escouchy, Mathieu d'. See *De Coussy.*

* *Eulog.* Eulogium Historiarum. Vol. III. 1364—1413. F. S. Haydon. (Chron. and Mem.)

* *Eves.* Monachi de Evesham Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi II. 1377—1402. T. Hearne. 1729.

* *Excerpta Historica.* Excerpta Historica, or, Illustrations of English History. S. Bentley. 1831.

* *Exchequer Issues.* Issues of the Exchequer. F. Devon. 1837. (Record Commissioners' Publications.)

Fab. The New Chronicles of England and France. —1495. R. Fabyan. 1516. H. Ellis. 1811. (Read with the ed. of 1516. The irregular capital letters have as far as possible been retained.) Fabyan's will was proved on July 12, 1513.

Famovs Victories. The Famovs Victories of Henry the fifth. 1598. P. A. Daniel. 1887. (Shakspere Quarto Fac-similes.)

Fordun. Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon. W. Goodall. 1759. Fordun wrote after 1377 ; see *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, XI. xiv. 151, note. (Cited by book, chapter, and page.)

Foxe. Actes and Monumentes of the Churche. J. Foxe. 1576. Cited by page and column.

French. Shakspeareana Genealogica. G. R. French. 1869.

* *Frois.* Chroniques de Jean Froissart. 1327—1400. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

Gent. Mag. Gentleman's Magazine. First issued in 1731.

* *Gesta.* Henrici Quinti, Angliae Regis, Gesta. 1413—1416. B. Williams. (English Historical Society.) Written by a chaplain of Henry V., about 1418 ; see *Gesta*, 5. The work was continued to 1422.

Godwin. A Catalogue of the Bishops of England. F. Godwin. 1615.

Grafton. A Chronicle at large, and meere history of the affayres of Englande, &c. —1568. R. Grafton. Ed. 1809. (Read with the ed. of 1569.)

* *Grants.* Grants from the Crown temp. Edward V. J. G. Nichols. (Camden Society, No. 60.)

* *Greg.* Gregory's Chronicle. 1189—1469. Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century. J. Gairdner. (Camden Society, N. S. No. 17.) W. Gregory's will was proved on Jan. 23, 1467. Another chronicler recorded events down to 1469, in which year the work ends abruptly.

Halle. The Vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, &c.—1398—1547. E. Halle. 1550. (I have quoted the text of 1550, and given paginal references to the ed. of Halle's Chronicle published in 1809.)

Hardyng. The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng. —1461. H. Ellis. 1812. (Read with the ed. of 1543, entitled : "The chronicle of Iohn Hardyng in metre" &c.) Hardyng was born in 1378 (*Hardyng* 351), and was writing in 1463 (*Ib.* 410).

Hardyng-Grafton. A Continuacion of the Chronicle of England, begynnyng wher

Iohn Hardyng left, &c. 1461—1543. R. Grafton. 1543. H. Ellis. 1812. (Read with the continuation of "The chronicle of Iohn Hardyng in metre," &c.)

Henr. Hunt. (*M. H. B.*). Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historiae Anglorum Libri Octo. —1154. (Monumenta Historica Britannica.—1066.)

Hist. Britt. Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum. J. A. Giles. (Caxton Society.) Geoffrey's dedication of *Hist. Britt.* was written before 1147.

* *Hoveden.* Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene. 732—1201. W. Stubbs. (Chron. and Mem.)

* *Itinerarium.* Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester. J. Nasmith. 1778.

* *Itinerary.* Itinerary of King John. T. D. Hardy. 1835. (With Hardy's Description of the Patent Rolls, one of the Record Commissioners' Publications.)

* *Jean de Troyes.* Chronique de Jean de Troyes. 1460—1483. C. B. Petitot. (Collection Complète des Mémoires relatifs a l'Histoire de France. Première Série. Tome 14.)

* *Journal.* Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris. 1409—1449. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chronique Nationales Françoises.)

* *Juv.* Histoire de Charles VI. 1380—1422. Jean Juvenal des Ursins. D. Godefroy. 1653.

Lewis. A Topographical Dictionary of England. S. Lewis. 1833.

* *Livius.* Titi Livii Foro-Juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti, Regis Angliae. 1388—1422. T. Hearne. 1716. The closing words of this life (95) show that Livius wrote after Gloucester's resignation of the Protectorate in 1429, and before the Duke's death in 1447.

Lords' Journals. Calendar of the Journals of the House of Lords.

M. H. B. Monumenta Historica Britannica. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe. 1848.

* *M. Paris* (*Wendover*). Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. II. 1067—1216. H. R. Luard. (Chron. and Mem.) Roger of Wendover's chronicles were revised and augmented by Matthew Paris, and continued by the latter from 1235 to 1259.

* *M. Scottus* (*Pertz*). Mariani Scotti Chronicon. 1—1082. G. Waitz. (Monument, Germaniae Historica. Vol. 5. G. H. Pertz was the general editor of *M. G. H.*) Marianus Scottus was born in 1028 and died in 1082.

* *Mons.* Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet. 1400—1444. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

More. The history of King Richard the thirde. T. More. 1513. J. R. Lumby, 1883. (Cambridge University Press.) Cited by page and first line in the ed. of 1883. Read with the text printed in More's Workes, 1557. From the title we learn that More wrote this book about 1513, but its authorship has been attributed to Cardinal Morton, who died in 1500.

* *Ott.* Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres, viz. Thomas Otterbourne et Johannes Whethamstede. *Ott.* —1420. * *Wheth.* 1455—1461. T. Hearne. 1732.

* *Page.* Poem on the siege of Rouen. J. Page. Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century. J. Gairdner. (Camden Society, N. S. No. 17.) Page was present at the siege (1).

* *Paston.* The Paston Letters. 1422—1509. J. Gairdner. 1872—1875. (Arber's Annotated Reprints.)

* *Pol. Poems.* Political Poems and Songs relating to English History. T. Wright. (Chron. and Mem.)

Polyd. Verg. Polydori Vergilii Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVII. (A.C. 55—A.D.

1537.) Basileae. 1555. Cited by page and first line. His first work, *Proverbiorum Libellus*, was published in 1498. He died before 1555.

* *Procès.* Chronique et Procès de la Pucelle d'Orléans. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

* *Proc. Priv. Co.* Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England. N. H. Nicolas. 1834—1837. (Record Commissioners' Publications.)

Quicherat. Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc. Jules Quicherat. 1841—1849. (Société de l'Histoire de France.)

Redman. Vita Henrici V. Roberto Redmanno auctore. 1413—1422. C. A. Cole. (Chron. and Mem.) Written between 1536 and 1544.

Reg. Sacr. Angl. Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. An attempt to exhibit the course of Episcopal Succession in England. W. Stubbs. 1858.

* *Rot. Parl.* Rotuli Parliamentorum. Vols. III.—VI. Cited by page, and column or section. (Record Commissioners' Publications.)

* *Rous.* Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae. —1485. T. Hearne. 1745 (ed. 2). Rous died in 1491.

Rows Rol. The Roll of the Warwick Family. J. Rows. W. Courthope. 1845.

* *Rymer.* Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, et alia Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae et alios Principes. T. Rymer. 1704—1735.

* *St. Denys.* Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys. 1380—1422. M. L. Bellaguet. (Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France.)

* *Saint-Remy.* Mémoires de Jean Lefevre, Seigneur de Saint-Remy. 1407—1435. J. A. Buchon. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françoises.)

Sandford. A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, . . . From the Conquest . . . to the year 1707. F. Sandford. S. Stebbins. 1707.

* *Séances du Conseil de Charles VIII.* Procès-Verbaux des séances du Conseil de Régence du Roi Charles VIII. pendant les mois d'août 1484 à janvier 1485. A. Bernier. (Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France.)

Solly-Flood. The Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief-Justice Gascoign. F. Solly-Flood. 1886. (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Vol. 3. Part 1.)

* *Statutes.* The Statutes of the Realm, . . . from Magna Charta to the end of the reign of Queen Anne. 1810—1828.

* *Stevenson.* Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. J. Stevenson. (Chron. and Mem.)

Stow. The Annales of England . . . vntill this present yeare 1605. J. Stow.

Strype's Cranmer. Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer, . . . Archbishop of Canterbury. J. Strype. P. E. Barnes. 1840.

T.-A. Time-Analysis of the Plots of Shakspere's Plays. P. A. Daniel. (The New Shakspere Society's Transactions. 1877—1879.)

* *Three Chronicles.* Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles. J. Gairdner. (Camden Society, N. S. No. 28.) Two of these chronicles are cited thus: S. E. C. = A Short English Chronicle, and B. L. C. = A Brief Latin Chronicle. The former ends in 1465, the latter embraces the period 1422—1471.

* *Tighernac* (*Skene*). Annals of Tighernac. —1088. Chronicles of the Picts, . . . and other early Memorials of Scottish History. W. F. Skene. (Chronicles and Memorials of Scotland.)

T. R. The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England. Two Parts. 1591. F. J. Furnivall. 1888. (Shakspere Quarto Fac-similes.)

* *Trais.* Chronique de la Traïson et la Mort de Richard Deux. 1398—1400. B. Williams. (English Historical Society.) References to French text and translation.

T. T. The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt. 1595. T. Tyler. 1891. (Shakspere Quarto Fac-similes.)

**Usk.* Chronicon Adae de Usk. 1377—1404. E. M. Thompson. 1876. References to Latin text and translation.

Var. Sh. The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare. E. Malone and J. Boswell. 1821.

* *Ven. State PP.* Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice. Rawdon Brown. (Chron. and Mem.)

Wake. State of the Church and Clergy of England. W. Wake. 1703.

* *Wals.* Thomae Walsingham Historia Anglicana. 1272—1422. H. T. Riley. (Chron. and Mem. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.)

* *Warkw.* A Chronicle of the first thirteen years of King Edward the Fourth. 1461—1474. J. Warkworth. J. O. Halliwell. (Camden Society, No. 10.)

* *Waurin.* Recueil des Croniques . . . de la Grant Bretaigne, . . . par Iehan de Waurin. —A.D. 1471. W. Hardy and E. L. Hardy. (Chron. and Mem.) Cited by volume, book, and page.

Weever. Ancient Funeral Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands. J. Weever. 1767.

Wheth. See *Ott.*

Whole Contention. The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. Two Parts. Q 3. 1619. F. J. Furnivall. 1886. (Shakspere Quarto Fac-similes.)

Wylie. History of England under Henry the Fourth. J. H. Wylie. 1884—1896.

Wyntown. The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland. A. Wyntown. —1420. D. Macpherson. 1795.

* *Wyrc.* Wilhelmi Worcestrii Annales Rerum Anglicarum. 1324—1468. T. Hearne. 1774. (Liber Niger Scaccarii, &c. Vol. 2.)

* *York Records.* Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York, during the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III. R. Davies. 1843.

I. KING LEAR.

HOLINSHED'S *Chronicles*, and a play of untraced authorship, entitled *The True Chronicle History of King Leir*, 1605,[1] were the chief and most accessible sources whence Shakspere might have derived the main plot of his drama.[2]

The fountain-head for the story of Lear and his three daughters is the *Historia Britonum*, a chronicle which Geoffrey of Monmouth professed[3] to have translated from a very ancient book written in the British tongue.

Comparison with the subjoined excerpt from Holinshed shows that the madness of the dramatic Lear, and the fate which befell him and his daughter, are important alterations of the original story. No source for these changes of plot has yet been discovered.[4]

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 12/2/59.] Leir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He

Leir the 10. ruler.

[1] Reprinted in Steevens's *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare*, &c., 1766, vol. iv.; in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, Pt. II. vol. ii. pp. 307-387, and in *The Shakespeare Classics*, edited by Mr. Sidney Lee.

[2] Some other sources are: Fabyan's *Chronicles*, 1516 (ed. Ellis, i. 14-16); William Warner's *Albions England*, 1586 (ed. 1612, pp. 65, 66); *The firste Parte of the Mirour for Magistrates*, 1587 (ed. Haslewood, i. 123-132); *The Faerie Queene*, 1590-96, II. x. 27-32.

[3] See his dedication of the *Historia Britonum* to Robert Earl of Gloucester (ob. Oct. 31, 1147.—*Ann. Marg.*, 14).

[4] Mrs. Lennox (*Shakespeare Illustrated*, vol. iii. p. 302) first drew attention to a ballad entitled "A Lamentable Song of the Death of King Lear and his Three Daughters" (reprinted in Percy's *Reliques*), which makes mention of: (1) Lear's loss of his retinue through Regan's unkindness; (2) his madness, and his death immediately after the battle which restored to him his crown; (3) Cordelia's death in the battle fought for Lear's restoration. Dr. Johnson conjectured that this ballad might have been the source of Shakspere's *Lear* (*Variorum Shakspere*, 1821, x. 291); but later critics believe that the play was the earlier composition. According to Matthew of Westminster, an epithet, impeaching Lear's sanity, was applied to the old king by his daughters. After relating Lear's deposition by his sons-in-law, the chronicler then proceeds (*Flores Historiarum*, ed. 1601, p. 16): "Rex igitur ignarus quid ageret, deliberauit tandem filias adire, quibus regnum deuiserat, vt si fieri posset, sibi dum viueret & 40. militibus suis stipendia ministrarent. Quæ, cum indignatione verbum ex ore ipsius capientes, dixerunt eum senem esse, *delirum*, & mendicum, nec tanta familia dignum. Sed si vellet, relictis cæteris cum solo

Mat. West. Leicester is builded.

made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Sore. It is written that he had by his wife

[Leir's three daughters.

three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla,[1] which daughters he greatly loued, but

He loved Cordeilla best.]

specially Cordeilla the yoongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to waxe

Gal. Mon.

vnweldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome.[2] Whervpon he first asked

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milite remaneret." The following lines in *The Mirour for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood, stanza 21) may lead one to conjecture that John Higgins—who wrote "Queene Cordila" for the *Mirour*—had seen the above-quoted passage from Matthew of Westminster:

> "Eke at what time hee [Leire] ask'd of them [Albany and Gonorell] to haue his gard,
> To gard his noble grace where so he went:
> They cal'd him doting foole," &c.

Albany and Gonorell had deprived Lear of his servants, save one.

[1] The earliest occurrence of the familiar spelling "Cordelia" is, I believe, to be found in the *Faerie Queene*, II. x. 29. In the old churchyard at Lee, Blackheath, there is a monument erected by *Cordell* Lady Hervey, to the memory of her parents, Bryan Anslie, Esq., of Lee (ob. July 10, 1604), and Awdry his wife (ob. Nov. 25, 1591).—*Notes and Queries*, 6th S. v. 465. The form "Cordell" occurs in the *Mirour for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood), stanza 7. "Cordella" is the spelling in the older *Leir*.

[2] According to *Hist. Britt.* II. xi. 30, Lear "cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere," and wished to ascertain the measure of each daughter's love for him, "ut sciret quae illarum *majori regni parte dignior esset.*" Cp. *Lear*, I. i. 38, 39; 49-54:

> ". . . Know that we haue diuided
> In three our Kingdome: . . .
> Tell me, my daughters, . . .
> Which of you shall we say doth loue vs most?
> That we our *largest bountie may extend*
> *Where Nature doth with merit challenge?*"

So the *Mirour for Magistrates* (i. 125):

> "But minding her that *lou'd him best* to note,
> Because he had no sonne t'enjoy his land,
> He thought to guerdon *most where fauour most he fand.*"

The *Faerie Queene* and the old play make Lear propose to divide his kingdom equally between his three daughters. Percy pointed out (*Var. Sh.* 1821, x. 2) that Lear's test of his daughters' love, and their answers, are details paralleled in the following story:

"Ina, King of West Saxons [688—728], had three daughters, of whom, upon a time, he demanded whether they did love him, and so would during their lives, above all others; the two elder sware deeply they would; the youngest, but the wisest, told her Father, without flattery, 'That albeit she did love, honour, and reverence him, and so would whilst she lived, as much as duty and daughterly love at the uttermost could expect, yet she did think that one

Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than toong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

A triall of loue. [The answer of the eldest daughter.]

[The answer of the second daughter.]

Then called he his yoongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: "Knowing the great loue and "fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the "which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as "my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued "you ever, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my "naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue "that I beare you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you "haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no "more." The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania,[1] betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

The answer of the yoongest daughter.

The two eldest daughters are maried. The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Neuertheless it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia

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day it would come to pass that she should affect another more fervently,' meaning her Husband, 'when she was married, who, being made one flesh with her, as God by commandement had told, and nature had taught her, she was to cleave fast to, forsaking Father and Mother, kiffe and kin.'"—Camden's *Remains concerning Britain*, 1674, under "Wise Speeches" (Library of Old Authors, pp. 254, 255).

[1] "The third and last part of the Iland he [Brute] allotted vnto Albanact his yoongest sonne. . . . This later parcell at the first, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres [England] also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some doo note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse."—Harrison's *Description of Britain* (in *Hol.* i. 116/2/4).

[Aganippus wished to marry Cordeilla. Leir would give her no dower.]

(which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, tooke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

[Aganippus married her.]

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. saith.

[Leir's sons-in-law rebel against him, and assign him a portion to live on.]

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir tooke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.[1]

[The unkindness of his daughters when he visited them. They scarcely allow him one servant at last.]

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstand-

[1] We learn from *Hist. Britt.* II. xii. 31 that, after the duke's revolt, Albany maintained Lear and a retinue of sixty knights. But, when two years had elapsed, "indignata est Gonorilla filia *ob multitudinem militum ejus, qui convicia ministris inferebant*, quia eis profusior epinomia non praebebatur" (cp. *Lear*, I. iv. 220-224; 262-267). Albany reduced Lear's attendance to thirty knights. Lear then went to live with Cornwall, but strife broke out between the retainers of the several households, and Regan dismissed all save five of Lear's knights. He returned to Gonorilla, who allowed him one knight. This last wrong caused Lear's departure to France. The *Mirour for Magistrates* mentions the successive reductions of Lear's followers; but none of the sources which I have enumerated above has aught to say about the dissensions between Lear's knights and his sons-in-laws' households.

ing their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, she first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as apperteined to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

[He flees to Cordeilla, in Gallia, and is kindly received.]

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had beene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to see him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

[Aganippus prepared a mighty army and great navy, wherewith to restore Leir to his kingdom.]

[Leir makes Cordeilla his sole heiress.]

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband tooke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne.[1]

[Leir and Cordeilla fight a battle with his sons-in-law, who are defeated and slain. Leir ruled two years after his restoration, and then died.]

[1] Shakspere was perhaps indebted to Holinshed for something more than the story of Lear: *a* There being (according to *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 12/2/55) a "temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant" (London), may explain why Lear swears by that deity (*Lear*, I. i. 162). Holinshed also says (*H. E.* 14/1/37) that Lear's grandson, Cunedag, built a temple "to Apollo in Cornewall." *β* Lear's comparison of himself to a dragon (*Lear*, I. i. 123, 124) may have been suggested by the fact that a later British king "was surnamed Pendragon, . . . for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons

Cordeilla succeeded Lear, and reigned for five years, during which time her husband died. At the close of this period, the rebellion of Margan the son of Gonorilla and Cunedag the son of Regan ended with her imprisonment by her nephews. Having no hope of release, and being "a woman of a manlie courage," she slew herself.—*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 13/2/45.

II. CYMBELINE.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* contain all the historical or pseudo-historical matter which appears in Shakspere's *Tragedie of Cymbeline.*

The historic Cunobelinus, son of Tasciovanus,[1] was a King of the Britons,[2] whose capital was Camulodunum[3] (Colchester). In A.D. 40 Cunobelin's son Adminius, whom he had banished, made a submission to Caligula which the Emperor affected to regard as equivalent to a surrender of the whole island, but nothing was then done to assert the imperial authority.[4] Cunobelin was dead when, in A.D. 43, Aulus Plautius was sent by Claudius to subdue Britain; and the Romans were opposed by the late king's sons Togodumnus and the renowned Caractacus.[5] These are the sole authentic particulars relating to Cunobelin, beside the evidence derived from his coins.

Act III. sc. i.—In the following passages Holinshed has given an untrustworthy account of Cymbeline, mixed with genuine information

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head, that at the time of his natiuite maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blazing star, as is reported. But others suppose he was so called of his wisdome and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner" (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 87/2/7).

[1] In 1844 Mr. Birch communicated a paper to the Numismatic Society (*Num. Chron.* vol. vii. p. 78), showing that the reverse legends of some of Cunobeline's coins should be read: TASCIOVANI. F.; that is, Tasciovani *Filius.* —See Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 221, 327. Other reverses read TASC. F., and TASCIIOVANII. F.—*Evans*, pp. 308, 328. Of the latter form it may be necessary to remark that TASCII— is probably equivalent to TASCE—; the double I being often used, on British coins, for E (*Evans*, pp. 203, 206, 258, 372). The termination —VANII gives a variant nominative Tasciovanius. Mr. Birch compared these legends with AVGVSTVS DIVI F., on coins of Augustus.

[2] So styled by Suetonius, in his biography of Caligula, cap. xliv. Cunobeline's capital was Camulodunum, which we learn from Ptolemy (*Geographia*, lib. II. cap. iii.) was the town (πόλις) of the Trinobantes; a people who once inhabited Middlesex and Essex. The obverse of a copper coin of Cunobeline bears the legend CVNOBELINVS REX. See Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 332.

[3] "το Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασίλειον."—*Dion Cassius*, ed. Reimar, lx. 21. A copper coin of Cunobeline, found at Colchester, has the obverse legend CAMVL-ODVNO.—Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 337.

[4] Suet. *Calig.* xliv.

[5] *Dion Cassius*, lx. 20. Claudius followed Plautius, and was present at the capture of Camulodunum by the Romans.

touching the circumstances of the Empire and Britain during the reign of Augustus.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 32/2/3.] Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius[1] was of the Britains made king after the deceasse of his father, in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar,[2] vnder whome he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. . . . Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, some writers doo varie, but the best approoued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.[3]

Kymbeline.

Fabian out of Guido de Columna. [Cymbeline knighted by Augustus, and not obliged to pay tribute.]

[Cymbeline reigned 35 years, and left two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus.]

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our histories doo affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Julius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Julius Cesars death, when Augustus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as *Cornelius Tacitus* reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by such as were desirous to see the vttermost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Julius Cesar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie

[Roman writers say that the Britons refused to pay tribute to Augustus.] *Cor. Tacitus, in vita Iu. Agr.*

[Augustus prepares to invade Britain.]

[1] "Tenantius" (the spelling in *Cymb.* I. i. 31) occurs as a variant form in *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 32/1/58 above. Shakspere seems to have adopted *Fab.'s* conjecture (reported in *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 31/2/22) that Cassibelan, Androgeus, and Tenantius were sons of Lud, Cymbeline's grandfather; for Cymbeline is reminded by Lucius that tribute was imposed by Julius Caesar on "Cassibulan, thine Unkle" (*Cymb.* III. i. 5). Holinshed preferred the supposition that Cassibelan was Lud's brother (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 23/2/12).

[2] Cp. *Cymb.* III. i. 70:

> "Thy Cæsar Knighted me; my youth I spent
> Much vnder him"; . . .

[3] We learn from Juvenal (*Sat.* IV. 124-127) that a British prince named Arviragus was a contemporary of Domitian.

Dion Cassius. into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into these hither parts of France.

[He is detained by a rebellion of the Pannonians and Dalmatians.] But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdue those rebells neere home,[1] rather than to seeke new countries, and leaue such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britain. . . .

[I know not whether Cymbeline or some other British prince refused tribute, but Cymbeline was friendly to the Romans, and wished the British youth to be brought up amongst them.] But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britans and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chieflie was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.[2]

[The peace of the Roman Empire while Augustus ruled.] But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was

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[1] Cymbeline replies to Lucius (*Cymb.* III. i. 73-75):

> . . . "I am perfect,
> That the Pannonians and Dalmatians for
> Their Liberties are now in Armes": . . .

[2] Cp. Posthumus's words (*Cymb.* II. iv. 20-26):

> . . . "Our Countrymen
> Are men more order'd then when Julius Cæsar
> Smil'd at their *lacke of skill*, but found their courage
> Worthy his frowning at: Their discipline
> (Now mingled [wing-led F] with their courages) will make knowne
> To their Approuers, they are People such
> That mend vpon the world."

As to the military strength of Britain at the time of Caesar's invasion, *Hol.* says (ii., *The first inhabitation of Ireland*, 51/1/14): . . . "the British nation was then vnskilfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie vsed to the Picts and Irish enimies, people halfe naked, through *lacke of skill* easilie gaue place to the Romans force," . . .

true in the Britains, it is euident enough by *Strabos* words, which are in effect as followeth. "At this present (saith he) certeine "princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull "demeanors the amitie of the emperour Augustus, haue offered "in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined "the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar "to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which "they paie for wares, either to be sent foorth into Gallia, or "brought from thence, which are commonlie yuorie vessels, "sheeres, ouches, or earerings, and other conceits made of amber "& glasses, and such like manner of merchandize."

Strab. Geog.

[Respect shown to Augustus by the British princes.]

[Luxuries imported by Britain.]

Holinshed (*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 45/1/55) records an embassy from Augustus to Cymbeline, which may have given Shakspere a hint for the less peaceful mission of Caius Lucius.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 45/1/55.] About the same time [?25 B.C.] also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassador from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernement of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, sith the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

Kimbaline king of the Britains. [An ambassador from Augustus thanks him for his loyalty to the Romans.]

Caius Lucius demands a yearly tribute of three thousand pounds, which had been imposed on Cassibelan and "his Succession"[1] by Julius Caesar, but had been "lately . . . left vntender'd" by Cymbeline, Cassibelan's nephew (*Cymb.* III. i. 2—10). This pretension to tribute arose when Caesar, after defeating Cassibelan,[2] blockaded the residue of the British levies, so that—

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 30/2/73.] Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in couenanting to paie a yearlie tribute of three thousand pounds.

[Cassibelan agrees to pay a yearly tribute.] *So saith Campion, but Galfrid Monu. saith fiue thousand.*

[1] Tenantius, whom Cymbeline succeeded, "paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane [Tenantius's immediate predecessor] had granted."—*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 32/1/73.

[2] Holinshed's authorities are *Hist. Britt.* IV. x. 67, and Matthew of Westminster (ed. 1601, p. 38). According to them this success was the result of a third invasion by Caesar. The authentic account is that the Romans' second invasion of Britain closed with the submission of Cassivellaunus (or Cassibelan); and that Caesar, before leaving Britain for the last time, "obsides imperat, et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit" (*De Bello Gallico*, V. 22).

Shakspere forsook his authority in making Cymbeline refuse tribute.[1] The refusal came from Guiderius, as the following excerpt shows.

Guiderius.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 33/1/63.] Guiderius the first sonne of Kymbeline (of whom *Harison* saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuententh yeere after th' incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as *Gyldas* saith.[2]

[Guiderius refuses tribute to the Romans.]

In Holinshed's second volume, Guiderius's rebellion is thus narrated.

Kimbaline king of the Britains dieth.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 45/2/42.] . . . Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had beene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succeeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saued themselues within castels & fortresses.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth against the Romans.

The next point to be noticed is Cloten's rejection of tribute because "Britaine's a world by it selfe" (*Cymb.* III. i. 12, 13); a view which Shakspere may have gathered from one or all of the following passages.

Vnto what portion Britaine is referred.

[*Hol.* i. *Description of Britaine*, 2/1/30.] And whereas by Virgil [, who]—speaking of our Iland—saith;

Et penitùs toto diuisos orbe Britannos,[3]

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, bicause they excluded them (as you see) from the rest of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie sake

[1] In *The Faerie Queene*, II. x. 50, the Romans are said to have made war on Cymbeline because "their tribute he refusd to let be payd." "Soone after" the birth of Christ this war began. In the next stanza Arviragus is spoken of as Cymbeline's brother.

[2] Gildas records Boadicea's revolt (*Historia Gildae*, IV.). His book contains no mention of Guiderius.

[3] *Ecl.* I. 67.

of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by *Ptolome*, to *Europa*.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 34/1/10.] The souldiers [of Aulus Plautius] hearing of this voiage [to Britain], were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* include a panegyric by Claudius Mamertinus, whose congratulations were offered to the Emperor Maximian I., upon the reunion of Britain to the Empire, after the fall (A.D. 296) of the British Emperor Allectus, the panegyrist calling to mind how Caesar

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 57/2/60.] writ that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. [Caesar called Britain another world.]

Subsequently Maximian is thus addressed:

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 59/2/59.] Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glory of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. [By the conquest of Britain Maximian has gained another world.]

Cloten having renounced tribute, the Queen—scornfully appraising the value of that "kinde of conquest" which "Caesar made heere"—declares (III. i. 26—29) how

> his Shipping
> (Poore ignorant baubles!) on our terrible Seas,
> Like Egge-shels mou'd vpon their Surges, crack'd
> As easily 'gainst our Rockes.

Caesar, when he first invaded Britain, landed without his cavalry; the eighteen transports conveying those troops not having, pursuant to his orders, followed the fleet which bore him and the foot-soldiers. Failing in their attempt to prevent his disembarkation, the Britons sued for peace, and complied with his demand for hostages (*De Bello Gallico*, IV. 23-31).

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 25/2/60.] Peace being thus established after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britain, the 18 ships which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horssemen ouer, loosed from the further hauen with a soft wind. Which when they approched so neere the shore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Cesars campe might see them, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that none of them was able to [Caesar's 18 transports are seen off the coast of Britain.]

[They are dispersed by a tempest.] keepe his course, so that they were not onelie driuen in sunder (some being caried againe into Gallia, and some westward) but also the other ships that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer

[The ships at anchor are 'pitifullie beaten'; some are driven out to sea, and others are near sinking.] the armie, were so pitifullie beaten, tossed and shaken, that a great number of them did not onelie lose their tackle, but also were caried by force of wind into the high sea; the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perish and to be quite lost.[1]

The same misfortune befell Caesar on his second expedition to Britain. He landed unopposed, and, marching inland with the bulk of his forces, drove the Britons from a stronghold where they awaited his attack (*De Bello Gallico*, V. 8, 9).

[Caesar hears that his ships have been much bruised by a tempest, and dashed on the shore.] [*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 28/2/2.] The next day, as he had sent foorth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius,[2] that his nauie by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was greeuouslie molested, and throwne vpon the shore, so that the cabels and tackle being broken and destroied with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter.

The Queen's assertion (l. 26), that Caesar was "twice beaten" by the Britons, rests on the authority of chroniclers whose truthfulness was perhaps doubted even in Shakspere's day, though he found their narratives quoted along with the *Commentaries upon the Gallic War*. Caesar's account of his first expedition to these shores having been set forth by Holinshed, there follows what professes to be the British version of the events of this campaign.

Cæsar de bello Gallico, lib. 4. [*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 27/1/15.] ¶ Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iournie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which

[1] Below we read that "not hauing other stuffe to repaire his ships, he [Caesar] caused 12 of those that were vtterlie past recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempest, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which some recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended."—*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 26/1/31. (The famous words, "Veni, Vidi, Vici," are translated "I came, I saw, I ouercame," in the life of Julius Caesar in North's *Plutarch*, ed. 1579, p. 787.) It is possible that, before writing the Queen's harangue,—the aim of which is to show how Caesar's prosperity deserted him in Britain,—Shakspere glanced at Caesar's remark upon the unforeseen lack of cavalry to pursue the retreating Britons, after the legionaries had effected their landing: "And this one thing seemed onelie to disappoint the luckie fortune that was accustomed to follow Cesar in all his other enterprises."—*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 25/2/28 (*B. G.* IV. 26).

[2] Whom Caesar had left in charge of the fleet.

Polydor calleth the new historie)[1] declareth that Cesar in a pitcht field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. [The British history declares that Caesar was beaten in a pitched battle, and withdrew to Gaul.]

Caesar's account of his second invasion was also contradicted, another victory being claimed by the Britons.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 30/2/9.] Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. ¶ But our histor[i]es farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trees piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. *Gal. Mon. Matt. West.* [The British history affirms that Caesar's second invasion was repelled, and he fled to Gaul.]

The Queen also says that Cassibelan "was once at point . . . to master Cæsars Sword"[2] (*Cymb.* III. i. 30, 31). According to the *Historia Britonum*—referred to below as "The same historie"—Caesar actually lost his sword during the battle in which he met with the first of those defeats whereof the Queen reminds Caius Lucius.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 27/1/40.] The same historie also maketh mention of . . . Nenius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cesars swoord fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar stroke at him. [Caesar loses his sword.]

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[1] The "new historie," as Polydore Vergil calls it, is, I believe, the *Historia Britonum;* which contains (IV. iii. 58, 59) particulars of the "pitcht field." There is more about this victory, taken from *Boece* (31/40-80), in *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 27/1/73, &c. Posthumus's father Sicilius (*Cymb.* I. i. 29, 30),—

> "who did ioyne his House
> Against the Romanes with Cassibulan"

,—no doubt took part in this battle, where also, as *Hol.* records, Tenantius was present, from whom Sicilius "had his Titles" (l. 31).

[2] The Queen's expression—"*at point to master* Cæsar's Sword"—implies that his sword was nearly wrested from him by force, not caught by accident; and she has, it will be observed, attributed to Cassibelan the honour of this partial success. Caesar's sword was placed by Cassibelan in a sarcophagus, with the body of Nennius, who died fifteen days after the battle from a wound inflicted by this weapon, which was named "Crocea mors, quia nullus evadebat vivus qui eo vulnerabatur" (*Hist. Britt.* IV. iv. 60).

Caesar's second defeat was attended by rejoicings which the Queen connects with the Britons' first victory, when he lost his sword.

[The British rejoicings for their second victory.]

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 30/2/22.] For ioy of this second victorie (saith *Galfrid*) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

The scene of these rejoicings was "Luds-Towne," (*Cymb.* III. i. 32), known as Troinovant until it became the special care of Lud, Cassibelan's elder brother.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 23/1/59.] By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie[1] before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Courteously, but firmly, Cymbeline rejects the Roman demand, and bids Lucius say to Augustus (III. i. 55—62):

> Our Ancestor was that Mulmutius, which
> Ordain'd our Lawes, ...
> Who was the first of Britaine, which did put
> His browes within a golden Crowne, and call'd
> Himselfe a king.

Holinshed relates how, after the deaths of Ferrex and Porrex,[2] the last acknowledged descendants of Brutus, Britain was plunged into civil war, then became subject to a pentarchy of kings, and was finally reunited under one sceptre by Mulmucius Dunwallon, son of Cloton King of Cornwall. Among the great deeds of Mulmucius these are recorded:[3]

Matth. West. Lawes made [by Mulmucius, and

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 15/2/34.] He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out

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[1] Lud built there "a faire temple neere to his . . . palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules." —*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 23/1/59. Perhaps the temple in "Luds-Towne,"—assigned by Shakspere to "great Iupiter,"—where Cymbeline ratified peace with the Romans (*Cymb.* V. v. 481-483).

[2] Sons of Gorboduc, King of Britain. Their history is dramatized in our earliest tragedy, written by Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, and acted on January 18, 1561.

[3] The chapter containing these passages (bk. III. chap. i. p. 15) is headed: "Of Mulmucius the first king / of Britaine, who was crowned / with a golden crowne, his lawes, / his foundations, with other / his acts and deeds." Mulmucius "began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yeere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yeere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians."—*Ibid.*

of the British speech into the Latine by *Gildas Priscus*,[1] and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. . . . englished by Alfred].

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduice of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custom of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne heere in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors. *The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.*

V. iii.—Another part of *Cymbeline* for which Holinshed furnished matter is the description given by Posthumus (V. iii. 3—58) of the means whereby victory was transferred from the Romans to the Britons. The prowess of Belarius, and his adopted children, Guiderius and Arviragus, has a parallel in an exploit attributed to a Scottish husbandman named Hay, who, with his two sons' help, routed the Danes at the battle of Loncarty, fought A.D. 976. Before quoting the passages of Holinshed which relate to this event, I must premise that, while the issue of the battle was doubtful, the Scots embarrassed themselves by beheading those Danes who had fallen.[2]

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 155/1/48.] Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiuing that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed foorth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constreined to retire and flee backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must *The two wings of the Scots fled.* [Cp. *Cymb.* IV. iii. 5.]

[1] Generally known as Gildas Sapiens, born about A.D. 516.

[2] Two more possible traces of Shakspere's Holinshed-reading may be noticed. *a* In *Cymb.* III. v. 23, the king speaks of chariots as a British arm. Shakspere would find their use in warfare described by *Hol.* (i. *H. E.* 26/2/11), who took his account from Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*, IV. 33). *β* When Aulus Plautius was sailing to invade Britain, "the marriners and men of warre" were encouraged by seeing "a fierie leame [light] to shoot out of the east toward *the west*, which way their course lay," . . . (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 34/2/9). Cp. Philarmonus's answer to Caius Lucius, who asked for the soothsayer's dream "of this warres purpose" (*Cymb.* IV. ii. 348-352):

> "I saw Ioues Bird, the Roman Eagle, wing'd
> From the spungy South to this part of *the West*,
> Then vanish'd in the Sun-beames: which portends
> (Vnlesse my sinnes abuse my diuination)
> Successe to th' Roman hoast."

needes haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

Haie with his two sonnes

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiancie in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to doo the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongest other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine aliue after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most vnmercifull enimies. There was neere to the place of the battell, a long lane fensed on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

[hasted to aid the King, who was fighting in the middle-ward].

[Near the battle-field was a long lane, where the Danes slew the Scots in heaps (cp. *Cymb.* IV. iii. 6—14).]

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselues ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new power of Scotishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obteined of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they choose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellowes comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had beene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and therevpon ceassing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

Haie staied the Scots frō running away

['and spared . . . reach.' Cp. *Cymb.* IV. iii. 25—28].

The Scots were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellowes in great disorder.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Kenneth perceiuing his people to be thus

recomforted, and his enimies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now sith their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie vndoubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constreined to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scotish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chieflie was the victorie atchiued.

K. Kenneth called vpō his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

[The victory was won chiefly through Hay's means.]

I conclude with a list of personal names found in *Cymbeline*, which Shakspere may have picked up here and there from the pages of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

Cadwall, pseudonym of Arviragus (*Cymb.* III. iii. 95). Cadwallo King of Britain; began to reign A.D. 635 (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 112/1/65).

Cloten (*Cymb.* I. ii.). Cloton,[1] a king of Cornwall, father of Mulmucius Dunwallon (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 15/2/21).

Cornelius, a physician (*Cymb.* I. v.). The name of Cornelius Tacitus, the historian, occurs in *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 51/1/60, *et passim*.

Helene or Helen, Imogen's woman (*Cymb.* II. ii. 1). Helen, daughter of Coell King of Britain, and mother of Constantine the Great (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 62/1/57).

Imogen (*Cymb.* I. i.). Innogen,[2] wife of Brute, first ruler of Britain (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 8/2/48).

Lucius, ambassador from Augustus (*Cymb.* III. i.). Lucius King of Britain, who began to reign A.D. 124 (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 51/2/40). Also Lucius, a Roman "capteine" in Gaul, vanquished by Arthur King of Britain (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 91/1/39).

Morgan or Mergan,[3] pseudonym of Belarius (*Cymb.* III. iii. 106; V. v. 332). Margan, joint king of Britain, son of Henninus Duke of Cornwall, and Gonorilla eldest daughter of King Leir (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 13/2/56).

Polidore or Paladour (the latter spelling in *Cymb.* III. iii. 86),

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[1] On the same page his name appears as "Clotenus." As "Clotyn Duke of Cornewall" he is a character in *Gorboduc* (1st ed., 1565).

[2] "Innogen," the wife of Leonatus, is in the first Entry of *Much Ado* (Q1, 1600). *Cymbeline* was probably written about 1610.

[3] Spelt "Morgan" in Holinshed's "second table for the historie of Britaine and England." In the old *Leir*, Ragan's husband is Morgan King of Cambria.

pseudonym of Guiderius. The name of POLYDOR Virgil, the historian, occurs in *Hol.* i. *H. E.* 85/1/34, *et passim.*

POSTHUMUS (*Cymb.* I. i.). POSTHUMUS, a son of Aeneas and Lavinia, born after his father's death (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 7/1/40).

SICILLIUS, father of Posthumus (*Cymb.* I. i. 29). SICILIUS King of Britain, began to reign B.C. 430 (*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 19/2/46).

III. MACBETH.

THE historic time embraced by *The Tragedie of Macbeth* begins in 1040, when Duncan was slain, and ends with Macbeth's defeat by Siward on July 27, 1054. The historic Macbeth, however, escaped from the battle, and was killed in August, 1057.

Act I. sc. ii.—The following excerpts contain the materials for this scene. Shakspere was perhaps induced to make "the Norweyan lord" an ally of Macdonwald because Holinshed says that Sueno invaded Scotland[1] "immediately" after the suppression of the rebellion. Steevens conjectured that the mere official title ("sergeant at armes") of the messenger, who was sent to command the rebels' presence at Court, gave Shakspere a hint for introducing a sergeant, from whom Duncan learns the latest news of the revolt (I. ii. 2, 3).

Duncane. Duncan king of Scotland

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 168/2/12.] After Malcolme succeeded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcome had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sinell[2] the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not beene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue beene thought most woorthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature,[3] that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue beene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where

[cousin to Macbeth].

Makbeth [valiant, but somewhat cruel].

Duncan of too soft a nature.

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[1] These fictitious invasions of Sueno and Canute are, I believe, mentioned by no writer earlier than *Boece*, 247/55 b, &c.

[2] This name is variously spelt. *Fordun's* spelling is "Finele" (IV. xlix. 233), whence perhaps came *Boece's* "Synel" (246/64 b).

[3] With this description compare Macbeth's epithet, "the *gracious* Duncan" (III. i. 66).

the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a woorthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offendors, manie misruled persons tooke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

[Duncan was negligent in punishing offenders.]

Banquho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offendors, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doo to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grieuous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischiefous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Banquho thane of Lochquhaber.

The house of the Stewards.

A mutinie amongst the people of Lochquhaber.

A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his neerest friends and kinsmen, tooke vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle moonks in some cloister, than to haue the

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels

[He calls Duncan a faint-hearted milksop.]

rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He vsed also such subtill persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten togither a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne Iles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselues to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them.

[People from the western isles, and kerns and gallow-glasses from Ireland, help him. Cp. *Macb.* I. i. 12, 13.]

Makdowald discomfiteth the kings power.

Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, incountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force tooke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, did put him in woonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he asked of them their best aduise for the subduing of Makdowald & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his skill. At length Makbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slacknesse in punishing offendors, whereby they had such time to assemble togither, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquho, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrie.

The smal skil of the king in warlike affaires.

Makbeths offer [to subdue the rebels, in concert with Banquo].

Makbeth and Banquho are sent against the rebels. The rebels forsake their capteine.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent foorth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enimies in such feare, that a great number of them stale secretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuerthelesse inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, hee first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplie, he should haue beene executed in most cruell wise for an example

Makdowald slaieth his wife and children, & lastlie himselfe.

to other. Makbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Makdowald lieng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha.[1] The headlesse trunke he commanded to bee hoong vp vpon an high paire of gallows. . . . Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon woord came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Makdowald's head sent to the king. Makbeth's crueltie.

Justice & law restored.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fife.

The army raised to resist Sueno was divided into three "battels"; the van and rear being assigned to Macbeth and Banquo respectively, while Duncan commanded the main body. The events of the subsequent campaign—which ended with an overwhelming defeat of the Danes[2]—are not dramatized. Sueno, accompanied by a few survivors of the expedition, escaped to Norway.—*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 169/2/61—170/2/4.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 170/2/21.] The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day[3] ouer their enimies. But whilest the people were thus at their processions, woord was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne,[4] sent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To

Solemne processions for victorie gotten.

A power of Danes arriue at Kingcorne out of England.

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[1] According to *Boece* (278/45 b) the site of this town was near the modern Perth, founded by William the Lion to replace Bertha, which was destroyed by an inundation in 1210.

[2] The Scots won the victory by drugging the Danes, who incautiously accepted from Duncan a present of ale and bread, compounded with "the iuice of mekilwoort berries."—*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 170/1/41. In the Clarendon Press ed. of *Macbeth*, it is conjectured that "mekilwoort" is the "insane Root," spoken of by Banquo (I. iii. 84). The following description of the plant called by *Boece* "Solatium amentiale," and here englished as "mekilwoort," was omitted by *Hol.*, and Bellenden, the translator of Boece: "herba est ingentis quantitatis, acinos principio virides, ac mox vbi maturuerint purpureos & ad nigredinem vergentes habens, ad caulem enatos & sub foliis latentes seséque quasi retrahentes, vimque soporiferam, aut in amentiam agendi si affatim sumpseris habentes, magna vbertate in Scotia proueniens."—248/59 b.

[3] Cp. Macbeth's words (I. iii. 37): "*So* foule and *faire a day* I haue not seene."

[4] Kinghorn, Fife, on the Firth of Forth.

The Danes vanquished by Makbeth and Banquho.

resist these enimies, which were alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie, Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the enimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obteined of Makbeth for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch.[1]

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inch.

Act I. sc. iii.—II. iii.—It is possible that some passages in Holinshed, describing the bewitchment of Duff King of Scots, were in Shakspere's mind when he wrote the couplets detailing the First Witch's projects of revenge upon the sea-captain whose wife had insulted her (ll. 18—25). Duff could

[He could not sleep at night by any means.]

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 149/2/2.] not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised,[2] but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restreined. . . . But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores.[3]

Witches in Fores.

Becoming aware of this rumour, Duff sent certain trustworthy agents to the castle of Forres, which was held by his lieutenant Donwald, of whom we shall hear again. It chanced that a soldier in the garrison of the castle had a mistress by whom he was made acquainted with the practices and designs of her mother, who was one of the suspected witches, leagued with others for the destruction of Duff. Donwald being informed of these revelations, examined the witch's daughter, who acknowledged that what he had been told was true.

The witches are found out.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 149/2/59.] Wherevpon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought their

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[1] Inchcolm (S. Columba's Island), Firth of Forth. Cp. *Macbeth*, I. ii. 62-65:

> "Sweno, the Norwayes King craues composition;
> Nor would we deigne him buriall of his men,
> Till he disbursëd, at Saint Colmes ynch,
> Ten thousand dollars to our generall vse."

[2] Cp. *Macbeth*, I. iii. 19, 20:

> "Sleepe shall neyther Night nor Day
> Hang vpon his Pent-house Lid;" &c.

[3] Forres is about half way between Elgin and Nairn, and not far from the Moray Firth.

mischiefous mysterie, he sent foorth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches rosting vpon a woodden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie. *An image of wax rosting at the fire.*

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, tooke them togither with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake foorth in sweat. And as for the words of the inchantment, they serued to keepe him still waking from sleepe, so that as the wax euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the wax was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. *The witches were examined.* *The whole matter is confessed.* [The spell kept the king from sleeping; as the wax melted, so did his flesh.]

I now resume the thread of Macbeth's fortunes, from the time when, according to Holinshed (*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 170/2/45), a perpetual peace was established with the Danes.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 170/2/52.] Shortlie after happened a strange and vncouth woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie togither without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the middest of a laund,[1] there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuelie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said: "All haile, "Makbeth, thane of Glammis!"[2] (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said: "Haile, Makbeth, thane of Cawder!" [Macbeth and Banquo meet three women, in strange and *wild* apparel. Cp. *Macb.* I. iii. 40.] *The prophesie of three women supposing to be the weird sisters or feiries.*

[1] "Medio repente campo" (*Boece*, p. 249/42).
[2] Glamis is five and a half miles S.W. of Forfar.—*Bartholomew.*
[3] Cawdor Castle is five and a half miles S.W. of Nairn.—*Bartholomew.*

But the third said: "All haile, Makbeth, that heereafter shalt "be king of Scotland!"[1]

Then Banquho: "What manner of women" (saith he) "are you, "that seeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow "heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appoint- "ing foorth nothing for me at all?" "Yes" (saith the first of them) "we promise greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he "shall reigne in deed, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall "he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in his place, where "contrarilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those "shall be borne which shall gouerne the Scotish kingdome by long "order of continuall descent." Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantasticall illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, bicause euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken. For shortlie after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, liuings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mackbeth.[2]

A thing to wonder at.

[Macbeth (in jest) called King of Scotland.]

Banquho the father of manie kings.

[The women were goddesses of destinie, nymphs, or fairies.]

The thane of Cawder condemned of treason.

Mackbeth made thane of Cawder.

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[1] The following passage in *Wyntoun* (VI. xviii. 13-26) gives the earliest known form of this story (about 1424):

Á nycht he [Macbeth] thowcht in hys dremyng,
Đat syttand he wes besyd þe Kyng [Duncan]
At a Sete in hwntyng; swá
In-til his Leisch had Grewhundys twá.
He thowcht, quhile he wes swá syttand,
He sawe thre Wemen by gangand;
And þái Wemen þan thowcht he
Thre Werd Systrys mást lyk to be.
Đe fyrst he hard say gangand by,
"Lo, yhondyr þe Thayne of Crwmbawchty" [Cromarty].
Đe toþir Woman sayd agayne,
"Of Morave [Moray] yhondyre I se þe Thayne."
Đe thryd þan sayd, "I se þe Kyng."
All þis he herd in hys dremyng.

These thanedoms were afterwards conferred upon Macbeth by Duncan (ll. 27, 28).

[2] Cp. *Macbeth*, I. ii. 63-67; iii. 105-116.

The same night after, at supper, Banquho iested with him and said: "Now Mackbeth thou hast obteined those things which the "two former sisters prophesied, there remaineth onelie for thee to "purchase that which the third said should come to passe." Where-vpon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euen then to deuise how he might atteine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment. But shortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them, called Malcolme, prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceasse. Mackbeth sore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope sore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend vnto the crowne.[1]

Mackbeth deuiseth how he might atteine the kingdome.

The daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane. [Malcolm is made Prince of Cumberland, and Macbeth's succession to the throne is thus endangered.]

Mackbeth studieth which way he may take the kingdome by force.

The woords of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herevnto, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whome Banquho was the chiefest, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Enuerns,[2] or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixt yeare of

Prophesies mooue men to vnlawfull attempts.

Women desirous of high estate.

Mackbeth sleaeth king Duncane [with Banquo's connivance].

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[1] Cp. *Macbeth*, I. iv. 37; 48:

> "*King.* . . . We will establish our Estate vpon
> Our eldest, Malcolme; whom we name hereafter,
> The Prince of Cumberland": . . .
> . . . *Macb.* [*aside*]. The Prince of Cumberland!—that is a step
> On which I must fall downe, or else o'er-leape,
> For in my way it lyes."

[2] "Enuern[e]s" = Inverness.

Mackbeth vsurpeth the crowne.

his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclamed king, and foorthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he receiued the inuesture of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner.[1] The bodie of Duncane was first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill,[2] and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1046.[3]

Duncanes buriall. 1046. *H. B.*

On comparing the foregoing passages with the play, the reader will observe how closely Shakspere agrees with Holinshed in regard to (1) the weird sisters' apparition and predictions; (2) the effect on Macbeth's mind of Malcolm's recognition as Prince of Cumberland, or heir apparent; and (3) Lady Macbeth's urgency in prompting her husband to attempt Duncan's murder. Shakspere assumed that Cawdor's treason—the nature of which is not specified by Holinshed—consisted in secretly aiding the Norwegians. Banquo's fate could not have moved our pity, if the Chronicles had been followed in making him know of, perhaps even share, Macbeth's crime; and adherence to authority in this respect must have caused Macbeth to appear less sinful by comparison with his old associate, who, as Shakspere represents the matter, strenuously resisted those "cursed thoughts" (II. i. 8) which the weird sisters' prophecies had suggested.

No particulars of Duncan's murder are given. For these Shakspere turned to the murder of King Duff by Donwald. Duff (as we have seen) suffered from the effects of witchcraft. Regaining his former health after the witches' charm had been broken, he put to death the instigators of the sorcery practised against him. Among those thus executed were some kinsmen of Donwald, who, having vainly craved their pardon,

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 150/1/39.] conceiued such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that

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[1] Cp. *Macbeth*, II. iv. 31, 32:

> "*Rosse.* . . . Then 'tis most like
> The Soueraignty will fall vpon Macbeth.
> *Macd.* He is already nam'd, and gone to Scone
> To be inuested."

[2] Iona. Cp. *Macbeth*, II. iv. 32-35:

> "*Rosse.* Where is Duncan's body?
> *Macd.* Carried to Colmekill,
> The Sacred Store-house of his Predecessors
> And Guardian of their Bones."

[3] H[ector] B[oece's] date is wrong. Duncan was slain in 1040.—*M. Scottus* (*Pertz*, v. 557).

the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankefulnesse, hee found meanes to murther the king within the foresaid castell of Fores where he vsed to soiourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

Donwald conceiued hatred against the king.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceassed not to trauell with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwalds wife counselled him to murther the king.

[She showed Donwald how the king might be slain when lodging at Forres Castle.]

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whervpon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his curssed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart foorth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming foorth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had beene euer accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king.

The womans euill counsell is followed.

[The night before the King was to leave the castle he stayed late at his prayers.]

The king rewarded his friends.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came foorth againe, and then fell to

The king went to bed.

His chamberleins went to banketting.

banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remooued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe.

[Instigated by his wife, Donwald engages four of his servants to commit the murder.]

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeied his instructions, & speedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie buskling[1] at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horsse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had beene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. ¶ For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and streightwaies therevpon fled into Orknie.

The suborned seruants cut the kings throte.

The king his buriall.

The poore laborers are slaine.

Donwald kept himself amongst the watchmen.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in dooing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in

[1] Bustling, noise. "Nullo prope strepitu" (*Boece*, 222/40).

companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he foorthwith slue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had beene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in committing of that most detestable murther.

Donwald a verie dissembler [: he ransacked every corner of the castle to find the king's body, and slew the two chamberlains, as guilty of the murder].

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuere inquisition and triall of the offendors heerein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell foorth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogither cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue therevnto, and heere vpon got them awaie euerie man to his home.

Some wiser than other. The matter suspected.

The circumstances of Duff's murder, related above, have their dramatic parallels in (1) Duncan's presence as a guest in Macbeth's castle; (2) the part taken by Lady Macbeth in urging and planning the murder; (3) the drunken sleep of Duncan's chamberlains on the night of the murder; (4) Macbeth's precautionary slaughter of the chamberlains; (5) the suspicion caused by his over-acted horror when the murder was discovered.

We have seen how, in *Cymbeline*, Shakspere used a tradition of the three Hays' prowess at the battle of Loncarty, fought in the reign of Kenneth III., King of Scots. A story told of this Kenneth furnished, it has been conjectured,[1] a hint for some words of Macbeth (II. ii. 35; 41—43), uttered in the first agony of remorse for Duncan's murder:

[1] By Dr. Furness. See his variorum *Macbeth*, p. 359.

> Me thought I heard a voyce cry, "Sleep no more!" . . .
> Still it cry'd "Sleepe no more!" to all the House:
> "Glamis hath murther'd Sleepe, and therefore Cawdor
> "Shall sleepe no more; Macbeth shall sleepe no more!"

In order to obtain his son's succession Kenneth had secretly poisoned his nephew Malcolm,—son of the late King Duff,—who, by Scottish law, was the rightful heir to the throne. Kenneth ruled well; and his sole guilty deed remained undiscovered.

The king had a giltie conscience.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 158/1/9.] Thus might he seeme happie to all man, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most vnhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, vttering vnto him these or the like woords in effect: "Thinke "not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by "thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall "God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enter- "prising by traitorous meanes to doo that to thy neighbour, which "thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of "thy subiects, if it had beene offered to thy selfe. It shall there- "fore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, "through the iust vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer "woorthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie "for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret "practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, "that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou doost indeuour "to assure vnto thine issue."

A voice heard by the king.

[After hearing this voice the King passed a sleepless night.]

The king with this voice being striken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eies.

All now leave the stage except Duncan's sons, Malcolm and Donalbain, who, after a brief colloquy, resolve to fly from Scotland (II. iii. 141—152). Holinshed says that

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 171/1/73.] Malcolme Cammore and Donald

Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they might well know that Mackbeth would seeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie enterteinment: but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land.[1]

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane flee into Cumberland. Malcolme Cammore receiued by Edward king of England.

Act II. sc. iv.—Ross and an old man enter and talk of certain portents connected with Duncan's murder (1—20). Similar occurrences attended the murder of Duff, as my next excerpt shows.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 151/1/12.] For the space of six moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appeered no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds[2] arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction. . . .

Prodigious weather. [No sun or moon seen for six months, great winds &c.]

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 152/1/9.] Monstrous sights also that were seene within the Scotish kingdome that yeere were these: horsses in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. . . . There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle. Neither was it anie lesse woonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for six moneths

Horsses eate their owne flesh.

A sparhawke strangled by an owle.

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[1] Malcolm says: "Ile to England." Donalbain determines otherwise:

> "To Ireland, I; our seperated fortune
> Shall keepe vs both the safer: where we are,
> There's daggers in men's Smiles: the neere in blood,
> The neerer bloody."

II. iii. 143-147. By "England" and "Ireland" the kings of those countries are, I suppose, meant. Shakspere several times uses "England" in this sense: see, for example, *Macbeth*, IV. iii. 43, and *John*, III. iv. 8.

[2] Compare what Lennox says (II. iii. 59, 60), just before Duncan's murder is discovered:

> "The Night ha's been vnruly: where we lay,
> Our Chimneys were blowne downe"; . . .

space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murther of king Duffe was the cause heereof. . . .[1]

Two months—the utmost dramatic time, including intervals,[2] which can fairly be assigned to this play—left Shakspere no room to set forth Duncan's murderer as other than a graceless tyrant, led rapidly on from crime to crime. But the following passages witness that ten of the seventeen years of Macbeth's reign were distinguished by a just though rigorous government, harmful to none save lawbreakers and oppressors of the weak.

Mackbeths liberalitie.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 171/2/9.] Mackbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, vsed great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to

Mackbeth studieth to aduance iustice.

mainteine iustice, and to punish all enormities and abuses, which had chanced through the feeble and slouthfull administration of Duncane. . . . Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by anie disordered persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and

A kinglie endeuour.

buckler of innocent people; and hereto he also applied his whole indeuor, to cause yoong men to exercise themselues in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine seruice according to their vocations. . . .

[If Macbeth had been a lawful king, and if he had not proved a tyrant at last, he might have been accounted one of the best of princes.]

To be briefe, such were the woorthie dooings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had atteined therevnto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue beene numbred amongest the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holesome laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects. . . .

Makbeths counterfeit zeale and equitie.

These and the like commendable lawes[3] Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice.

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[1] An account of the execution of Duff's murderers is followed by these words: "This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murther was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreuenged."—*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 151/2/43. Cp. *Macbeth*, II. iv. 5-7.

[2] *T-A.*, 207, 208.

[3] Given in *Hol.* ii. *H. S.* pp. 171, 172, under this heading: "Lawes made by king Makbeth set / foorth according to Hector / Boetius."

Act III. sc. iii.—These words conclude all that is recorded in Macbeth's praise; and we then enter upon the second period of his reign, which is said to have begun "shortlie after" the close of his ten years of good rule.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 172/2/24.] But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination, to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessor. The woords also of the three weird sisters would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho, with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them; which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed; appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.[1]

Makbeths guiltie conscience.

[He remembered also the words of the weird sisters.]

Makbeths deuise to slea Banquho and his sonne [, Fleance]. [They were to be murdered as they returned from a supper at the palace, so that Macbeth might be held guiltless.]

It chanced yet, by the benefit of the darke night, that, though the father were slaine, the sonne yet, by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger; and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth woould haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepensed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales.

Banquho is slaine, but his sonne escapeth.

Fleance Banquhos sonne fleeth into Wales.

[1] Macbeth tells the men (III. i. 131-133), who had undertaken to slay Banquo and Fleance, that the murder

> "must be done to-Night,
> And something from the Pallace; alwayes thought,
> That I require a clearenesse": . . .

When the guests have retired from the supper to which Banquo had been invited, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth converse (III. iv. 128-130):

> *Macb.* How say'st thou, that Macduff denies his person
> At our great bidding?
> *Lady M.* Did you send to him, Sir?
> *Macb.* I heare it by the way; but I will send: . . .

Act III. sc. vi.[1]— Lennox enquires the issue of Macbeth's summons (ll. 40-43): "Sent he to Macduff?" And the Lord, with whom Lennox talks, replies:

> He did: and with an absolute "Sir, not I,"
> The clowdy Messenger turnes me his backe,
> And hums, as who should say, "You'l rue the time
> "That clogges me with this Answer."

Macduff's refusal to personally superintend the building of Dunsinane Castle may be held to stand for the affront which the dramatic Macbeth receives from the answer brought him by his "clowdy Messenger." This is the sole point of comparison with the following excerpt.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 174/1/26.] But to returne vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand that, after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

[Nothing prospered with Macbeth after Banquo's murder.]

Makbeths dread. His crueltie caused throgh feare.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were inriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell

[1] As to the impossibility of fixing the time of this scene, see *T-A.*, 205.

on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that, standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale,[1] as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell when, being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stuffe necessarie to the building could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth, being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

The castell of Dunsinane builded.

[Macbeth bade the thanes come to Dunsinane, and overlook the building of the castle.]

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe, thane of Fife, to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had doone, which he refused to doo, for doubt least the king, bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had doone vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said: "I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he "be ridden with a snaffle; but I shall prouide well inough for him."

Makduffe thane of Fife [sent workmen but refused to come himself, because he feared Macbeth would seize him.]

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Act IV. sc. i.—In the columns immediately preceding the excerpt which begins with the words "But to returne," Shakspere would find James VI.'s descent traced from Banquo.[2] Part of this genealogy may have suggested the stage direction, "A shew of eight Kings" (IV. i. 111). Banquo's chief descendants, in successive generations, were: Fleance; Walter, "who was made lord steward of Scotland"; Alan; Alexander; John; and Walter, who "maried Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second." The lineal successors of Robert II.—first of the Stewards who wore the crown, and first in the "shew of eight Kings"—were: Robert III. (2); James I. (3); James II. (4); James III. (5); James IV. (6); James V. (7); Mary; and James VI. (8), who, ere this play was acted, had become the first King of Great Britain and Ireland.

[1] "Stermond and Ernedale" are Stormont and Strathern, districts of Perthshire.

[2] This descent is fictitious. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, i. 572-574) has deduced the Fitz-Alans and the Stewards from a common ancestor, Alan, who was a contemporary of our Henry I.

Angered by the Thane of Fife's refusal to assist personally at the building of Dunsinane Castle, Macbeth could not

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 174/2/4.] afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence, (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him,) how that he ought to take heed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

Makbeths confidence in wizzards [, who told him to beware of Macduff].

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might doo what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleeued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outragious things, to the greeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had, in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.[1]

[A witch told him that no man born of woman should slay him, nor should he be vanquished till Birnam Wood came to Dunsinane Castle.]

[Macduff resolves upon going to England, and inviting Malcolm to claim the Scottish crown. Macbeth hears of this.]

Lynxs eies and Midas-eares. [Macbeth had spies in every nobleman's house.]

Act IV. sc. ii.—Macduff's flight to England is reported to Lennox by a Lord, who enters in a previous scene (III. vi. 29-31). As soon as the witches vanish, Macbeth hears the same news from Lennox, and thereupon forms this resolve (IV. i. 150-153):

> The Castle of Macduff, I will surprize;
> Seize vpon Fife; giue to th' edge o' th' Sword
> His Wife, his Babes, and all vnfortunate Soules
> That trace him in his Line.

[1] Cp. *Macbeth*, III. iv. 131, 132:

> "There's not a one of them but in his house
> I keepe a Seruant Feed."

On comparing the following passage with Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 80-85, it will be noticed that Shakspere did not allow Macbeth to personally direct the slaughter.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 174/2/37.] Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and foorthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuerthelesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hee might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends.

[Macbeth besieges Macduff's castle, but is admitted without resistance.]

Makbeths crueltie vsed against Makduffs familie.

Makduffe escapeth into England vnto Malcolme Commore.

Act IV. sc. iii.—The dialogue which succeeds the account (quoted below) of Macduff's meeting with Malcolm is freely paraphrased in this scene. In Holinshed the dialogue contains four clauses, namely: Malcolm's confessions of (1) incontinence, (2) avarice, (3) faithlessness, —each clause including Macduff's answers,—and (4) Malcolm's disavowal of his self-detraction. With these clauses compare the lines in Act IV. sc. iii., indicated by the following references: (1) ll. 57-76, (2) 76-90, (3) 91-114, (4) 114-132.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 174/2/53.] At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons; for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they susteined at such a caitifes hands.

Makduffes words vnto Malcolme [, declaring Macbeth's cruelty].

Malcolme, hearing Makduffes woords, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for meere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of

Malcolme sigheth [, whereupon Macduff urged that the enterprise was easy, because Malcolm's

[title was good, and the people hated Macbeth.] the Scotish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they dailie susteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and therevpon, dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth:

[But, though Malcolm was sorry for his countrymen, he dissembled, fearing that Macduff might be an emissary from Macbeth.]

Malcolme Cammore his answer.

"I am trulie verie sorie for the miserie chanced to my countrie "of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue "the same, yet, by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne [His vices: 1. Lust.] "in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust "and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all "vices) followeth me, that, if I were made king of Scots, I should "seeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in such wise that "mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than "the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is." Heerevnto Makduffe answered: "This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble "princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the "same; neuerthelesse there are women enow in Scotland, and "therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall "conueie the matter so wiselie, that thou shalt be so satisfied "at thy pleasure, in such secret wise that no man shall be aware "thereof."

Makduffes answer.

[Malcolm's 2nd vice: Avarice.] Then said Malcolme, "I am also the most auaritious creature "on the earth, so that, if I were king, I should seeke so manie "waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part "of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end "I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; . . . There-"fore" saith Malcolme, "suffer me to remaine where I am, least, "if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine vnquenchable "auarice may prooue such that ye would thinke the displeasures,

"which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vnmeasur-
"able outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you."

Makduffe to this made answer, how it was a far woorse fault than the other: "for auarice is the root of all mischiefe, and for "that crime the most part of our kings haue beene slaine and "brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my "counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and "riches inough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire." Then said Malcolme againe, "I am furthermore inclined to dissimula- "tion, telling of leasings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I "naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue "such as put anie trust or confidence in my woords. Then sith "there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, "veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of "those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in "soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; "you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: "and therefore, sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the "rest of my other vices, I praie you find shift to cloke this vice "amongst the residue."

[Macduff's answer:] *Couetousnesse the root of all mischiefe.*

[Malcolm's vices of] *Dissimulation and delliting in lies.*

Then said Makduffe: "This yet is the woorst of all, and there "I leaue thee, and therefore saie: Oh ye vnhappie and miserable "Scotishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie "calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one curssed and "wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or "title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other, "that hath the right to the crowne,[1] is so replet with the inconstant

Makduffes exclamation.

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[1] In ll. 108-111, Macduff refers to the saintly parents of Malcolm, who was "the truest Issue" of the Scottish throne. Perhaps Shakspere transferred to Malcolm's father, and to his mother,—of whom we know nothing,—the virtues which Malcolm himself possessed, and which were shared with him, in larger measure, by his wife Margaret. *Hol.* says (ii. *H. S.* 178/2/44):

. . . "king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himselfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in dooing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and such like godlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brief, herein there seemed to be in maner a certeine strife betwixt him and that vertuous queene his wife, which of them should be most feruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life."

King Malcolme, through exhortation of his wife, giueth himselfe to deuotion. A godlie strife.

"behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing "woorthie to inioy it; for by his owne confession he is not onelie "auaritious, and giuen to vnsatiable lust, but so false a traitor "withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie woord he speaketh. "Adieu, Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for "euer, without comfort or consolation:" and with those woords the brackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

Makduffe weepeth.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sleeue, and said: "Be of good comfort, Makduffe, for I "haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested "with thee in this manner, onelie to prooue thy mind; for diuerse "times heeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of "meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue "shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the "more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie heerevpon they imbraced ech other, and, promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect.

Malcolme comforteth Makduffe.

Makduffe & Malcolme imbrace ech other.

For the matter of the loyal digression (IV. iii. 140-159) which precedes Ross's entrance, Shakspere might have turned to Holinshed's first volume, where the subjoined account of Eadward the Confessor's miraculous gifts is to be found.

[Eadward's gift of prophecy, and power of healing the king's evil.]

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 195/1/50.] As hath beene thought, he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

The latter part of sc. iii., Act IV., from Ross's entrance, is wholly of Shakspere's invention, for, according to Holinshed, the slaughter of Lady Macduff and her children was known to Macduff before he joined Malcolm.

Act V. scc. ii.-viii.—The following excerpts illustrate the last Act of *Macbeth.*

Makduffe writeth letters to his friends in Scotland.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 175/2/35.] Soone after, Makduffe, repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was con-

federat with him, to come hastilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull vsurper.

Siward earle of Northumberland [sent, with 10,000 men, to support Malcolm against Macbeth].

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards hands, that *old Siward* earle of Northumberland was appointed *with ten thousand men* to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right.[1] After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heerevpon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes; for those that were of Malcolmes side would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale dailie from him; but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleeued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was born of anie woman.

The nobles of Scotland diuided.

Makbeth recoileth [to Dunsinane Castle].

Makbeth is counselled to flee into the Iles.

Makbeths trust in prophesies.

It has been conjectured that Shakspere was thinking of a later passage in the Chronicles when he made Macbeth call Malcolm's English allies "Epicures" (V. iii. 8). Malcolm III. (Canmore), Macbeth's successor, offended his Gaelic subjects by his partiality to English ideas and manners. On his death, in 1093, his brother Donalbain—who had lived under very different conditions—came

[1] Malcolm tells Macduff (IV. iii. 133-135):

> . . . "before thy [they F.] heere approach,
> *Old Seyward, with ten thousand* warlike *men*,
> Already at a point, was setting foorth."

forward as the representative of the old Scottish nation, and was chosen king, in exclusion of Malcolm's sons. To a people of few wants the standard of living adopted by a more luxurious society might appear to be mere sensual indulgence; and Donalbain owed some of his success to this feeling.

The respect that the people had to receiue Donald Bane for their king [was, that they hoped he would put down English gormandizing and riotous manners].

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 180/1/61.] For manie of the people, abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (bicause he had beene brought vp in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuere order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

I resume the illustrative excerpts from the point where we are told of Macbeth's trust in a prophecy that he could not be slain by any man who "was borne of anie woman."

[Malcolm comes to Birnam Wood.]

Branches of trees [borne by Malcolm's soldiers as they advance against Dunsinane].

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 176/1/1.] Malcolme, following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood; and, when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled.[1] Neuerthelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie; howbeit his enimies had scarselie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth, perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streict to flight; whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came

[Macbeth remembers the prophecy about Birnam Wood.]

Makbeth setteth his men in order of battell. Makbeth fleeth, & is pursued of Makduffe.

[1] There are stories, belonging to other times and places, of armies bearing leafy boughs while advancing upon the forces opposed to them. See Furness's ed. of *Macbeth*, pp. 379-381. The removal of Birnam Wood seems, however, to have been a tradition in *Wyntoun's* age (fourteenth century), for he says (VI. xviii. 379, 380):

"Đe flyttand Wod þai callyd ay
Đat [Birnam Wood] lang tyme eftyrehend þat day."

vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth, perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horsse, saieng: "Thou traitor, "what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me "that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne "of a woman? come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which "thou hast deserued for thy paines!" and therwithall he lifted vp his swoord, thinking to haue slaine him.

[Macbeth cannot (as he tells Macduff) be slain by any one born of a woman.]

But Makduffe, quicklie auoiding from his horsse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked swoord in his hand) saieng: "It "is true, Makbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an "end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thee of; who "was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe:" therewithall he stept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeeres ouer the Scotishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward, by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yeere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yeere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

[Macduff answers that he was not born of his mother, but ripped out of her womb.]

Makbeth is slaine.

1057. *Io. M.*[1]
1061. *H.B.*
8. *H. B.*

When Earl Siward hears of his son's death, he asks: "Had he his hurts before?" And on Ross answering, "I, on the Front," the old warrior exclaims (V. viii. 46-50):

> Why, then Gods Soldier be he!
> Had I as many Sonnes as I haue haires,
> I would not wish them to a fairer death:
> And so, his Knell is knoll'd.

This event was derived from another account of the war with Macbeth, given in Holinshed's first volume.

[*Hol.* i. *H. E.* 192/1/27.] About the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne[2] (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentieth yeare, as should appeare by the Scotish writers,

Matth. West. 1054
Hector Boet.

[1] John Mair or Major, a Scottish divine and historian, whose *Historia Gentis Scotorum* appeared in 1521. He died about 1549. His date (1057) for Macbeth's death is confirmed by *M. Scottus* (*Pertz*, v. 558).

[2] Eadward was crowned on Easter Day (April 3), 1043.—*A-S. Chron.* (*M. H. B.*), 434.

[Siward went into Scotland with an army, defeated Macbeth, and placed Malcolm on the Scottish throne.] *Simon. Dun. M. West.*

Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horssemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth[1] that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and, that doone, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. . . .

[In this battle with Macbeth, a son of Siward was slain, but Siward rejoiced when told that his son's death-wound was in front.]

It is recorded also, that, in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet, when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie, in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as *Henrie Hunt.* saith)[2] that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart: "I reioise (saith he) euen with all "my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my "selfe any other kind of death."

[It is also reported that Siward's son invaded Scotland before this battle, and was slain, whereupon his father (hearing of the death-wound in front) said that neither of them would wish any other kind of death.]

Malcolm's closing speech (V. viii. 60-75) is illustrated by the subsequent passage, which comprises the names of several characters who appear in *Macbeth.*

Malcolme.

[Malcolm crowned at Scone.]

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 176/1/47.] Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yeere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone[3]

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[1] Macbeth was defeated by Siward on July 27, 1054.—*A-S. Chron.* (*M. H. B.*, 453). Macbeth's escape from the battle is recorded in the Cottonian MS. (Tiberius, B. 1.) of the *A-S. Chron.*

[2] *Henr. Hunt* (*M. H. B.*, 760 B): "Circa hoc tempus [1052] Siwardus Consul fortissimus Nordhumbre . . . misit filium suum in Scotiam conquirendam." The passage given in my excerpt from Holinshed ("whose hap was . . . kind of death") is taken from Henry, who proceeds thus: "Siwardus igitur in Scotiam proficiscens, regem bello vicit, regnum totum destruxit, destructum sibi subjugavit."

[3] Cp. the closing lines of *Macbeth:*

> "So thankes to all at once, and to each one
> Whom we inuite to see vs Crown'd at Scone."

, the 25 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Makbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those, that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them, that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, . . . Leuenox, . . . Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue beene heard of amongst the Scotishmen[1] (as their histories doo make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, . . . Seiton, . . . with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time.

A parlement at Forfair.

Thanes changed into earles.

Surnames.

IV. JOHN.

The Shaksperian play entitled *The life and death of King Iohn* opens shortly after the King's first coronation, on Ascension Day (May 27), 1199; and closes with his death on October 19,[2] 1216. This is also the time embraced by an anonymous writer's *Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England*, 1591; a play which Shakspere has closely followed, without making any independent use of historical sources. The author of *The Troublesome Raigne* probably derived most of his historical matter from Holinshed; from whose Chronicles the larger part of the succeeding excerpts is taken.

Act I. sc. i.—I begin with the excerpts which form the sources of the opening scene.

[*Hol.* iii. 157/1/11.] Iohn the yoongest son of Henrie the second was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the sixt daie of April,[3] in the yeare of our Lord 1199. . . . This

Anno Reg. 1.

Rog. Houed.

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[1] "*Mal.* . . . My Thanes and Kinsmen,
Henceforth be Earles, the first that euer Scotland
In such an Honor nam'd."

[2] Or October 18. The words in *M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 668, are: "Qui [Johannes] postea, in nocte quae diem sancti Lucae Evangelistae proxime secuta est, ex hac vita migravit." *Coggeshale* (184) says that John died about midnight, "in festo Sancti Lucae evangelistae."

[3] The date of Richard I.'s death. But John's regnal years are computed from his coronation on Ascension Day (May 27), 1199.

man, so soone as his brother Richard was deceassed, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepstow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and also to see his peace kept; togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme; whilest he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laie, which was foorthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the said Robert de Turneham deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For, by generall consent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and souereigne lord of the same countries.

Matth. Paris. *Chinon* [delivered to John by] *Robert de Turneham* [, and] *Sawmer.* *Rog. Houed.* *Thomas de Furnes* [delivered Angiers to Arthur. Arthur acknowledged in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.].

Strife amongst the English subiects on the other side of the sea.

For euen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes, on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilest he liued, fell at ods among themselues, some of them indeuouring to preferre king Iohn, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine: considering that he seemed by most right to be their cheefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geffrey elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in processe of time insued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.

[Arthur son to Geoffrey, elder brother to John.]

Now whilest king Iohn was thus occupied in recouering his brothers treasure, and traueling with his subiects to reduce them to his obedience, queene Elianor his mother, by the helpe of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the English people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king Iohn. . . .

[Eleanor strove to make the English swear fealty to John.]

[*Hol.* iii. 158/1/42.] And all this was doone cheeflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loued. For she, being bent to prefer hir sonne Iohn, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, com-

[John owed his crown chiefly to Eleanor.]

paring oftentimes the difference of gouernement betweene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as Iohn was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. . . .

[She urged that John was 32, Arthur but a babe to speak of.]

Surelie queene Elianor the kings mother was sore against hir nephue Arthur, rather mooued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw, if he were king, how his mother Constance would looke to beare most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe[1]. . . .

Queene Elianors enuie against Arthur.

Constance, dutchesse of Britaine [would rule in England, if Arthur were king].

When this dooing of the queene was signified vnto the said Constance, she, doubting the suertie of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who, receiuing him into his tuition, promised to defend him from all his enimies, and foorthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French souldiers.

[Arthur entrusted by Constance to Philip's care.]

There is no historical authority for Chatillon's embassage; nor did Philip demand that England and Ireland should be yielded to Arthur. Immediately after Richard I.'s death, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine acknowledged, as we have seen, Arthur's right, while England passed without question under the dominion of John. Such was the position of affairs at the coronation of John, shortly after which event the action of both plays begins with Chatillon's embassy.

Chatillon having departed, John says (I. i. 48, 49):

> Our Abbies and our Priories shall pay
> This expeditions charge.

Faulconbridge is commissioned to wring from "hoording Abbots" the money needed (III. iii. 6-11), and afterwards we hear that he is in England, "ransacking the Church" (III. iv. 171, 172). Shakspere merely tells us what the older dramatist brings on the stage, in a scene when the Bastard visits a Franciscan friary, to collect money for John. Perhaps Shakspere's precursor embellished a case recorded by Holinshed, which gave the regular clergy special ground to complain of John's harshness. In 1200[2] he ordered that horses and cattle belonging to "the white moonks" (Cistercians), and left by them in his forests after October 13, should be forfeited to him.

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[1] Eleanor to Constance (II. i. 122, 123):

> "Out, insolent! thy bastard shall be King,
> That thou maist be a Queen, and checke the world!"

[2] In 1210, after his return from an expedition into Ireland, John extorted £100,000 from the regular clergy and military orders. "The moonks of the Cisteaux order, otherwise called white moonks, were constreined to paie 40 thousand pounds of siluer at this time, all their priuileges to the contrarie notwithstanding."—*Hol.* iii. 174/2/61 (*M. Paris*, ii. 530, 531).

[The Cistercians would give John nothing towards the payment of the £30,000 (30,000 marks.—*Coggeshale*, 101, 103) which he had promised Philip.]

[*Hol.* iii. 162/1/44.] The cause that mooued the king to deale so hardlie with them was, for that they refused to helpe him with monie, when before his last going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the paiment of the thirtie thousand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king.

King John is then required to hear the appeal of Robert Faulconbridge, who claims his paternal inheritance, on the ground that his elder brother, Philip, is illegitimate. Concerning Philip (or Richard) Faulconbridge's historic original, Holinshed records that, in the year 1199,

Philip king Richards bastard son slue the vicount of Limoges.

[*Hol.* iii. 160/2/69.] Philip, bastard sonne to king Richard,[1] to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell.

Faulconbridge's choice is the chief subject of the scene in which he is first presented to us, and he is best remembered in connexion with this supreme moment of his life. A like choice was made by the renowned Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, whom we meet with in the *First Part of Henry VI.* It is possible that the earlier dramatist (whose Faulconbridge was inherited by Shakspere) availed himself of the main situation in Dunois's case; to which more effect was given by bringing on the stage a legitimate younger brother, who vehemently urges his right, and is supported by his mother, who is anxious to conceal her shame. These additions are, as the reader will perceive, the most important modifications in the following story, which is narrated by Halle (6th of Hen. VI., pp. 144, 145).

Lewes Duke of Orleance (murthered in Paris[2] by Ihon Duke of Burgoyne) . . . was owner of the Castle of Coucy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys; whereof he made Constable the lord of Cauni, a man not so wise as his wyfe was fayre; and

[1] Mr. Watkiss Lloyd (*Essays on Shakspere*, ed. 1875, p. 196) saw a resemblance both in name and character between Faulconbridge and Falco de Brenta or Faukes de Breauté, whom *Hol.* calls Foukes de Brent. *Hol.* relates how Faukes served John in the barons' war (1215-16), and afterwards aided the royalists in their struggle with Lewis. Another bastard Fauconbridge—"a man of no lesse corage then audacitie" (see illustration of 3 *Hen. VI.*, I. i. 239), "a stoute harted manne" (*Hardyng-Grafton*, 459)—was a contemporary of Edward IV.

[2] In 1407. Lewis Duke of Orleans was brother to Charles VI. John Duke of Burgundy, their first cousin, is present—but does not speak—in *Henry V.* III. v.

yet she was not so faire, but she was aswell beloued of the duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceiued a child, and brought furth a prety boye called Ihon; whiche chylde beynge of the age of one yere, the Duke disceased, and not longe after the mother and the lorde of Cawny ended their lyues. The next of kynne to the lord Cawny chalenged the enheritaunce, which was worth four thousand crownes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers syde, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denyed. In conclusion, this matter was in contention before the Presidentes of the parliament of Paris, and there hanged in controuersie tyll the child came to the age of .viij. yeres old. At whiche tyme it was demaunded of him openly [*p.* 145] whose sonne he was: his frends of his mothers syde aduertised him to requyre a day, to be aduised of so great an answere; whiche he asked, & to hym it was graunted. In the meane season his sayed frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the lord of Cawni, which was an honorable liuinge, and an auncient patrimony; affirming that, if he said contrary, he not onely slaundered hys mother, shamed himself, & stayned hys bloud, but also should haue no lyuyng, nor any thynge to take to. The scolemaister, thinking that hys disciple had well learned his lesson, & woulde reherse it according to hys instruccion, brought hym before the Iudges at the daye assigned; and, when the question was repeted to him again, he boldly answered, "my harte geueth me, and my noble corage "telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce; "more glad to be his Bastarde, wyth a meane liuyng, then the "lawful sonne of that coward cuckolde Cauny, with hys foure "thousande crounes [a year]." The iustices muche merueyled at his bolde answere, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shamynge of his mother; and his fathers supposed[1] kinne reioysed in gayninge the patrimony & possessions. Charles, Duke of Orleance, hearynge of thys iudgement, toke hym into his family and gaue him great offices & fees, which he wel deserued, for

[The wife of the Lord of Cauny was beloved by Lewis Duke of Orleans. She brought forth a boy,

[whom her husband's next of kin alleged to be a bastard.]

[The child's legitimacy was debated before the Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, and, when he was eight, he was called upon by them to say whose son he was.]

[The boy answered that he was not coward cuckold Cauny's lawful son, but the noble Duke's bastard.]

[1] ? supposed father's.

[Charles Duke of Orleans provided for the boy, who afterwards did the Duke good service.]

(duryng his [the Duke's] captiuitie)[1] he [Dunois] defended his [the Duke's] landes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliueraunce.

Stow (256) has a similar story:

Morgan, a bastard [son of Henry II.], *elected Byshoppe of Durham.*

Morgan, Prouost of Beuerley, brother to K. Iohn, was elected byshop of Durham, but he comming to Rome to be consecrated, returned againe without it, for that he was a bastard, and K. Henry, father to K. Iohn, had begotten him of the wife of one Radulph Bloeth; yet would the Pope haue dispensed with him, if he would haue called himselfe the son of the knight, and not of the king. But he, using the aduise of one William of Lane his Clarke, aunswered, that, for no worldly promotion, he would deny the kings blood.

[The Pope would have consecrated him, if he had denied the King's blood.]

King Richard, says the younger Faulconbridge (I. i. 99-101), took advantage of Sir Robert's absence

> in an Embassie
> To Germany, there, with the Emperor
> To treat of high affairs touching that time.

Perhaps Sir Robert Faulconbridge usurped the mission of William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor; sent by Richard, in 1196, to confer with the Emperor Henry VI., who was anxious to prevent peace being made between the King and Philip of France (*Hol.* iii. 148/1/25). Or we may imagine that Sir Robert was one of the "diuerse noble men" who represented Richard at the coronation of the Emperor Otto IV., in 1198 (*Hol.* iii. 152/2/69). The objection, that neither of these dates is consistent with Faulconbridge's dramatic age, need not trouble us, for Richard—who sent Sir Robert to Germany—began to reign in 1189, and Faulconbridge could not therefore have numbered more than ten historic years at the opening of Act I. in 1199.

The Bastard would not have his mother sorrow for her weakness, because (I. i. 268, 269),

> He, that perforce robs Lions of their hearts,
> May easily winne a womans.

A reference to a well-known story, which Fabyan thus notices (304):

[Richard tore out a lion's heart.]

It is red of this Rycharde, that, durynge ye tyme of his Inprysonement [in Germany], he shuld sle a lyon, & tere ye Harte out of his body, where through he shuld deserue ye name of Rycharde Cure de Lyon,[2] . . .

[1] In England, from 1415, when he was taken prisoner at Agincourt, to his release in 1440.

[2] *Hol.* (iii. 156/1/60) gives another reason for this name:

His disposition of mind.

"As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that, not without cause, he obteined the surname of *Cueur de lion*, that is to saie, 'The lions hart.'"

Acts II.-III.—The historic time of Acts II. and III. extends to nearly three years; beginning at the interview of John and Philip "on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie" (August 16), 1199, and ending "on Lammas daie" (August 1), 1202, when Arthur was taken prisoner by John. Since these Acts contain so much warfare for the possession of Angers, I quote here Holinshed's mention of the winning of this place by Eleanor in 1199; and also his account of its capture by John in 1206.

[*Hol.* iii. 158/2/25.] In [1199] . . . his mother queene Elianor, togither with capteine Marchades, entred into Aniou, and wasted the same, bicause they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their souereigne lord and gouernour. And, amongst other townes and fortresses, they tooke the citie of Angiers, slue manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.

The citie of Angiers taken.

[*Hol.* iii. 170/1/27.] [In 1206 John] entred into Aniou, and, comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horssemen to compasse the towne about, whilest he, with the residue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go to assault the gates. Which enterprise with fire and sword he so manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entered and deliuered to the souldiers for a preie. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the wals of the citie beaten flat to the ground.

Les annale de France. Polydor.

King Iohn wan the citie of Angiers by assault.

Holinshed records nothing which warrants Constance's aspersion of Queen Eleanor's fair fame (II. i. 129-131):

> My boy a bastard! by my soule, I thinke
> His father neuer was so true begot:
> It cannot be, and if thou wert his mother.

In 1151 Eleanor was divorced by Lewis VII. of France, and was soon afterwards married to Henry II.,—then Count of Anjou,—"contrary" (says Fabyan) "to the commaundement of his Fader, for he hadde shewed to hym that he had lyen by her, whan he was y^e^ sayd Kynges Steward."—281. According to Stow (213), "she was defamed of adultery with an Infidell, &c."[1]

Provoked by Constance's railing, Eleanor asserts that a will exists which "barres the title" of Arthur (II. i. 192). This will was made by Richard, who

[*Hol.* iii. 155/2/69.] feeling himselfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to

[1] Cp. also the ballad entitled "Queen Eleanor's Confession," in Percy's *Reliques.*

He ordeineth his testament.

be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going foorth towards the holie land.

[He assigned the crown of England to John.]

[*p.* 156] Unto his brother Iohn he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie vnto him.

I now resume Holinshed's narrative of the events which followed John's coronation.

Arthur duke of Britaine made knight.

[*Hol.* iii. 160/2/4.] king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine, knight, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire; to wit, on the morrow [Aug. 16] after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Guleton.[1] Within three daies after, they came togither personallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betweene them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Veulquessine[2] to be restored vnto him, as that which had beene granted by Geffrey earle of Aniou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewes le Grosse, to haue his aid then against king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholie resigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.

[John and Philip meet.]

The French kings demand.

But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king Iohn would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of anie agreement.

About two months after this fruitless interview, William des Roches, Arthur's general, stole Arthur away from Philip, and effected a temporary reconciliation between the uncle and nephew. Des Roches also surrendered Le Mans to John, who entered the town and there met Constance and Arthur. But, being warned that John meant to

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[1] *Boteavant*, near Portmort, Normandy, and *le Goulet*, in the same duchy.

[2] Cp. John's gift to Lewis (II. i. 527-529):

> "Then do I giue Volquessen, Toraine, Maine,
> Poyctiers, and Aniow, these fiue Prouinces,
> With her to thee"; . . .

Shakspere follows *T. R.*, i. 29.

imprison him, Arthur fled with Constance to Angers (Angiers), where she repudiated her second husband Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and married Guy de Thouars. This third marriage took place in the very year (1199) when the dramatic Constance may be supposed to give Austria [1] "a widdows thanks" (II. i. 32) for championing Arthur.—*Hoveden*, iv. 96, 97.

Blanch of Castile was not present at the interview between John and Philip,—which took place in August, 1199,—or at their later meeting described below; and the circumstances of her subsequent betrothal—on May 23, 1200—bore no resemblance to those imagined by the dramatists. What Holinshed says of the later conference between the two kings should be compared with Shakspere's version (II. i. 484-530), which is based on the older play.

[*Hol.* iii. 161/1/53.] Finallie, vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his reigne, they came eftsoones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Lisle Dandelie;[2] where finallie they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, & neece to K. Iohn by his sister Elianor. *Anno Reg.* 2 *A peace concluded with a marriage.*

In consideration whereof, king Iohn, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in siluer, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said neece, resigned his title to the citie of Eureux, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by couenants of the same agreement. The French king restored also to king Iohn (as *Rafe Niger* writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the castels and fortresses which he had taken *Matth. Paris.* [Blanch's dowry.] [Angers restored to John.] *Ra. Niger*

[1] The dramatic "Austria" has not even a nominal historic existence: he is a compound of Leopold Duke of Austria and Widomar Viscount of Limoges. The former—who imprisoned Richard (*Coggeshale*, 56)—died on December 26, 1195 (*Coggeshale*, 66); four years prior to the opening of this play. Richard was mortally wounded while besieging Widomar's castle of Chaluz Chabrol (*Coggeshale*, 95), and died on April 6 (*Diceto*, ii. 166) or April 7 (*Coggeshale*, 96), 1199.

[2] In January, 1200, Philip and John "convenerunt ad colloquium inter Andeli et Gwallun" [*Andeli*, Normandy, and *Gaillon*, Vexin], where they made this agreement.—*Hoveden*, iv. 106. On May 22 they met again between Boteavant and le Goulet.—*Hoveden*, iv. 114. (As to *Hoveden's* probable error in naming Midsummer Day for Ascension Day, see Dr. Stubbs's note in his ed. of *Hoveden*, iv. 114.) A third meeting of John and Philip took place at Vernon (Normandy) on May 23, and Arthur then did homage to John for Brittany. On the same day Lewis and Blanch were betrothed at Portmort.—*Hoveden*, iv. 115. (According to *Itinerary*, John was at Butavant on May 16, and at Roche-Andely from May 17 to May 25.)

[John did homage to Philip for Brittany, and received homage for the same from Arthur.]

within Touraine: . . . The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmont, of his nephue Arthur. . . .

By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanch, the right of king Iohn went awaie; which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Eureux, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau Roux or Raoul, Cressie and Isoldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Veuxin or Veulquessine, which is a part of the territorie of Gisors: the right of all which lands, townes and countries was released to the king of France by K. Iohn, who supposed that by his affinitie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for euer. And, in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid Blanch should be conueied into France to hir husband with all speed. That doone he returned into England.

[Territory surrendered by John.] *Polydor.*

The king cometh backe againe into England.

Arthur's homage to John for Brittany—referred to in my last excerpt—was performed on May 23, 1200,[1] when

[*Hol.* iii. 162/1/22.] king Iohn and Philip king of France met togither neere the towne of Vernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as vassall to his vncle king Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & those other places which he held of him on this side and beyond the riuer of Loir, and afterward, still mistrusting his vncles curtesie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himselfe to his said vncle, who (as he supposed) did beare him little good will.

Arthur duke of Britaine doth homage to the king of England.

[Arthur, mistrusting John, returned with Philip.]

Perhaps this is the ceremony which has received such a liberal expansion in John's promise (II. i. 551-552):

> . . . wee'l create yong Arthur duke of Britaine,
> And Earle of Richmond, . . .

When Pandulph enters (III. i. 134) and demands, in Pope Innocent's name, why John continues to

> Keepe Stephen Langton, chosen Archbishop
> Of Canterbury, from that holy Sea?

we are transported from the day of Lewis's betrothal (May 23, 1200)

[1] See note 2, p. 53.

to the summer of 1211. The dispute which caused Innocent III.'s complaint arose after the death (on July 13, 1205.—*Coggeshale*, 156) of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury. To fill Hubert's place had been elected Reginald Sub-Prior of the conventual church at Canterbury, and Walter de Grey Bishop of Norwich, John's chaplain and nominee for the vacant archbishopric.

Stephan Langton chosen archbishop of Canturburie by yᵉ popes appointment.

[*Hol.* iii. 170/2/74.] But [*p.* 171] after the pope was fullie informed of the manner of their elections, he disanulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the moonks of Canturburie (of whome manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to choose one Stephan Langton the cardinall of S. Chrysogon, an Englishman borne, and of good estimation and learning in the court of Rome, to be their archbishop. . . .

King Iohn writeth vnto the pope [, refusing to accept Langton].

The king, sore offended in his mind that the bishop of Norwich was thus put beside that dignitie, to the which he had aduanced him, . . . wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderstand for answer, that he would neuer consent that Stephan, which had beene brought vp & alwaies conuersant with his enimies the Frenchmen, should now inioy the rule of the bishoprike and dioces of Canturburie. Moreouer, he declared in the same letters, that he maruelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not consider how necessarie the freendship of the king of England was to the see of Rome, sith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this side the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would stand to the death, if the matter so required.

How gainfull England was to the court of Rome.

[John would die for the liberties of the crown.]

In 1208 Innocent,

1208.

The pope writeth to the bishops [, commanding them to lay John and his realm under an interdict, if Langton were not suffered to occupy the see of Canterbury]. *Matt. Paris Nic. Treuet.*

[*Hol.* iii. 171/2/67.] perceiuing that king Iohn continued still in his former mind (which he called obstinacie), sent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William bishop of London, to Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Mauger bishop of Worcester, commanding them that, vnlesse king Iohn would suffer peaceablie the archbishop of Canturburie to occupie his see, and his moonks their abbie, they should put both him and [*p.* 172] his land vnder the sentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainelie accurssed.

The bishops then had an audience of John, whom they warned of the charge which they had received, but he refused to obey Innocent

and dismissed them with threats. The interdict having been imposed, John foresaw that Innocent might

[John feared that his subjects might be absolved of their allegiance by Innocent.]

[*Hol.* iii. 172/1/65.] proceed further, and absolue all his subiects of their allegiance which they owght to him, and that his lords would happilie reuolt and forsake him in this his trouble.

In the summer of the year 1211,[1]

Pandulph & Durant the popes legats. Polydor. [They exhorted John, "with manie terrible words," to obey the Church, but, though he heard them "quietlie," he would not yield.]

[*Hol.* iii. 175/1/8.] the pope sent two[2] legats into England, the one named Pandulph[3] a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who, comming vnto king John, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his stubborne disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdooings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and, bringing them to Northampton, being not farre distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne foorth of Wales, had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to preests which he had seized vpon, neither of those that apperteined to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope, the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

[They left him and his land accursed.]

The following passages should be compared with two speeches of Pandulph (III. i. 172-179; 191-194), in which he pronounces a subject "blessed" who forswears "Allegeance to an heretique"; and exhorts Philip, if John continue obstinate, to "raise the power of France vpon his head."

Polydor.

[*Hol.* iii. 175/2/17.] In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that king Iohn would not be ordered by him, determined, with the consent

[1] John met the legates at Northampton, on August 30, 1211.—*Ann. Waverl.*, 268 (cp. *Ann. Burton*, 209, and *Itinerary*, an. 13).

[2] *Fab.* says (318): "ye Pope sent ii. Legattys; or, after some wryters, one Legat, named Pandulphus," . . .

[3] In answer to Pandulph, John, speaking with the mouth of Henry VIII., claims spiritual supremacy (III. i. 155-158). Perhaps the parallel speech in *T. R.* was an anachronistic development of an opinion held by a contemporary of John, a theologian named Alexander the Mason, who asserted "that it apperteined not to the pope, to haue to doo concerning the temporall possessions of any kings or other potentats touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects" (*Hol.* iii. 174/1/7).

of his cardinals and other councellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelats being there with him, to depriue king Iohn of his kinglie state; and so first absolued all his subiects and vassals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his depriuation vnto the French king and other christian princes; admonishing them to pursue king Iohn, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned, as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoeuer imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and ouercome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, not onlie in their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

[After the legates' return, Innocent deposed John, and exhorted Philip and other Christian princes to make war on him "as a common enimie to God and his church."]

[Innocent also conferred on those who helped to overthrow John the same benefits as were enjoyed by pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.]

But yet, that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holinesse, than to haue king Iohn to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiuenesse for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English exiles, to go into France, togither with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops; giuing him in commandement that, repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be doone against king Iohn, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse excommunicated.

Pādulph sent into France to practise with the frēch king, for king Iohn his destruction.

Pursuing the course of history we have now reached 1212,[1] but the action of the play brings us back to August 1, 1202.[2] In the latter year[3] war again broke out between France and England, and Arthur,

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[1] The year in which John was deposed.

[2] In a letter addressed "omnibus baronibus suis," John says that he reached Mirabeau "ad festum beati Petri ad Vincula" (August 1), and there took Arthur prisoner. This letter, preserved by *Coggeshale* (137, 138), was englished by *Hol.* (iii. 165/1/9, &c.).

[3] *Hol.* (iii. 164/1/49, &c.), citing *M. Paris* (ii. 477), says: "In the yeare 1202 king Iohn held his Christmasse at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met togither, neere vnto the castell of Gulleton [le Goulet], and there in talke had betweene, he commanded king Iohn with no small arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promise, to restore vnto his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine, all those lands now in his possession on that side the sea, which king Iohn earnestlie denied to doo, wherevpon the French king immediatlie after began war against him," . . .

with the help of two hundred knights (*milites*) supplied him by Philip, was enabled to reduce Poitou, Touraine, and Anjou. Queen Eleanor's narrow escape from the enemies who "assayled" her in John's "Tent," and Arthur's capture (III. ii. 5-7), are dramatic versions illustrated by my next excerpts, which give the issue of Arthur's temporary success.

Queene Elianor [gat her into Mirabeau, and sent to John for speedy succour].

[*Hol.* iii. 164/2/13.] Queene Elianor, that was regent in those parties, being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturre, got hir into Mirabeau, a strong towne situat in the countrie of Aniou, and foorthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of speedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortlie after followed hir, and woone Mirabeau, where he tooke his grandmother within the same; whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported).

[Arthur (as some say) took her prisoner.]

Matth. Paris Matth. West [say that she was not taken prisoner].

¶ But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the . . . earle of March,[1] according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie togither in the field.

King Iohn, in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangenesse of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker; and in all possible hast speedeth him foorth, continuing his iournie for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be briefe, he vsed such diligence, that he was vpon his enimies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his comming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approch so neere the citie. . . .

Polydor.

K. Iohn commeth vpon his enimies not looked for.

[Arthur's soldiers put to flight, and Mirabeau captured.]

And hauing . . . put them [the Poitevins] all to flight, they [the English] pursued the chase towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great hast to enter; but such speed was vsed by the English souldiers at that present, that they

[1] Hugh le Brun, Count of La Marche. His hostility was caused by John's marriage with Isabella of Angoulême, who had been betrothed to Hugh.—*Coggeshale*, 135.

entred and wan the said towne before their enimies could come neere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Mirabeau it selfe, and Arthur, with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first bickering, was taken; who, being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after, as you shall heare. . . .

Arthur duke of Britaine takē prisoner.

Matth. Paris.

[*Hol.* iii. 165/1/31.] The French king, at the same time lieng in siege before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raised from thence, and returned homewards, destroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie.

[Philip returned to his own country.]

Act IV.—The sources of Act IV. sc. i., and IV. ii., as far as l. 105, are contained in the following excerpts. The reader will observe how much the historical Arthur[1] differed from the gentle, unambitious boy of the play.

[*Hol.* iii. 165/1/35.] It is said that king Iohn caused his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to persuade him all that he could to forsake his freendship and aliance with the French king, and to leane and sticke to him, being his naturall vncle. But Arthur, like one that wanted good counsell, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a presumptuous answer; not onelie denieng so to doo, but also commanding king Iohn to restore vnto him the realme of England, with all those other lands and possessions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For, sith the same apperteined to him by right of inheritance, he assured him, except restitution were made the sooner, he should not long continue quiet. King Iohn, being sore mooued with such words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is said) that he should be straitlie kept in prison, as first in Falais, and after at Roan within the new castell there. Thus by means of this good successe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered.

Anno Reg. 4. [John tried to draw Arthur away from Philip.]

[Arthur would not listen, but demanded all that had belonged to K. Richard.]

[John ordered that Arthur should be imprisoned.]

Shortlie after, king Iohn, comming ouer into England, caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of

Matth. Paris. King Iohn eftsoones crowned.

[1] He was then more than fifteen years old, having been born on March 29, 1187.—*Benedict*, i. 361. The Arthur of *T. R.* was a youth, if one may judge from his speeches in the scene which is the source of *John*, IV. i.

Hubert the archbishop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill,[1] and then went backe againe into Normandie, where, immediatlie vpon his arriuall, a rumour was spred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it is that great suit was made to haue Arthur set at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerse other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their suit, they banded themselues togither, and, ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanson, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie sharpe wars against king Iohn in diuerse places, insomuch (as it was thought) that, so long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in those parts: wherevpon it was reported that king Iohn, through persuasion of his councellors, appointed certeine persons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in prison, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yoong gentlemans eies.

Rafe Cog.

[Divers barons made war on John, because he would not release Arthur.]

[John purposed to put out Arthur's eyes.]

But through such resistance as he made against one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other[2] rather forsooke their prince and countrie, than they would consent to obeie the kings authoritie heerein) and such lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preserue him from that iniurie; not doubting but rather to haue thanks than displeasure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of such infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highnesse, if the yoong gentleman had beene so cruellie dealt withall. For he considered, that king Iohn had resolued vpon this point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men to vndertake manie an inconuenient enterprise, vnbeseeming the person of a common man, much more reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being meere foolish and furious, and prone to accomplish the peruerse conceits of their ill possessed heart; . . .) and that afterwards, vpon better aduise-

[But Arthur resisted, and Hubert de Burgh delivered him.]

[1] This must be the ceremony which John calls his "double Corronation" (IV. ii. 40). But we learn from his *Itinerary* that, on April 14, 1202, he was at Orival near Rouen. John's second coronation took place on October 8, 1200.—*Hoveden*, iv. 139. On March 25, 1201, he was crowned for the third and last time.—*Hoveden*, iv. 160.

[2] John bade three of his sergeants ("præcepit . . . tribus suis servientibus") go to Falaise, and carry out this order. But two of the men fled his Court rather than obey him.—*Coggeshale*, 139.

ment, he would both repent himselfe so to haue commanded, and giue them small thanke that should see it put in execution. Howbeit, to satisfie his mind for the time, and to staie the rage of the Britains, he caused it to be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings commandement was fulfilled; and that Arthur also through sorrow and greefe was departed out of this life. For the space of fifteene daies this rumour incessantlie ran through both the realmes of England and France, and there was ringing for him through townes and villages, as it had beene for his funerals.

[Hubert thought that those who obeyed John's order would have small thanks afterwards.]

[But Arthur's death was announced, and the rumour spread through England and France.]

Historic time vanishes when, after John's barons have departed, he is informed by a messenger that the French "are all arriu'd" (IV. ii. 115): news which transports us from 1202 to 1216. But when, after brief question, John is apprized of his mother's death on "the first of Aprill" (ll. 119-121), we are borne back to 1204,[1] in which year

[*Hol.* iii. 167/2/73.] queene Elianor the mother of king Iohn departed this life, consumed [*p.* 168] rather through sorow and anguish of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.

[Q. Eleanor's death.]

The entry of Faulconbridge with Peter of Pomfret makes 1212 the historic date of ll. 132-157.

[*Hol.* iii. 180/1/28.] There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke; a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that, either inspired with some spirit of prophesie, as the people beleeued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to

An hermit named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as some writers haue. See M. Fox, tome first, pag. 331.

[1] Eleanor died on April 1, 1204.—*Ann. Waverl.*, 256. Perhaps Shakspere chose April 1 for the day because a celestial appearance—of such sort as was believed to forebode the departure of great persons—is mentioned under the same year, and on the same page, which contains the record of her decease. *Hol.* says (iii. 167/1/40): "This yeare [1204] the aire toward the north and east parts seemed to be on a bright fire [? the *aurora borealis*, sometimes seen in our latitudes] for the space of six houres togither. It began about the first watch of the night, on the first of Aprill." The date of Constance's death—rumoured to have happened "three dayes before" (l. 123) Eleanor's—is not given by *Hol.* According to *Hoveden* (iv. 174) she died in 1201. *Hol.'s* authority for the following passage (iii. 166/1/12), from which we learn that she survived Arthur, was probably *Polyd. Verg.*, 267/6.

"But king Philip, after he was aduertised of Arthur's death, tooke the matter verie greeuouslie, and, vpon occasion thereof, cited king Iohn to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such obiections as Constance the duches of Britaine, mother to the said Arthur, should lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir sonne. And bicause king Iohn appeared not, he was condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, as well Normandie as all his other lands and dominions."

Constance, the mother of Duke Arthur, accuseth king Iohn.

tell what should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his saiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet: . . . This Peter, about the first of Ianuarie[1] last past, had told the king that, at the feast of the Ascension, it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beleeued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corf, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king Iohn, he was, by the kings commandement, drawne from the said castell vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his sonne.

[John (so Peter told him) was to be dethroned at next Ascension Day.]

[Peter offered to suffer death if the prophecy failed.]

[No great harm befel John on that day.]

The heremit and his sonne hanged.

Having heard Faulconbridge's account of Peter's doings, John bids Hubert "away with" the prophet to prison. During Hubert's absence on this business, 1216 becomes again the historic date, but when, at his return, he speaks of the five moons, time runs back to the year 1200, for under the latter date Holinshed records that

[*Hol.* iii. 163/1/44.] About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the middest of the other; hauing manie stars about it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie.

Fiue moones.

If speeches referring to the Dauphin be excluded, the rest of Act IV. may bear the historical date of April, 1203, about which time Arthur disappeared. Omitting a sentence which does not illustrate the play, I resume my quotations at the point where, in the last excerpt relating to Arthur, the bell-ringing "for his funerals" is mentioned (p. 61 above).

[*Hol.* iii. 165/2/43.] But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the

[1] "Sub his . . . diebus," in the year 1212, was the time when, according to *M. Paris*, Peter flourished as a prophet; "et publice asserebat, quod non foret [Johannes] rex in die Dominicæ Ascensionis proximo sequentis nec deinceps; sed die illa coronam Angliæ ad alium transferri prædixit."—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 535. Peter's prediction must have been made after Ascension Day (May 3), 1212, and was fulfilled on the Vigil of Ascension Day (May 22), 1213, on which day John surrendered his crown to Pandulph.

mischeefe they could deuise, in reuenge of their souereignes death, there was no remedie but to signifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing displeased for that his commandement was not executed, sith there were diuerse of his capteins which vttered in plaine words, that he should not find knights to keepe his castels, if he dealt so cruellie with his nephue. For if it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France or other their aduersaries, they should be sure to tast of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of this Arthur, writers make sundrie reports. Neuerthelesse certeine it is, that, in the yeare next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confesse that euer he saw him go aliue. Some haue written, that, as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and proouing to clime ouer the wals of the castell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other write, that through verie greefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some affirme, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be murthered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies; but verelie king Iohn was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth.[1]

[The rumour of Arthur's death was contradicted, in order to pacify the Bretons. John was not displeased, because he had been told that his cruelty would prevent knights from keeping his castles.]

[No one knows how Arthur died, but some say that, in attempting to climb the walls of Rouen Castle, he fell into the Seine, and was drowned.]

Act V. sc. i.—Act V. opens on the Vigil of Ascension Day[2] (May 22, 1213). In the preceding year John had been deposed by Innocent, and Pandulph was commissioned to request Philip's armed help in effecting the dethronement (see p. 57 above). Philip

[*Hol.* iii. 176/2/20.] was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe ouer into England: . . .

The French king prepared to invade England.

John assembled a large fleet and army, and, in the spring of 1213, he was awaiting the French at Barham Down, Kent.[3]

[1] According to *Ann. Marg.* (27) John slew Arthur at Rouen, on April 3, 1203.

[2] This date must be accepted with a reservation of dramatic time, for the words of Pandulph and John (V. i. 22, 25-27; cp. IV. ii. 151-157) show that Act V. opens on Ascension Day.

[3] *M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 539. John's preparations must have begun soon

Polydore.

[*Hol.* iii. 176/2/65.] But as he lay thus readie, neere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who, comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him; for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled both to God and his church, although he were adiudged, in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

Two knights of the temple [ask John to receive Pandulph, who had terms to propose.]

The legat Pandulph cōeth ouer.

[*p.* 177] The king, vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers, sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer; of whose arriuall when the king was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence. Now after they had talked togither a little, and courteouslie saluted each other (as the course of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) vttered these words following.

I omit "The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph, the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the presumptuous popes behalfe," since it was not used by either dramatist. Matthew Paris, Holinshed's authority here, enumerates four reasons [1] which moved John to submit. One, which probably had much weight, was Pandulph's assertion—in the course of his "sawcie speech"—that Philip

[The English lords offered fealty to Philip.]

[*Hol.* iii. 177/1/43.] hath (as he sticketh not to protest openlie to the world) a charter made by all the cheefest lords of England touching their fealtie and obedience assured to him.

The result of Pandulph's threats I give in my next excerpt, which should be compared with V. i. 1-4.

[*Hol.* iii. 177/1/60.] These words being thus spoken by the legat, king Iohn, as then vtterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constreined to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance; waieng with himselfe what counsell

after March 3, 1213, when he issued writs for the assembly of a fleet at Portsmouth in Mid-Lent (Mid-Lent Sunday fell on March 24).—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 538.

[1] "Quartam vero causam aliis omnibus plus timebat; instabat enim dies Dominicæ Ascensionis, in qua juxta prophetiam Petri heremitæ, . . . cum ipsa vita regnum tam temporale quam æternum amittere verebatur."—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 541.

were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue doone, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat; neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands.[1] . . .

[John swears to obey Innocent.]

K. John deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

[*col.* 2] Then Pandulph, keeping the crowne with him for the space of fiue daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe.[2]

Pandulph restoreth the crowne again to the king.

As Pandulph departs "to make the French lay downe their Armes" (V. i. 24),—an errand denoting that historic time has again advanced to the year 1216,—John remembers Peter's prophecy, now fulfilled. John's reflection upon the manner of its fulfilment, and a hint that the prediction had caused him some uneasiness (V. i. 25-29), are illustrated by the following passage, completing the excerpt which ends with the information that Peter was "hanged, togither with his sonne" (p. 62 above).

[*Hol.* iii. 180/1/67.] The people much blamed king Iohn for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied; for, the day before the Ascension day, king Iohn had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indeed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least

[People said that Peter was wrongfully put to death, for, on the vigil of Ascension Day, John did homage to Innocent.]

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[1] John, Pandulph, and the nobles of the realm met at the Templars' house near Dover, "decima quinta die Maii, in vigilia scilicet Dominicae Ascensionis; ubi idem rex juxta quod Romae fuerat sententiatum resignavit coronam suam cum regnis Angliae et Hyberniae in manus domni Papae, cujus tunc vices gerebat Pandulfus memoratus."—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 544. The date (May 15) is wrong, for in 1213 the Vigil of the Ascension fell on May 22.

[2] In Act V. sc. i. the redelivery of the crown by Pandulph to John immediately ensues its surrender to the Legate by the King. In *T. R.* there is an interval between a scene which closes before noon on Ascension Day,—when John goes out to surrender his crown,—and the opening of another scene with the redelivery of the crown to him by Pandulph. This interval comprises the meeting of Lewis and the English nobles at St. Edmundsbury, and Falconbridge's journies to and from the same place (see *T.R.* ii. pp. 12, 15, 19, 20, 24).

[One cause of John's submission to Innocent was fear of Peter's prophecy.]

which mooued king Iohn the sooner to agree with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yeeld the sooner.

Historic time embraced by the rest of the action ranges from May 1216 to September 1217, if V. i. 38-43,—where Arthur's death is spoken of as a recent occurrence,—be excepted. These dates mark the arrival and departure of Lewis, the latter of which events took place nearly a year after John's decease. At the historic date reached in V. i. 1-4, when John surrenders his crown to Pandulph, the French, as we have seen, were on the eve of invading England. Diverted from his purpose by John's submission, Philip turned his arms against Ferrand Count of Flanders, who had made a treaty with John, and Ferrand's appeal to his ally for help led to a war which closed with Philip's victory over the combined Flemish, German, and English forces, at Bouvines, on July 27, 1214.[1] This blow, and the failure of an attempt to recover Poitou and Brittany, so weakened John that the opportunity was seized by a party of his barons, whose projects for restraining the royal power finally took shape in the Great Charter of June 15, 1215. The "cloked Pilgrimage" (see next excerpt) of these barons to the shrine of Saint Edmund at Bury, on November 20 (?), 1214,[2] was a first step towards their ultimate triumph, but the dramatic turn given to this meeting by the old playwright associates it with Lewis's invasion in 1216, and attributes to the barons, as a chief motive for joining Lewis, their desire to be avenged on John for the murder of Arthur.[3] Amid such complexity of dates and facts a reader must choose what historical time he pleases for sc. ii., Act V., which opens shortly after these "distemper'd Lords" arrive at St. Edmundsbury, whither they are bound when they leave Faulconbridge in IV. iii. 115.

A cloked pilgrimage.

[*Hol.* iii. 183/2/45.] The Nobles, supposing that longer delaie therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselues togither at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doo their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there

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[1] *M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 581.

[2] John returned to England in October, 1214. (*M. Paris* gives Oct. 19 as the date of the King's return, but it appears from the *Itinerary* that John was at La Rochelle on Oct. 2 and at Dartmouth on Oct. 15.) "Sub eadem tempestate" his earls and barons met at St. Edmundsbury; "quasi orationis gratia, licet in causa aliud fuisset."—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 582. Mr. James E. Doyle wrote to me: "Wendover says that the barons assembled at St. Edmundsbury 'as if for religious duties,'—that is, for duties that were well known, and therefore afforded an obvious and perfectly innocent motive for the gathering. Now the feast of the Patron Saint of that church and locality, St. Edmund, King and Martyr, took place on Nov. 20, and furnished the excuse required."

[3] If *The Troublesome Raigne* had been lost, we should have wondered why the Lords expected to meet Lewis at St. Edmundsbury (IV. iii. 11), for Shakspere says nothing about the "cloked Pilgrimage."

inshrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall manners, . . .

And therfore, being thus assembled in the queere [*p.* 184] of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued a solemne oth vpon the altar there, that, if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thencefoorth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable. [The nobles swore that, if John refused their demands, they would make war on him till he yielded.]

Returning now to the dramatic order of events, my next excerpt illustrates Faulconbridge's announcement (V. i. 30-34) that

> All Kent hath yeelded ; nothing there holds out
> But Douer Castle : London hath receiu'd,
> Like a kinde Host, the Dolphin and his powers :
> Your Nobles will not heare you, but are gone
> To offer seruice to your enemy, . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 191/2/25.] Lewes, . . . imbarking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iournie, tooke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet,[1] vpon the 21 day of Maie[2] [1216]; and shortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him ; and there euerie one apart and by himselfe sware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had beene their true and naturall prince. *He taketh the sea.* *He landeth in Kent.* *The lords doo homage vnto him.*

King Iohn, about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet, vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, bicause he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, bicause he knew that they hated the French men no more than they did the English. Therefore, furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the *Matth. Paris.*

[1] Stonar, Isle of Thanet.

[2] *M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 653.

[John left Dover Castle in charge of Hubert de Burgh, and retired from Kent.]

keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes, being aduertised that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, passed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the castels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win. . . .

Lewes commeth to London.

[Afterwards] he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet doone their homage to him at Sandwich.

Act V. sc. ii.—The following excerpts—which, in Holinshed, immediately succeed my last quotation—should be compared with the Entry and first eight lines of Act V. sc. ii.

[*Hol.* iii. 191/2/60.] On the other part he [Lewis] tooke an oth to mainteine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands; requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vsed them so courteouslie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beleeued him with all their harts. . . .

The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie, being once spred through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him; among [*p.* 192] whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, Williæm earle of Salisburie, William Marshall the yoonger,[1] and diuerse other; supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obteine the kingdome.

Noblemen reuolting frō K. Iohn vnto Lewes.

Pandulph's speech and Lewis's answer (V. ii. 69-102) take us back to a time preceding the latter's invasion. John repudiated his grant as soon as he had collected a mercenary force to levy war on his barons, and he also appealed from them to Innocent, who annulled the Charter, and finally excommunicated its supporters. Hard pressed by John's soldiers, the barons

[1] Son of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. "Pembroke," in both plays, is, I suppose, the younger Marshal. He was one of the twenty-five barons "sworne to see the liberties granted and confirmed by the king [*Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta*] to be in euerie point obserued, but, if he went against the same, then they should haue authoritie to compell him to the obseruing of euerie of them."—*Hol.* iii. 186/1/19.

[*Hol.* iii. 190/1/53.] resolued with themselues to seeke for aid at the enimies hands; and therevpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales, were sent vnto Lewes the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them; requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, neece to king Iohn by his sister Elianor.

The lords send to the French kings sonne, offering to him the crowne.

[Lewis's marriage to Blanch.]

Now king Philip, the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the relme of England, which he neuer looued, promised willinglie that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient speed; (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded;) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. . . .

[The barons' offer accepted.]

[*Hol.* iii. 191/1/14.] The pope, desirous to helpe king Iohn all that he might (bicause he was now his vassall), sent his legat Gualo into France, to disswade king Philip from taking anie enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip, though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose; alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now sithens, as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie, he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not doo without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie depriued of all his kinglie honor. . . .

Anno. Reg. 18. *Cardinall Gualo. Matth. Paris.*

The French kings allegations to the popes legat Gualo.

[John an usurper, and a would-be vassal of the Pope.] *Matth. West.*

Lewes, on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill[1] [1216], by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat; where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, disprouing not onelie the right which king Iohn had

Matth. Paris.

Lewes the Frēch kings sonne maintaineth his pretended title to the crowne of England.

[1] *M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 651, 652.

to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the queene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second, late king of England.

In further illustration of V. ii. 69-102 I quote passages relating to a time not long after Lewis's arrival, and beginning when he and his English allies hoped to make their cause good through the arguments of those ambassadors who had been sent "in all hast vnto the court of Rome."

[Failure of Lewis's procurators.]

[*Hol.* iii. 192/1/15.] But this auailed them not, neither tooke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should; for those ambassadors, that king Iohn had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court: albeit that the pope would decree nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who, the same time, (being aduertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iournie,) with all diligence, hasted ouer into England, and, passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king Iohn, then soiourning at Glocester; of whome he was most ioifullie receiued, for in him king Iohn reposed all his hope of victorie.

Cardinall Gualo commeth ouer into England.

Before Midsummer,[1] 1216,

[*Hol.* iii. 192/1/73.] letters came also vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had sent to the pope. . . .

The points wherewith king Iohn was charged [: John having been declared by the French peers guilty of Arthur's death, had forfeited his dominions, to which Lewis had succeeded.]

The cheefest points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators against king Iohn were these: that, by the murther committed in the person of his nephue Arthur, he had beene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the peeres of France; and that, being summoned to appeare, he had obstinatelie refused so to doo, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but also the realme of England, which was now due vnto the said Lewes, as they alledged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Elianor queene of Spaine. But the pope refelled all

[1] The letter from Lewis's procurators was written on or about May 10, 1216.—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 656, 657. Lewis, "instante nativitate sancti Johannis Baptistae" (the next date given), began the siege of Dover Castle.—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), ii. 664.

such allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & seemed to defend king Iohns cause verie pithilie; but namelie, in that he was vnder the protection of him as supreme lord of England. [Innocent answered that John was under his protection.]

Act V. sc. iii.—"Alarums" may possibly represent the decisive battle of Lincoln, fought on May 20, 1217,[1] when the French and their English allies were defeated by William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, who commanded the army of the boy-king Henry III. If the general disregard of historic time in this play be remembered, such a conjecture is not affected by the qualification that it involves John's entry some seven months after the date which historians fix for his death. Before John leaves the field, a messenger has bidden him (V. iii. 9-11):

> Be of good comfort; for the great *supply*,
> That was expected by the Dolphin heere,
> Are wrack'd three nights ago on Goodwin sands.

Allowing for altered circumstance and antedating, we may suppose this "great supply" to be the reinforcements sent by Philip of France, about three months after the battle of Lincoln. These needful succours never reached Lewis, for

[*Hol.* iii. 201/1/36.] the earle of Penbroke, and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement, that a new *supplie* of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the comming of the aduersaries, that they might keepe them from landing; who on saint Bartholomews[2] day set forth from Caleis, in purpose to arriue in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh, capiteine of the castell of Douer, togither with the said Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marshall, with other such power as they could get togither of the cinque ports, hauiug not yet aboue the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discouering of the French fleet, (which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed,) made foorth to the sea. And, first coasting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to assaile the Frenchmen, and, with helpe of their crossebowes and archers at the first ioining, made great slaughter of their enimies; and so, grapling togither, in the end the English-

Matth. Paris.

[Watch kept for the French fleet.]

Hubert de Burgh assaileth the French fleet.

[1] *Coggeshale*, 185.
[2] August 24, 1217.—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), iii. 26.

The French fleet is vanquished. men bare themselues so manfullie, that they vanquished the whole French fleet, and obteined a famous victorie.

Act V. sc. iv.—Melun's confession, and its result in detaching the English barons from Lewis, form the subject of this scene. The date —referred to in the following excerpt by the words "About the same time"—is probably August, 1216.[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 193/2/6.] About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of *Matth. Paris.* Melune, a French man, fell sicke at London, and, perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the citie, vpon safegard thereof, and to *The vicount of Melune discouereth the purpose of Lewes.* them made this protestation: "I lament" (saith he) "your destruc- "tion and desolation at hand, bicause ye are ignorant of the perils "hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and "with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne "(if it shall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to "be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those "of the English nobilitie (which now doo serue vnder him, and "persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels; and further- "more will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they "now hold in England. And bicause" (saith he) "you shall not "haue doubt hereof, I, which lie here at the point of death, doo "now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, "that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe "this thing: wherefore I aduise you to prouide for your owne "safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie; and keepe *The vicount of Melune dieth.* "this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you." After this speech was vttered he streightwaies died.

When these words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cause, in great doubt of themselues, for they saw how Lewes had alredie placed and set French- *The English nobilitie beginneth to mislike of the match which they had made with Lewes.* men in most of such castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderstand, how, besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holiedaie openlie accursed in euerie

[1] After recording the homage of Alexander II. King of Scots to Lewis, in August, 1216, *Wendover* (*M. Paris*, ii. 666) dates Melun's illness as having happened "hac tempestate."

church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue beene receiued.

Subsequently Holinshed observes:

[*Hol.* iii. 197/2/40.] It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse, which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession which the * vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death, was the principall. [Effect of Melun's confession.] * *See pag. 193, col. 2*

Act V. scc. v.—vii.—With sc. v., Act V., the excerpts given in relation to sc. iii., Act V., should be compared. The rest of the play (save V. vii. 82-95; 101-118) is illustrated by my next quotations, which date from October, 1216, when John, according to Holinshed, was marching northwards, after spoiling Peterborough and Crowland.

[*Hol.* iii. 194/1/45.] Thus, the countrie being wasted on each hand, the king hasted forward till he came to Wellestreme sands, where passing the washes he lost a great part of his armie, with horsses and carriages; so that it was iudged to be a punishment appointed by God, that the spoile, which had beene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houses, should perish, and be lost by such means togither with the spoilers. Yet the king himselfe, and a few other, escaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But, as some haue written, he tooke such greefe for the losse susteined at this passage, that immediatlie therevpon he fell into an ague; the force and heat whereof, togither with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new sider, so increased his sicknesse, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter presentlie made of twigs, with a couch of strawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne; but the disease still so raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced to staie one night at the castell of Laford, and, on the next day with great paine, caused himselfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where, in the castell, through anguish of mind, rather than through force of sicknesse, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had

The losse of the kings carriages.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

King Iohn falleth sicke of an ague. Matth. Paris.

Laford. Matth. West. Matth. Paris.

King Iohn departed this life.

reigned seauenteene yeares, six moneths, and seauen and twentie daies.

¶ There be which haue written, that, after he had lost his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineshead in Lincolneshire, and, there vnderstanding the cheapenesse and plentie of corne, shewed himselfe greatlie displeased therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the English people, that had so traitorouslie reuolted from him vnto his aduersarie Lewes, wished all miserie to light vpon them; and therevpon said in his anger, that he would cause all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manie daies should passe. Wherevpon a moonke, that heard him speake such words, being mooued with zeale for the oppression of his countrie, gaue the king poison in a cup of ale, wherof he first tooke the assaie, to cause the king not to suspect the matter, and so they both died in manner at one time. . . .

[John said he would make corn dear in England, whereupon a monk poisoned him.] *Caxton.*

The men of warre that serued vnder his ensignes, being for the more part hired souldiers and strangers, came togither, and marching foorth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worcester, where he was pompouslie buried in the cathedrall church before the high altar; not for that he had so appointed (as some write) but bicause it was thought to be a place of most suertie for the lords and other of his freends there to assemble, and to take order in their businesse now after his deceasse.

[He was buried at Worcester.]

Bernewell.

Nearly a year elapsed between the accession of Henry III. and the departure of Lewis, shortly after the royalists' great naval victory in August, 1217. Holinshed's account of how the French reinforcements were destroyed (see p. 71 above) is followed by the ensuing passages, which bear upon V. vii. 82-95.

[*Hol.* iii. 201/2/8.] But Lewes, after he vnderstood of this mischance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time heerafter: wherfore he inclined the sooner vnto peace, so that at length he tooke such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, togither with the title of the

[After the loss of his reinforcements, Lewis's hopes fell.]

An accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. . . .

This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September[1] [1217], not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and diuerse of the spiritualtie, with the earle of Penbroke, lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now, when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as apperteined, and there tooke leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.[2]

[Conclusion of the peace.]

[Lewis's departure.]

The revival of patriotic feeling, which placed Henry III. on the throne, is exhibited when Faulconbridge and Salisbury—the dramatic characters who severally represent the royalist and baronial parties—unite in proffering allegiance to their youthful sovereign (V. vii. 101-107). Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 197/1/12.] Immediatlie after the death of his father king Iohn, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, generall of his fathers armie, brought this yoong prince with his brother and sisters vnto Glocester, and there called a councell of all such lords as had taken part with king Iohn. Anon, after it was once openlie knowne, that the sonnes and daughters of the late deceassed prince were brought into a place of safetie, a great number of the lords and cheefe barons of the realme hasted thither (I meane not onelie such as had holden with king Iohn, but also diuerse other, which, vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes) in purpose to aid yoong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteine.

[After John's death,] *William Marshall, earle of Penbrooke* [, brought Henry to Gloucester].

[Thither came nobles who had held with John, and others lately revolted from Lewis.

In a speech delivered to the assemblage at Gloucester, Pembroke vindicated Henry's title:

[*Hol.* iii. 197/2/17.] When the barons had heard this earles words, after some silence and conference had, they allowed of

[1] September 11.—*M. Paris* (*Wendover*), iii. 30. September 13.—*Ann. Theok.* 63.

[2] Lewis returned to France on September 28, 1217.—*Ann. Theok.* 63.

his saiengs, and immediatlie, with one consent, proclaimed the yoong gentleman king of England; whome the bishops of Winchester and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due solemnities at Glocester, vpon the day of the feast of the apostles Simon & Iude, in presence of the legat.

[Henry proclaimed King of England, and afterwards crowned.]

Holinshed adds to his chronicle of John's reign the following general remarks on the King's disposition, and dealings with the clergy.

[John's person and character.]

[*Hol.* iii. 196/1/4.] He was comelie of stature, but of looke and countenance displeasant and angrie; somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted; and not so hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report vttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Howbeit some giue this witnesse of him (as the author of the booke of *Bernewell* abbeie and other): that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Marius the noble Romane, tasting of fortune both waies; bountifull and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their dailie treasons practised towards him) a great oppressour; so that he trusted more to forreners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them vtterlie forsaken.

[Some say that he was a great prince, but unfortunate; liberal to strangers, but an oppressor of his own people.]

¶ Verelie, whosoeuer shall consider the course of the historie written of this prince, he shall find, that he hath beene little beholden to the writers of that time in which he liued; for scarselie can they afoord him a good word, except when the trueth inforceth them to come out with it as it were against their willes. The occasion whereof (as some thinke) was, for that he was no great freend to the clergie. . . .

[The clergy vilified him because he was no friend to them.]

Certeinelie it should seeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull subiects to haue assisted him in reuenging such wrongs as were doone and offered by the French king and others.

[John wanted nothing but faithful subjects.]

Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constreined

[He resisted the clergy's usurpation of his princely prerogative.]

to make all the shift he could deuise to recouer monie, and, bicause he pinched their pursses, they conceiued no small hatred against him; which when he perceiued, and wanted peraduenture discretion to passe it ouer, he discouered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, (a thing verie hard in a stout stomach,) and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.

[He took money from them to pay for his wars, and repaid their hatred with outbursts of rage.]

Pandulph is spoken of as he "who (as before is expressed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent to king Iohn" (*Hol.* iii. 202/1/65). Hubert de Burgh—"a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found" (*Hol.* iii. 169/2/50) — showed "singular constancie" in defending Dover Castle against Lewis (*Hol.* iii. 193/1/45). The dramatic character is a person of much lower degree than was this historical Hubert, the Justiciar of England, as he is entitled in the treaty of peace between Henry III. and Lewis; the three names preceding his own in that document being those of the Legate Gualo, the King, and William Marshal.—*Rymer*, i. 222.

V. RICHARD II.

Act I. sc. i.—The first scene in *The Tragedie of King Richard the second*[1] opens on April 29,[2] 1398, at Windsor, where a day for combat was assigned to Bolingbroke and Mowbray (I. i. 199). On March 12, 1400,[3] a body, officially declared to be Richard II.'s, was exhibited at St. Paul's. The latter historic date marks the close of the action, when Bolingbroke sees his "buried feare" (V. vi. 31) in the coffin which Exton presents to him.

In the first scene King Richard enters, and thus addresses John of Gaunt (I. i. 1-6):

> Ovld Iohn of Gaunt, time honoured Lancaster,
> Hast thou, according to thy oath and bande,
> Brought hither Henrie Herford thy bolde sonne,
> Here to make good the boistrous late appeale,
> Which then our leysure would not let vs heare,
> Against the Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Moubray?

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[1] I quote the text of Q1 (1597), from the Shakspere Quarto Facsimile of Mr. Huth's copy. In the Parliament Scene (IV. i. 162-318) the text of F1 is quoted.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 383/1.

[3] *Trais.*, 103; 261.

Bolingbroke's "late appeale" was made in a Parliament which reassembled at Shrewsbury on January 27, 1398, and was dissolved on January 31. On January 30, 1398,[1]

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treson.

Thom. Wals.

[Boling-broke's accusation denied by Mowbray.]

[The accusation repeated by Boling-broke,]

[and again denied by Mowbray.]

The duke of Surrie, marshall, and the duke of Aumarle, constable of England

[, and the Dukes of Lancaster and York, became pledges for Boling-broke's appearance; but Mow-bray was

[*Hol.* iii. 493/2/16.] . . . Henrie, duke of Hereford, accused Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he should vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford; sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This supplication was red before both the dukes, in presence of the king; which doone, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And, when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it, he, taking his hood off his head, said: "My souereigne lord, euen "as the supplication which I tooke you importeth, right so I "saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, is a "traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, "and to all the states of your realme."

Then the duke of Norfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right deere lord, with your fauour that I make "answer vnto your coosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) "that Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, like a false and "disloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that he hath or shall say "of me otherwise than well." "No more," said the king, "we "haue heard inough"; and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie, for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster, father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke, the duke of Aumarle, constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall of the realme, vndertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford; but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there

[1] *Eves.*, 142-145. Cp. *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 382/1.

garded with keepers that were appointed to see him safelie kept. [kept in Windsor Castle.]

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. [A day appointed for the hearing of the appeal.] There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor[1] for the king to sit with the lords and prelats of his realme; and so, at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelats being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. *The order of the proceeding in this appeale.* And then began sir Iohn Bushie to speake for the king; declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as apperteined to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against [*p.* 494] an other: and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, (the one being constable, and the other marshall,) to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them, on his behalfe, to grow to some agreement; and, for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had been said or doone amisse betwixt them, touching anie harm or dishonor to him or his realme; but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agreement made betwixt them. [Richard sent to Bolingbroke and Mowbray, desiring them to be reconciled to each other, but they refused his request.]

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that

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[1] According to *Trais.*—the original authority for this account of the proceedings at Windsor—"le Roy Richart retourna du parlement de Scrembory en lan mil ccc iiij^{xx} et xviij ou moys de Januier et xl jours apres fut la journee a Windesore pour ouir les deux seigneurs lesquelz auoyent appelle lun lautre de traison" (p. 13). *Hol.* seems to have followed the computation of *Trais.*, regarding the "daie appointed" for Richard's presence at Windsor. The disagreement of this date with the date (April 29) given by *Rot. Parl.* for the Windsor assembly, may perhaps be explained by supposing that the writer of *Trais.* counted forty days from March 19, 1398, when Bolingbroke and Mowbray appeared before Richard at Bristol, and it was decided that their cause should be tried conformably to the "Ley de Chivalrie."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 383/1. On February 23, 1398, they appeared before Richard at Oswestry, and were then ordered to present themselves before him at Windsor on April 28, 1398. On the next day (April 29) time and place of battle were fixed.—*Ibid.*

[Then he called them before him, and asked them to make peace together, but Mowbray would not consent to do so.]

they should be brought foorthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: "for it is" (said he) "the best waie ye can take." The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered, it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, "and what is the matter that "ye can not make peace togither, and become friends?"

[Thereupon Richard commanded Bolingbroke to specify Mowbray's offences.]

Then stood foorth a knight, who, asking and obteining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said: "Right deare and "souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford "and earle of Derbie, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that "Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, is a false and disloiall "traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole "realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, "that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, hath receiued eight "thousand nobles to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of "Calis; which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore "the said duke of Norfolke hath beene the occasion of all the "treason that hath beene contriued in your realme for the space "of these eighteene yeares, &, by his false suggestions and "malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered "your right deere vncle, the duke of Glocester, sonne to king "Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, "that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the "said duke of Norfolke within lists." The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his woords; who answered: "Right deere lord, they are my woords; and "hereof I require right, and the battell against him."

The obiection[s] against the duke of Norfolke: [(1) that he embezzled money due to the garrison of Calais; (2) that he had been the prime-mover of all the treason devised in England for the past eighteen years; (3) and that, by evil suggestion and counsel, he caused Gloucester's death.]

[To prove these charges, Bolingbroke demanded battle against Mowbray.]

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and, obteining it, began to answer thus: "Right "deere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie, duke of "Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which

[Mowbray's spokesman answered that Bolingbroke had lied; and

"Henrie of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauing the reuerence "due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the said Henrie "of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and "disloiall knight, and both hath beene, and is, a traitor against "you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue "and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie "against his: right deere lord, I beseech you therefore, and your "councell, that it maie please you, in your roiall discretion, to "consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, "such a one as he is, hath said." [was a traitor to Richard and to England.]

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his woords, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: "Right deere sir, "true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people "of the towne of Calis; which I haue doone, and I doo auouch "that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement "as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath "beene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. "Right deere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made "into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold "or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle "& I made into Almane, where we spent great treasure. Marie, "true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of "Lancaster, that there sitteth; but neuerthelesse he hath par- "doned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, "for the which I yeeld him hartie thankes. This is that which "I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against "mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue "the battell against him in vpright iudgement." *The duke of Norfolke his answer for himselfe:* [(1) that he had paid the soldiers of Calais their wages, and Calais was in a good state of defence, no inhabitant having complained of him, but he had not been repaid money spent in Richard's service; (2) that he once laid an ambush for the Duke of Lancaster, but the Duke had forgiven him.]

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand foorth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agree and make peace togither, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king, perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, sware by saint Iohn Baptist, that he would neuer seeke to make [Appellant and defendant being again asked if they would make peace together, Bolingbroke threw down his gage, and Mowbray took it up; whereupon Richard

sware that he would never more seek to reconcile them.]

peace betwixt them againe. And therfore sir Iohn Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie[1] of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers disagree about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuenteenth of September; other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onelie the daie, but also appointed them listes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter apperteined.

The combat appointed to be doone at Couentrie. The French pamphlet.

Iohn Stow. Fabian.

Nothing in this scene needs further historical illustration except Mowbray's rather equivocal answer to the charge of having been Gloucester's murderer (I. i. 132-134):

> For Glocesters death,
> I slewe him not; but (to my owne disgrace)
> Neglected my sworne duety in that case.

To explain these words a reference to some events in the preceding year is necessary. Towards the end of June, 1397, Gloucester, Derby (Henry Bolingbroke), Nottingham (Thomas Mowbray), and others, met at Arundel Castle, and there agreed that, on a day in the following August, they would seize and imprison the King and his uncles the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and would put to death the rest of the King's Council. Nottingham revealed this plot to Richard, and afterwards, by the King's order, arrested Gloucester and brought him to Calais.[2] Hearing that Gloucester's guilt was proved, Richard

[Richard ordered Mowbray to despatch Gloucester secretly.]

[*Hol.* iii. 489/1/64.] sent vnto Thomas Mowbraie, earle marshall and of Notingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie.

[Mowbray hesitated, whereupon Richard threatened him with death.]

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it doone with all expedition, wherby the king conceiued no small displeasure, and

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[1] September 16.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 383/1. "The French pamphlet," referred to, in the sidenote, as an authority for the date, "a mondaie in August," is *Trais.* (17; 149). It belonged to John Stow. The date in *Eves.*, 146, is St. Lambert's day. September 11.—*Fab.*, ii. 544. Bolingbroke and Norfolk were ordered to leave the realm "dedeins le jour de le oeptas de Seint Edward le Confessour [October 20] prochein venant."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 383/2. The burgesses of Lowestoft informed Richard that Norfolk embarked "le Samady [October 19] proschein apres la fest de Seynt Edward, l'an de *vostre* regne vynt & secounde."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 384/1. It seems (*Usk*, 35; 149) that Bolingbroke went into exile on the feast (October 13).

[2] In *Trais.* (3; 121) there is a full account of this plot to imprison Richard.

sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus, as it seemed, in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smoother him to death; or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that * noble man, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this greatlie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoeuer he wished to haue forward. . . . His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there; in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected.

[Gloucester murdered.]

[His character.]

* *For he was son to a king, and vncle to a king.*

[He was buried at Pleshey.]

In October, 1399, after Richard had been deposed, and Bolingbroke had ascended the throne, Sir William Bagot, one of the late King's favourites, "disclosed manie secrets[1] vnto the which he was priuie; and being brought on a daie to the barre [of the Commons], a bill was read in English which he had made, conteining certeine euill practises of king Richard"; . . . The following clause formed part of Bagot's revelations:

[*Hol.* iii. 511/2/59.] It was further conteined in that bill, that as the same Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Norfolke in the Sauoy street toward Westminster, the duke asked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Glocester his death, and he answered that he knew nothing at all: "but the people" (quoth he) "doo saie that you haue murthered him." Wherevnto the duke sware great othes that it was vntrue, and that he had saued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the space of three weeks, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life time more affraid of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. "And "then" (said he) "the king appointed one of his owne seruants, "and certeine other that [*p.* 512] were seruants to other lords to "go with him to see the said duke of Glocester put to death;"

[A common fame that Norfolk had murdered Gloucester.]

[Norfolk swore that he had risked his own life to save Gloucester.]

[Richard appointed servants to put Gloucester to death in Norfolk's presence.]

[1] See pp. 110, 111 below.

swearing that, as he should answer afore God, it was neuer his mind that he should haue died in that sort,[1] but onelie for feare of the king and sauing of his owne life.

Act I. sc. ii.—Gaunt, on his way to Coventry (l. 56), has visited the Duchess of Gloucester.

As they enter he says to her (ll. 1-3):

> Alas, the part I had in Woodstockes bloud
> Doth more sollicite me than your exclaimes,
> To stirre against the butchers of his life!

In February, 1397, Richard was alarmed and angered by a rough censure from Gloucester because Brest had been surrendered to John Duke of Brittany, on the repayment of the money for which the town was a pledge.

[*Hol.* iii. 488/1/8.] Upon this multiplieng of woords in such presumptuous maner by the duke against the king, there kindeled such displeasure betwixt them, that it neuer ceassed to increase into flames, till the duke was brought to his end. . . .

[Afterwards Richard] determined to suppresse both the duke and other of his complices, and tooke more diligent regard to the saiengs & dooings of the duke than before he had doone. And as it commeth to passe that those, which suspect anie euill, doo euer deeme the worst; so he tooke euerie thing in euill part, insomuch that he complained of the duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, in that he should stand against him in all things and seeke his destruction, the death of his counsellors, and ouerthrow of his realme.

[Richard complained to Gloucester's brethren of the duke's malevolence.]

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke excuse the duke of Glocester to the king.

The two dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, to deliuer the kings mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Glocester, as a man sometime rash in woords, would speake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the same proceeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king; for that it grieued him to vnderstand, that the confines of the English dominions should in anie wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his woords, sith he should take no hurt thereby. These persuasions quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the

[1] *that sort*] Hol. ed. 1. *the fort* Hol. ed. 2.

duke of Glocester had contriued (as the fame went among diuerse persons) to imprison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and Yorke, first reprouing the duke of Glocester for his too liberall talking, . . . and, perceuing that he set nothing by their woords, were in doubt least, if they should remaine in the court still, he would, vpon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outragious enterprise. Wherefore they thought best to depart for a time into their countries, that by their absence he might the sooner learne to staie himselfe for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to passe, that their departing from the court was the casting awaie of the duke of Glocester. For after that they were gone, there ceassed not such as bare him euill will, to procure the K. to dispatch him out of the way.

[Gaunt and York reproved Gloucester for his rashness.]

[Fearing that he would be emboldened by their presence, they left the Court.]

[Their departure caused Gloucester's ruin.]

The Duchess of Gloucester's reproaches (I. ii. 9-34) have more weight if, as would seem from the following excerpt, Gaunt and York were at first disposed to avenge their brother's death.

[*Hol.* iii. 489/2/68.] The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September,[1] and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arraie; for it was not knowen how the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke would take the death of their brother, . . . Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenlie made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the matter, and began both to be sorowfull for his death, and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw how the king (abused by the counsell of euill men) absteined not from such an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater misorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast great numbers of their seruants, freends, and tenants, and, comming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right sorie for the death of the duke of Glocester, who had euer sought their fauour; in somuch that now they would haue beene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in seeking reuenge of so noble a mans death, . . .

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parlemẽt [at Westminster].

[A doubt as to how Gaunt and York would take their brother's death.] *Polydor.*

[They grieved for his death, and feared for themselves.]

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke assemble their power to resist the kings dealings.

[Gloucester beloved by the Londoners.]

[1] This Parliament was adjourned on September 29, 1397, and reassembled at Shrewsbury on January 27, 1398.—*Eves.*, 141, 142; *Usk*, 17; 123.

[The dukes took counsel as to whether they should be avenged of Richard, or of Mowbray and others, but at last they resolved to forgive their brother's death.]

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they should by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death; other thought it meet that the earles Marshall and Huntington, and certeine others, as cheefe authours of all the mischeefe, should be pursued and punished for their demerites; hauing trained vp the king in vice and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their displeasure was somewhat asswaged) determined to couer the stings of their griefes for a time, and, if the king would amend his maners, to forget also the iniuries past.

Act I. sc. iii.—My next excerpt supplied the material for this scene.

Anno Reg. 22.

[At the time appointed, Richard and the dukes came to Coventry, where lists had been erected.]

[*Hol.* iii. 494/2/41.] At[1] the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein; comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall listes there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner, the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the day appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp neere to the lists; and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was doone within the house.

[Boling-broke took leave of Richard on the Sunday before the combat, and on the morrow (the day appointed for battle) Mowbray also bade the King farewell.]

[Arming of the appellant and defendant.]

The order of the combat.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and, when they saw their time, they first entered into the listes with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and

[Aumerle and Surrey first entered the lists.]

[1] The original authority for this excerpt is *Trais.*, 17-23; 149-158. *Halle* (3-5) added several details to this account (*e. g.* the apparel of the Dukes), which *Hol.* copied.

curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime, came to the barriers of the listes the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with greene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths woorke; armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was. He answered: "I am Henrie of Lancaster, duke of "Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor against "Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, "the king, his realme, and me." Then incontinentlie he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and, putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse; and, with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

[About prime (6—9 a.m.) Bolingbroke rode to the barriers, and Aumerle and Surrey demanded what he was.]

[Boling-broke's answer.]

[Having taken an oath that his quarrel was just, he entered the lists, and dismounting, seated himself on a chair, awaiting his adversary.]

Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph king Richard, accompanied with all the peeres of the realme, . . . The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, (which was richlie hanged and adorned,) a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise or attempt to approch or touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried: "Behold here Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, "appellant, which is entred into the lists roiall to doo his deuoir "against Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, defendant; vpon "paine to be found false and recreant!"

[Then Richard entered the field, accompanied by the peers of the realm.

[Ten thousand armed men to keep the peace.]

[All (except those who were appointed to marshal the field) were forbidden to approach or touch the lists.]

[Boling-broke's challenge.]

The duke of Norfolke houered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horsse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trees; and, when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng alowd:

[When Mowbray had been sworn, he entered the lists, crying, "God aid him that hath the right!" and then dismounting, seated himself on a chair.]

"God aid him that hath the right!" and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire, which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerses & chaires of the champions should be remooued; commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & addresse themselues to the battell and combat.

[Afterwards their spears were delivered to the combatants, and they were commanded to mount their horses.]

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horssed, and closed his bauier, and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiouslie towards his enimie six or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward,[1] when the king cast downe his warder, and the heralds cried, "Ho, ho!" Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councell deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be doone therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir Iohn Bushie, the kings secretarie, read the sentence and determination of the king and his councell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, bicause he had sowen sedition in the relme by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treasuror for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

[Boling-broke set forward six or seven paces, but Mowbray lingered.]

The combat staied by the king.

The king his dome betwixt the two dukes.

[Boling-broke was exiled for ten years, and Mow-bray for life.]

[Richard was to levy money from Mowbray's lands, to pay the wages of the garrison of Calais.]

[1] "le duc de Noruolt ne se bouga ne ne fist semblant de soy deffendre."—*Trais.*, 21.

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor keepe any company to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the relme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceassed: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue beene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment: so he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained.

[Bolingbroke and Mowbray were sworn not willingly to meet in any foreign country.]

[Mowbray went to Germany, and at last to Venice, where he died. He had hoped that Richard would have favoured him.]

[Bolingbroke's exile was reduced to six years. He went to France.]

Act I. sc. iv.—Richard enters with Bagot, Greene, and Aumerle. Bolingbroke's "courtship to the common people" (I. iv. 24, &c.), which Richard has noticed, is not mentioned in the Chronicles, but the following paragraph shows that the Duke left many friends behind him.

[*Hol.* iii. 495/2/25.] A woonder it was to see what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and street where he came, before he tooke the sea; lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defense, and comfort of the commonwealth was vaded and gone.

The duke of Hereford beloued of the people.

Dismissing all thought of Bolingbroke, Greene advises Richard to take prompt measures for the subjugation of "the rebels which stand out in Ireland" (I. iv. 37-41). Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 496/2/70.] In this meane time[1] the king being aduertised that the wild Irish dailie wasted and destroied the townes and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there in garison for defense of that [*p.* 497] countrie, determined to make eftsoones a voiage thither, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against the spring.

Polydor.

[Revolt of the wild Irish.]

[Richard resolved on an expedition to Ireland in the Spring.]

[1] Roger fourth Earl of March was slain by the Irish on July 20, 1398.—*Usk*, 19; 126. "Cujus morte cognita, Rex statuit vindicare personaliter mortem ejus, Hiberniensesque domare."—*Wals.* ii. 229. Roger was Richard's Lieutenant in Ulster, Connaught, and Meath.—*Calend. R R. P P.*, 19 Ric. II., 230/2/7.

Holinshed mentions the farming of England by Richard (I. iv. 45; and cp. II. i. 57-64, 109-113, 256):

The realme let to farme by the king.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/64.] The common brute ran, that the king had set to farme the realme of England vnto sir William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire, and then treasuror of England, to sir Iohn Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Henrie Greene, knights.[1]

Of "blanke charters" (I. iv. 48-51) as sources of revenue, we have the following account. In 1398 a reconciliation was effected between Richard and the Londoners,[2] with whom he had been deeply offended.

Blanke charters.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/11.] But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuised, and brought into the citie, which manie of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for, when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwise.

In April, 1399,[3] large fines were exacted from the inhabitants of seventeen counties, who had aided the Duke of Gloucester in the *coup d'état* of 1387, and a new oath of allegiance was required.

[Blank charters.]

[*Hol.* iii. 496/2/30.] Moreouer, they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certeine blankes,[4] wherof ye haue heard before; in the which, when it pleased him, he might write what he thought good.

Holinshed does not name the object to which the money thus raised was applied. Shakspere inferred (I. iv. 43-52) that the cost of the Irish war obliged Richard to farm the revenues and issue blank charters. That Richard was accused of extorting money for such a

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[1] *Fab.* (545), *Hol.'s* authority, says that this rumour was current in the 22nd year of Richard's reign (June 21, 1398—June 20, 1399).

[2] According to *Fab.* (545) this reconciliation was effected after the adjournment of Parliament on September 29, 1397. Richard's ire was moved by the Londoners' opposition to "certeyne actys" of that Parliament.

[3] "cito post Pascha" (March 30).—*Ott.*, 199. Cp. *Wals.*, ii. 230, 231.

[4] It appears from *Ott.*, 200, and *Wals.*, 231, that these blank charters (*albas chartas*) were contemporaneous with the fines imposed upon the counties. But according to *Eves.* (146, 147) these fines and blank charters were in operation about Michaelmas, 1398.

purpose[1] appears from one of the articles exhibited against him in the Parliament by which he was deposed.

[*Hol.* iii. 502/2/56.] 19 Item, the spiritualitie alledged against him, that he, at his going into Ireland, exacted manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and iewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation. [The clergy forced to pay for Richard's 'going into Ireland.']

Act II. sc. i.—While Richard devised means to pay for his Irish expedition he was entreated to visit John of Gaunt, who lay at Ely House, "grieuous sicke" (I. iv. 54-58). Gaunt's death is thus briefly recorded by Holinshed.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/22.] In this meane time [Feb. 3, 1399],[2] the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne. *The death of the duke of Lancaster.*

The particulars of Gaunt's death (II. i. 1-138) were imagined by Shakspere, but for the rest of this scene he found some material in Holinshed. The ensuing excerpt illustrates ll. 160-162; 201-208.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/26.] The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance; in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue liuerie for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thencefoorth fall vnto him;[3] and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndooing. [The people's hatred of Richard is increased because he confiscated the rents and goods which had belonged to Gaunt, and refused to allow Bolingbroke to sue livery by attorney as Gaunt's heir.] *Tho. Walsi.*

Shakspere had Holinshed's authority for York's resentment of such injustice, and consequent departure from Court (II. i. 163-214).

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/40.] This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort; but

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[1] *Ott.* (197) says that during Lent, 1399, Richard exacted money, &c., for the Irish expedition.

[2] "in crastino Purificationis beatæ Mariæ" (Feb. 3).—*Ott.*, 198. "in crastino Sancti Blassii" (Feb. 4).—*Usk*, 23; 132.

[3] See p. 102 below.

[York had patiently borne Gloucester's death and Boling-broke's banishment, but was sore moved by Richard's confiscation of Boling-broke's inheritance.]

namelie the duke of Yorke was therewith sore mooued; who, before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie neere, as the death of his brother the duke of Glocester, the banishment of his nephue the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number; which, for the slipperie youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice, nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, . . . he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place, . . .

The duke of Yorke misliketh the court & goeth home.

Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langlie.

One of the wrongs which York had borne patiently was (II. i. 167, 168)

> . . . the preuention of poore Bullingbrooke
> About his mariadge, . . .

What York refers to is thus narrated by Holinshed:

The duke of Hereford is honorablie interteined with the French king [; and might have married the Duke of Berri's daughter, if Richard had not prevented the match.]

Froissard.

[*Hol.* iii. 495/2/31.] At his [Bolingbroke's] comming into France, king Charles [VI.], hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be verie light), receiued him gentlie, and him honorablie interteined, in so much that he had by fauour obteined in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king, if king Richard had not beene a let in that matter; who, being thereof certified, sent the earle of Salisburie[1] with all speed into France; both to surmize, by vntrue suggestion, heinous offences against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cousine to be matched in mariage with him that was so manifest an offendor.

As Richard leaves the stage he announces his intention of sailing for Ireland 'to morrow next'; and appoints York "Lord gouernour of England" (II. i. 217-220). The "iusts" performed at Windsor "a little before" Richard's embarkation (*Hol.* iii. 497/1/3) may be alluded to in II. i. 223:

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[1] The date of Salisbury's mission was, perhaps, March, 1399. Soon after ("assez tôt après") his return to England, a royal proclamation directed that a tournament should be held at Windsor. After this tournament Richard made preparations for going ("ordonna aller") to Ireland. He left the Queen at Windsor, and went thence to Bristol (*Frois.*, xiv. 163, 164).

[*Hol.* iii. 497/1/8.] When these iusts were finished, the king departed toward Bristow, from thence to passe into Ireland; leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor: he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vncle the duke of Yorke: and so in the moneth of Aprill,[1] as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie tooke shipping at Milford, and from thence, with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of armes and archers, he sailed into Ireland.

The king saileth ouer into Ireland with a great armie.

Fabian. Caxton.

The duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, the king being in Ireland.

Three passages in Holinshed may have suggested to Shakspere the conversation of Northumberland, Ross, and Willoughby (ll. 241-248), who remain on the stage after Richard's exit. Northumberland seems to glance at (ll. 241-245) an act of the subservient Parliament of 1397; which Holinshed thus records:

[*Hol.* iii. 493/1/40.] Finallie, a generall pardon was granted for all offenses to all the kings subiects (fiftie onelie excepted) whose names he would not by anie meanes expresse, but reserued them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his plesure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keepe them still within his danger. . . .

[Fifty unnamed nobles excepted from pardon.]

Manie other things were doone in this parlement, to the displeasure of no small number of people; namelie, for that diuerse rightfull heires were disherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the same parlement: with which wrongfull dooings the people were much offended; so that the king, and those that were about him, and cheefe in councell, came into great infamie and slander.

Rightfull heires disherited.

Large grants had been obtained from his Parliaments by Richard II.; and the oppressive poll-tax—to which we may suppose Ross refers—caused the commons' rebellion in 1381. Of that impost Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 428/2/36.] There was a new and strange subsidie or taske granted to be leuied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie preest secular or regular, six

A greeuous subsidie.

[1] "post Pentecosten proximo sequens" [read *sequentem* or understand *festum*].—*Eves.*, 148. "circa festum Pentecostes."—*Ott.*, 200. *Wals.*, 231. In 1399 Whit Sunday fell on May 18. *Fab.* (545)—quoted by *Hol.* in the marginal note—gives "y^e^ moneth of Aprell" as the date.

[A Poll Tax of Four pence, or] *Twelue pẽce, as some haue* [it, levied].

shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married, being 16 yeares of age, (beggers certenlie knowne onlie excepted,) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter cursse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischeefe rose thereof, as after it appeared.

In illustration of ll. 247, 248, I quote the passage noticed above (p. 90) concerning the fines levied from seventeen shires.

New exactions.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/2/9.] Moreouer, this yeare [1399] he caused seuenteene shires of the realme, by waie of putting them to their fines, to paie no small summes of monie, for redeeming their offenses, that they had aided the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, and Warwike, when they rose in armor against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were inforced also to receiue a new oth to assure the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certeine prelats and other honorable personages were sent into the same shires to persuade men to this paiment, and to see things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and suerlie the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constreined to paie, were not small, but exceeding great, to the offense of manie.

The paiment of these fines was called a plesance as it were to please the K. withall, but y^e^ same displeased manie that were thus constreined to paie against their willes.

After "blanckes," Willoughby mentions "beneuolences" as one of the "new exactions" devised by Richard (II. i. 250). A "benevolence" was—in name, at least—the conception of a later king.[1] In 1473 Edward IV. was meditating an expedition to France:

[*Hol.* iii. 694/1/43.] But bicause he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had receiued the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuised this shift,—to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them some portion of monie, which they sticked not to

A shift to recouer monie

[1] Of those inhabitants of seventeen counties who paid fines to Richard in 1399, *Wals.* says (ii. 230, 231): "coacti sunt Regi concedere . . . importabiles summas pecuniæ, pro *benevolentia sua* recuperanda." *Ott.* says (199): "Vocabantur itaque tales summæ, sic levatæ de singulis comitatibus, *le pleasaunce*." Cp. *Hol.'s* sidenote, "The paiment," &c.

giue. And therefore the king, willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, "A beneuolence": notwithstanding that manie with grudge gaue great sums toward that new found aid, which of them might be called, "A maleuolence." [, which Edward IV. called a 'benevolence.']

When Willoughby demands what has become of the money thus exacted by Richard, Northumberland answers (ll. 252-254):

> Wars hath not wasted it, for warrde he hath not,
> But basely yeelded vpon compromise
> That which his *noble* auncestors atchiued with blowes.

Shakspere may have been thinking of Richard's cession of Brest to John Duke of Brittany (see p. 84 above); a step which was censured by Gloucester, who bluntly said to the King:

[*Hol.* iii. 487/2/65.] Sir, your grace ought to put your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by feats of war, yer you take vpon you to sell or deliuer anie towne or strong hold gotten with great aduenture by the manhood and policie of your *noble* progenitours. [You ought to win a stronghold ere you sell what your ancestors gained.]

Northumberland hints that deliverance is near, and, being urged to speak out, says:

> I haue from le Port Blan
> A Bay in Brittaine receiude intelligence,
> That Harry duke of Herford, Rainold L. Cobham
> That late broke from the Duke of Exeter
> His brother,[1] archbishop late of Canterburie,
> Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir John Ramston,
> Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton, and Francis Coines; 284
> All these well furnished by the Duke of Brittaine
> With eight tall shippes, three thousand men of warre,
> Are making hither with all due expedience,
> And shortly meane to touch our Northerne shore: 288
> Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay
> The first departing of the King for Ireland.

During Richard's sojourn in Ireland,

[*Hol.* iii. 497/2/57.] . . . diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelats as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the

[1] "His brother," *i. e.* Richard Earl of Arundel's brother. Ritson suggested that the missing line was taken almost literally from *Hol.*, and ran thus: "The son and heir of the late earl of Arundel."—*Var. Sh.* xvi. 65.

The duke of Lancaster solicited to expell king Richard, and to take vpon him the regiment.

former state of wealth whilest king Richard liued and reigned, (as they tooke it,) deuised with great deliberation, and considerate aduise, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient speed to conueie himselfe into England; promising him all their aid, power, and assistance, if he, expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his natiue land and region.

He, therefore, being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his freends, and cheeflie through the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell,[1] late archbishop of Canturburie, who . . . had beene remooued from his see, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine, togither with the said archbishop; where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such freendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine[2] called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine; and, when all his prouision was made readie, he tooke the sea, togither with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundeli, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, . . . There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston, knights, Iohn Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint, esquires: few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fiftcene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and appointed as the vse then was. ¶ Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where *Froissard* yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where *Froissard* and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he should land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it seemeth otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he, approching to the shore, did not

The duke of Britaine a great friend to the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster & his adherents saile into England [, starting from Le port blanc].

Additions to Polychron. [, giving the names of other adherents].

[Various accounts of Boling-broke's forces.]

Thom. Wals. Chron. Brit. [records that Bolingbroke had 3000 men, and 8 ships.]

Froissard.

Tho. Walsing.

[1] Thomas Arundel (or Fitz-Alan), was exiled on September 24, 1397.—*Eves.*, 139.

[2] La Basse Bretagne; lower, or western, Brittany.

streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to see what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouslie to resist him, or freendlie to receiue him. [Bolingbroke did not land at once, but showed himself in different places, that he might judge how he should be received.]

In my excerpt from the play I retain the line-order and punctuation, as well as the text, of Q1. In none of the original texts of *Richard II.* is mention made of "Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell." But the following passage shows that Thomas Arundel must have been named in a preceding line as having "late broke from the Duke of Exeter."

[*Hol.* iii. 496/1/68.] About the same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot, mercer; and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Canturburie, as then soiourning at Cullen[1] [Cologne].

The reader will also note that Bolingbroke delayed his landing in order "to see what countenance was made by the people"; not because he awaited, as Northumberland conjectured (II. i. 290),

The first departing of the King for Ireland.

This deviation from his authority accords with Shakspere's annihilation of time in the present, and the preceding, scene. As one day only can be allowed for both scenes,—cp. the opening of the last scene of Act I., with its close, connecting it with the first scene of Act II.,—Bolingbroke could not have left England; yet, at the close of the present scene, we learn that he is returning from exile. Richard's absence from England, which lasted about two months, is ignored. For it is evident that, when this scene ends, Richard had not even embarked; and, moreover, in the next scene—between which and the present one we may admit an interval of a day or two—Greene hopes "the King is not yet shipt for Ireland" (II. ii. 42).[2]

Act II. sc. ii.—The Queen enters with Bushy and Bagot. They are joined by Greene (l. 40), and York (l. 72). When Northumberland had told his news, he, accompanied by Ross and Willoughby, set forth to meet Bolingbroke (II. i. 296-300). Greene announces their flight and Bolingbroke's landing at Ravenspur (ll. 49-55). Scene ii. is, in general, a dramatic version of the useless, though, doubtless, more formal, deliberations of the council to which York summoned Richard's favourites.

[*Hol.* iii. 498/1/36.] When the lord gouernor, Edmund duke of Yorke, was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the

[1] From *Fab.* 545 (an. 22 Ric. II.).

[2] *T.-A.*, 265.

[When York heard that Bolingbroke might land anywhere, he called a council of war, to which the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Bagot, and Greene were summoned.]

sea, and was readie to arriue, (but where he ment first to set foot on land, there was not any that vnderstood the certeintie,) he sent for the lord chancellor, Edmund Stafford, bishop of Excester, and for the lord treasuror, William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire, and other of the kings priuie councell, as Iohn Bushie, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and Iohn Russell, knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be doone in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their aduise was, to depart from London vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing; but, to how small purpose their counsell serued, the conclusion thereof plainlie declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither, boldlie protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall. . . .

[Their useless advice to collect an army at St. Albans.]

The commõs denie to resist the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Iulie[1] in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington; and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining; as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

The duke of Lancaster lãdeth [at Ravenspur] *in Yorkshire.*

Additions to Polychron.

[Among the first who came to him were Willoughby, Ros, and Beaumont.]

The defection, or resignation, of the Earl of Worcester, which Greene next announces (ll. 58-61), occurred soon after Richard's return to Wales, late in July, 1399.[2] Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 499/2/74.] Sir Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester,[3]

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[1] On June 28, according to *Usk*, 24; 134. "circa festum [June 24] S. Johannis Baptistæ."—*Eves.*, 151. "circa festum [July 4] translationis sancti Martini."—*Ott*, 203.

[2] Richard landed in Wales on July 22, according to *Usk*, 27; 137. *Eves.'s* (149) date is July 25. In *Trais.* (46; 194) the date assigned to Richard's landing is August 13.

[3] We learn from one chronicle (*Ott.*, 206, 207) that when Richard, soon after landing, withdrew to Flint,—in *Eulog.*, iii. 381, Conway is, with more probability, the place named,—he left his household in Worcester's care. Worcester, weeping most bitterly, broke his staff, and dismissed the royal

lord [*p.* 500] steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland, traitor, brake his white staffe, (which is the representing signe and token of his office,) and without delaie went to duke Henrie. When the kings seruants of [the] houshold saw this (for it was doone before them all) they dispersed themselues, some into one countrie, and some into an other.

The earle of Worcester leaueth the K. and fleeth to the duke.

A servingman enters, and says to York: "My Lord, your son was gone [to Ireland] before I came" (II. ii. 86). When Richard was at Dublin,[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 497/2/29.] the duke of Aumarle, with an hundred saile, arriued, of whose comming the king was right ioifull; and, although he had vsed no small negligence in that he came no sooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteouslie accepted his excuse. Whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to saie; but verelie he was greatlie suspected, that he dealt not well in tarieng so long after his time assigned.

The duke of Aumarle [arrived at Dublin, with reinforcements].

[His good faith doubted.

This servingman, whom York would send to Pleshey, to borrow money from the Duchess of Gloucester, answers: "An houre before I came the Dutchesse died" (II. ii. 97). Holinshed (514/2/3) records her death.[2]

"What, are there *no* Posts dispatcht for Ireland?" exclaims York (II. ii. 103). So Q1 (1597). Q2 (1598) reads "*two* Posts," and F1 has "What, are there postes dispatcht for Ireland?" The reading of Q2 is at variance with the following excerpt from Holinshed, which shows that but one opportunity occurred of sending news to Ireland of

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servants. *Wals.* (ii. 233) says that Worcester was authorized by Richard to release them from their duties till better times should come. *Frois.* (xiv. 167) has a story—to which, I suppose, *Hol.* refers—that Richard, before going to Ireland, published a sentence of banishment against Northumberland and Henry Percy, and thereby angered Worcester; who is not, however, said by *Frois.* to have done anything to revenge the injury. Cp. *Rich. II.*, II. iii. 26-30.

[1] I cannot reconcile the date when, according to Creton (*Archaeol.* xx. 27, 298), the campaign began,—which, after a few days, became a march to Dublin, —with the dates subsequently given by him. *Hol.* (497/2/ sidenote 2), on the authority of *Annales Hiberniae*, a MS. printed in Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 832, gives June 28 as the date of Richard's arrival at Dublin, and Creton says (*Ibid.* 45, 309) that Aumerle arrived on the same day; a date quite irreconcilable with Creton's subsequent scheme of time.

[2] The inscription on her tomb in Westminster Abbey shows that the Duchess died on October 3, 1399.

Bolingbroke's landing. As Bushy soon afterwards (l. 123) remarks that "the winde sits faire for newes to go to Ireland," the reading "*no* Posts" conveys a rebuke for tardiness.

Out of master Dees French booke [(Creton's *Deposition of Richard II.*)].

[*Hol.* iii. 499/1/14.] But here you shall note, that it fortuned at the same time in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaster (whether ye list to call him) arriued thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage to come ouer foorth of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that, for the space of six weeks, he receiued no aduertisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ship; whereby the king vnderstood the manner of the dukes arriuall, and all his proceedings till that daie in which the ship departed from the coast of England: wherevpon he meant foorthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make resistance against the duke; but through persuasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he staied, till he might haue all his ships, and other prouision, fullie readie for his passage.

[For six weeks no news came to Richard from England.]

[When at last he had tidings of Bolingbroke's invasion, he would have returned to England, but Aumerle persuaded him to wait.]

My next excerpt shows how, after attending the fruitless council mentioned above (p. 98), Richard's evil counsellors took to flight. (Cp. II. ii. 135—141.)

[*Hol.* iii. 498/1/56.] The lord treasuror, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with, the duke, slipped awaie; leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor, to make what shift they could for themselues. Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow,[1] in hope there to be in safetie.

[Perceiving the commons' mind, Bagot escaped to Ireland, and Bushy and Greene took refuge in Bristol Castle.]

Act II. sc. iii.—The scene is laid near Berkeley Castle (ll. 51-53); and, as the excerpt given below proves, can be dated Sunday, July 27, 1399, St. James's Day (July 25) having, in that year, fallen on a Friday.[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 498/2/3.] At his [Bolingbroke's] comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne, sir Henrie

[1] The swift action of the play establishes the Lord Treasurer (Earl of Wiltshire) in Bristol Castle before Richard's favourites separate. Cp. II. ii. 135, 136.

[2] The authority for this date is *Eves.*, 152.

Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him; where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father,[1] and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiment of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king esteemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster, hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched foorth with all speed through the countries, comming by Euesham vnto Berkelie: within the space of three daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

The duke of Lăcasters oth to the lords that aided him [, that he would claim no more than his inheritance. He also promised (1) to reduce taxation; (2) to make Richard govern justly; (3) and to disband the Cheshire-men.]

[He marched from Doncaster to Berkeley.]

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers; (as before yee haue heard;) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in anie wise offend him or his freends. The duke of Yorke, therefore, passing foorth towards Wales to meet the king, at his comming foorth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster, [to] whom (when he perceiued that he was not able to resist, on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which, as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie) he came foorth into the church that stood without the

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the duke of Lancaster [; and York's soldiers would not fight with him.

[York at Berkeley Castle.]

[1] Cp. Northumberland's words (II. iii. 148, 149):

> "The noble Duke hath sworne his comming is
> But for his owne;" . . .

Cp. also what Hotspur (1 *Hen. IV.*, IV. iii. 60-65), and Worcester (1 *Hen. IV.*, V. i. 41-46), afterwards said about Bolingbroke's oath. The charge of having transgressed this limitation, ratified by oath at Doncaster, is contained in the first article of the Percies' "quarell"; a document presented to Henry IV. on the day before the battle of Shrewsbury.—*Hard.*, 352. But it appears from the excerpt quoted in the text that Shakspere wronged Bolingbroke, who undertook national reformation also.

[Meeting of Bolingbroke and York.] castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishop of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other; with the duke of Lancaster were these: Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, (that had beene banished,) the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell, sonne to Richard, late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods, being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus, what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

[Names of those who were with York.]

[Names of those who were with Bolingbroke.]

[Love or fear made people flock to Bolingbroke.]

Justifying his return from banishment, Bolingbroke says to York (II. iii. 129, &c.):

> I am denyed to sue my Liuery here,
> And yet my letters pattents giue me leaue: . . . 130
> And I challenge law: Atturnies are denied me;
> And therefore personally I lay my claime
> To my inheritance of free descent. 136

This complaint formed the subject of an article exhibited against Richard in the Parliament which deposed him.

[*Hol.* iii. 502/2/16.] 10 Item, before the dukes departure, he [Richard] vnder his broad seale licenced him [Bolingbroke] to make atturnies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king, after his departure, would suffer none atturnie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.[1]

[Bolingbroke denied attornies to plead his causes.]

Act II. sc. iv.—From what follows, Shakspere constructed the dialogue between Salisbury and "a Welch captaine" (II. iv.), whose countrymen, after waiting "ten dayes" (l. 1) in arms, have dispersed, believing Richard to be dead. Richard, as we have seen (p. 100 above), delayed his return from Ireland "till he might haue all his ships, and other prouision, fullie readie for his passage."[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 499/1/32.] In the meane time, he sent the earle of

[1] See p. 91 above.

[2] Creton says (*Archaeol.*, xx. 55-58, 312, 313) that Aumerle treacherously gave Richard this advice; and also suggested that Salisbury should oppose Bolingbroke in the field, while the royal preparations for return were being made.

Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by helpe of the kings freends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all speed possible; that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriuall, for he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle, passing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent foorth letters to the kings freends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leauie their people, & to come with all speed to assist the K., whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds, they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himself at Conwaie; insomuch that, within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand[1] men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had beene there himselfe in person.

[Salisbury was sent to gather an army before Richard's arrival.]

[Forty thousand men assembled.]

But, when they missed the king, there was a brute spred amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead; which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition, in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that, for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go foorth with him, till they saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie foureteene daies to see if he should come or not; but, when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled & departed awaie; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field: so that the kings lingering of time, before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and tooke from the king all occasion to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

[But when Richard came not, a rumour went amongst them that he was dead, so, after waiting for him fourteen days, they dispersed.]

The Welsh Captain makes partial mention (II. iv. 8) of a portent which may have happened not long before the time of this scene.

[*Hol.* iii. 496/2/66.] In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trees withered, and, afterwards,

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. pag. 395.

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[1] Cp. Richard's words (III. ii. 76, 77) when he hears that the Welshmen have dispersed:

> "But now the bloud of 20000. men
> Did triumph in my face, and they are fled"; . . .

Salisbury had told him (l. 70) that the Welshmen numbered twelve thousand.

[Bay trees withered.] contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe; a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent.

Act III. sc. i.—July 29, 1399,[1] is the historic date on which the Third Act opens. "On the morow after" the day (July 27) when York met Bolingbroke at Berkeley,

The Duke of Lancaster marcheth to Bristow. [*Hol.* iii. 498/2/61.] the forsaid dukes, with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell; being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire and treasuror of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir Iohn Bushie, knights, who prepared to make resistance; but, when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought foorth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshall, and found giltie of treason, for misgouerning the king and realme; and foorthwith had their heads smit off.

At the close of sc. i., Act III., Bolingbroke says:

> Come, Lords, away,
> To fight with Glendor and his *complices:*
> A while to worke, and, after, holiday!

Theobald suspected that the second line of this quotation had been interpolated, because (1) the first and third lines ryme; (2) the second line is, historically, quite out of place. It is true that the earliest recorded foray of Glendower must be dated about a year later than the time with which we are now concerned; but Shakspere was not bound by chronological fetters. Perhaps the following account of Glendower's attack on Lord Grey of Ruthin—in the summer of 1400—is the source of this line, for Holinshed, it will be observed, applied the term "complices" to those who joined the raid.

The Welshmen rebell by the setting on of Owen Glendouer. [*Hol.* iii. 518/2/53.] In the kings [Henry IV.'s] absence, whilest he was foorth of the realme, in Scotland, against his enimies, the Welshmen tooke occasion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer; dooing what mischeefe they could

[1] According to *Eves.* (153),—whom *Hol.* follows,—Scrope, Bushy, and Greene were arraigned on July 29; and (*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 656/1) condemned to death on the same day. Cp. *Ott.*, 205. But *Usk* (24; 134) says that Bolingbroke did not reach Bristol till July 29. Adam of Usk was at Bristol when Bolingbroke was there in July, 1399 (25; 135).

deuise vnto their English neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was sonne to an esquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the parish of Conwaie, within the countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to saie in English, as "The vallie by the side of the water of Dee;" by occasion whereof he was surnamed Glindour Dew.

Iohn Stow. Owen Glendouer, what he was.

He was first set to studie the lawes of the realme, and became an vtter barrester, or an apprentise of the law, (as they terme him,) and serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaster; though other haue written that he serued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to atteine the crowne, in roome of an esquier; and after, by reason of variance that rose betwixt him and the lord Reginald Greie of Ruthin, about the lands which he [*p.* 519] claimed to be his by right of inheritance, when he saw that he might not preuaile, finding no such fauor in his sute as he looked for, he first made warre against the said lord Greie, wasting his lands and possessions with fire and sword, cruellie killing his seruants and tenants. The king, aduertised of such rebellious exploits,[1] enterprised by the said Owen, and his vnrulie *complices*, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an armie entered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their capteine withdrew into the mounteines of Snowdon, so to escape the reuenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword; sleing diuerse that with weapon in hand came foorth to resist him, and so with a great bootie of beasts and cattell he returned.[2]

[He was admitted to practise without the English bar; and served Richard at Flint Castle. Some say that he was Bolingbroke's squire.]

Tho. Walsi.

[Glendower's quarrel with Lord Grey of Ruthin.]

The occasion that mooued him to rebell.

The king entreth into Wales, meaning to chastise y^e^ rebels.

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[1] Full particulars of Glendower's rebellion reached Henry at Northampton, about September 12-19, 1400. The campaign began soon or immediately after September 26, and was over before October 19, 1400.—*Wylie* (i. 146-148), citing public records.

[2] According to one story Glendower "serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie Duke of Lancaster." I venture to suggest that Shakspere—assuming from these words that Glendower was personally attached to the King—turned the border strife with Lord Grey of Ruthin into warfare on Richard's behalf. The lines which I quote above (III. i. 42-44) might have introduced this lost or omitted portion of the play, but they are now, I suspect, imperfect and disarranged: the ryming lines—which should end the scene—being out of place, and two half lines, at least, having been lost.

Act III. sc. ii.—My next excerpt continues the history of Richard's fortunes, from the time when the Welshmen dispersed.

[*Hol.* iii. 499/1/66.] At length, about eighteene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he tooke the sea, togither with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed neere the castell of Barclowlie[1] in Wales, about the feast of saint Iames the apostle, and staied a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got togither against him; wherewith he was maruellouslie amazed, knowing certeinelie that those, which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuerthelesse he, departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all speed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstoode the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland, and landeth in Wales.

Thom. Wals.

[After leaving Barclowlie, he went to Conway.]

Additions to Polychron.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed with a good courage; but when he vnderstood, as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow, were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster; and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie councellors had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie togither, which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart to his home.

[News came of the loss of his castles, the revolt of nobles and commons, and the beheading of his councillors at Bristol.]

K. Richard, in vtter despaire, [licenced his soldiers to return to their homes.]

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[1] "Castrum de Hertlowli in Wallia."—*Eves.*, 149. Williams (*Trais.* 188, note) supposed this place to be Harlech Castle, Merionethshire. According to *Usk* (27; 137), and the text of *Trais.* (41; 188), Richard landed at Pembroke. The Lebaud and Ambassade MSS. of *Trais.* (*Trais.* 41, note 6), Creton (*Archaeol.* xx. 75; 321), and *Ott.* (206) have Milford as Richard's landing-place.

The souldiers, being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good cheere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death; but this could not incourage him at all, so that, in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and, with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie,[1] where he found the earle of Salisburie; determining there to hold himselfe, till he might see the world at some better staie; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischeefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not.

[Though they were ready to fight for him,] *K. Richard stealeth awaie from his armie, and taketh the castell of Flint.*

Act III. sc. iii.—The scene is laid before Flint Castle. After relating the cause of Richard's departure from Conway, and describing the ambush on the journey (see note 1), Holinshed proceeds:

[*Hol.* iii. 500/2/71.] King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, [*p.* 501] how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the nineteenth of August,[2] he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence; which vndoubtedlie made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. . . .

[Richard at Flint Castle (Aug. 18, 1399.)]

[Bolingbroke mustered his army before the castle, on Aug. 19.]

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[1] In a sidenote against this passage Richard is said to have withdrawn to "the castell of Flint," after deserting his army; and at the close of sc. ii., Act III., he exclaims:

> "Go to Flint Castle, there Ile pine away; . . .
> That power I haue, discharge," . . .

We learn from Creton (*Archaeol.* xx. 129-149; 349-366), whom *Hol.* subsequently follows, that Northumberland decoyed Richard from Conway Castle to a part of the road between Conway and Flint, where an ambush was laid. On reaching this spot the King was obliged to proceed to Flint, which was in the possession of Northumberland's troops. *Trais.* (47-52; 196-201) has the same story, with less detail. These authorities place the meeting of Richard and Bolingbroke at Flint Castle. *Usk* (27; 138, 139), *Ott.* (207, 208), and *Wals.* (ii. 233, 234), agree that Richard left Conway and met Bolingbroke at Flint Castle. But, according to *Eves.*, Richard, forsaking his army, betook himself to Flint Castle (150), whence, after some negotiation, he departed to Conway Castle, where Bolingbroke met him (154, 155).

[2] This date is derived from *Eves.*, 155.

[Richard watched the coming of the army.] The king . . . was walking aloft on the braies[1] of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off.

Shakspere altered the time, place, and purpose of Northumberland's mission. That mission had for its object the beguilement of Richard from Conway to Flint, where he would be in Bolingbroke's power. I begin the following excerpt—which contains the outline of III. iii. 31-126—at the time when Northumberland—entrusted with the difficult task of persuading Richard to leave Conway Castle—

The earle of Northumberlands message to the king: [If Richard would engage to summon a Parliament, and grant Bolingbroke a full pardon, Bolingbroke would become Richard's obedient subject.] [*Hol.* iii. 500/2/14.] came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him; which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland, passing the water, entred the castell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that, if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had against such as were enimies to the common-wealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him *on his knees*,[2] to craue of him forgiuenesse, and, as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices.

The excerpt illustrating the rest of the scene is an account of what happened at Flint, on a later date. When Bolingbroke approached the castle, he

[Again ascending to the walls, Richard saw Bolingbroke's army encircling the castle,] [*Hol.* iii. 501/1/62.] compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemelie order at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland, passing foorth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe

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[1] Creton—*Hol.'s* authority for this passage—says that Richard "monta sur les murs dudit chastel [of Flint], qui sont grans & larges par dedens" (*Archaeol.* xx. 370). Cp. the stage direction (l. 61): "The trumpets sound, *Richard appeareth on the walls.*"

[2] Cp. III. iii. 112, &c.:

> "His comming hither hath no further scope
> Then for his lineall roialties, and to beg
> Infranchisement immediate *on his knees.*"

shootes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland, returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and, after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred the same all armed, his bassenet onelie excepted; and being within the first gate, he staied there, till the king came foorth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

and Northumberland talking with him.]

[Within the first gate of the castle, Bolingbroke awaited Richard.]

The king, accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephan Scroope, knight,[1] (who bare the sword before him,) and a few other, came foorth into the vtter ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Foorthwith, as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee,[2] and, comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng: "Deere cousine, ye are "welcome." The duke, humblie thanking him, said: "My soue- "reigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, "is (your honor saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, "my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence." The king hervnto answered: "Deere cousine, I am readie to accom- "plish your will, so that ye may inioy all that is yours, without "exception."

[They meet in the outer ward.]

The dukes behauiour to the king at their meeting.

The dukes demand [—restitution of his person, lands, and heritage—was granted by Richard.]

Meeting thus togither, they came foorth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and, after they had dronke, they mounted on horssebacke, and rode [—halting at eleven places on the way—] to London: . . .

The king and the duke iournie togither towards London.

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[1] York, whom Shakspere brings into this scene, was not at Flint. He was then, perhaps, at Bristol.—*Hol.* 500/1/12; *Eves.* 153. Before the date of this scene, Aumerle—who is named amongst Richard's friends in III. ii. 27—went over to Bolingbroke.—Cp. *Hol.* 500/1/57, &c.: *Trais.* 46; 194: *Eves.* 154. Aumerle was present at a meeting between Richard and Archbishop Arundel, which took place after Richard had been "walking aloft on the braies," and before Bolingbroke drew near and surrounded Flint Castle. When the conference was ended, Aumerle returned with Arundel to Bolingbroke.—*Hol.* 501/1/8, &c.: *Archaeol.* xx. 157-159; 370, 371.

[2] Cp. III. iii. 190, 191:

> "Faire coosen, you debase your princely knee,
> To make the base earth proud with kissing it:" . . .

Act III. sc. iv.—This scene—which is wholly of Shakspere's invention—has been laid by editors at King's Langley (Herts.), the seat of York, to whom Bolingbroke says (III. i. 36): "Vncle, you say the Queene is at your house." The gardener's words (III. iv. 68-70) show that the historic time is shortly before September 30, 1399, the day of Richard's deposition. Queen Isabelle was then, perhaps, at Wallingford Castle, Berks.[1]

Act IV. sc. i.—"Enter Bullingbrooke with the Lords to parliament," is the stage direction which heads the Fourth Act. A Parliament, summoned in Richard's name, met at Westminster on September 30, 1399, deposed the King, elected Bolingbroke as his successor, and dissolved on the same day. On October 13, Henry IV. was crowned, and, on the following day, a new Parliament, summoned in his name, assembled at Westminster.[2] If we regard Act IV., sc. i., ll. 1-90, from a historical point of view, the latter Parliament was sitting when Bolingbroke enters, and, calling for Sir William Bagot, thus addresses him:

> Now, Bagot, freely speake thy mind;
> What thou doest know of noble Gloucesters death,
> Who wrought it with the King, and who performde
> The bloudy office of his timeles end.

We lost sight of Bagot on the eve of his flight to Ireland (II. ii. 141). Thence he had been brought fettered to London, and imprisoned.[3] On Thursday, October 16, 1399, the Commons "rehearsed all the errors of the last parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard [1397-98], & namelie in certeine fiue of them." Of these "errors" the third was that "the duke of Glocester was murthered, and after foreiudged" (*Hol.* 511/2/14). On the same day Bagot was placed at the bar of the House, and a statement,[4] drawn up by him, was read, from which I quote two clauses illustrating IV. i. 10-19; adding thereto the sources of ll. 33-90.

[*Hol.* iii. 512/1/6.] . . . there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of

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[1] On July 12, 1399, the Queen was at Wallingford Castle, Berks.—*Rymer*, viii. 83. On January 6, 1400, she was at Sonning, Berks.—*Ott.*, 225.

[2] *Eves.*, 156, 157, 160, 161. Parliament was summoned, in Henry's name, to meet on October 6, but no business was done on that day.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 415/1-2.

[3] *Usk*, 28; 140. *Fab.* (565) says that Bagot was a prisoner in the Tower at this time.

[4] The excerpts relating to Bagot's charges, and the subsequent appeals, are in MS. Bodl. 2376. f. ccvii. b. & seq., translated in *Archaeol.* xx. 275, &c. That part of the MS. which contained the charges themselves is missing, but the portion embracing my excerpt beginning with the words "On the saturdaie," is perfect. Comparison of what is left shows that *Hol.* followed this authority. *Fab.*'s account (565-567) of the Bagot incident, though varying in details, is substantially the same as *Hol.*'s.

Aumarle: for he was the man that, to fulfill his mind, had set him in hand with all that was doone against the said duke, and the other lords. . . . There was also conteined in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead; not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischeefe that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of Aumarle accused [of being concerned in Gloucester's death;] [and of saying that he had rather than 20,000 pounds that Bolingbroke were dead.]

After that the bill had beene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points conteined in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie false and vntrue; which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisit. . . .

The duke of Aumarle his answer vnto Bagots bill.

On the saturdaie next insuing [Oct. 18], sir William Bagot and the said John Hall[1] were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Glocester's death, "I say" (quoth he) "that he was the verie cause of his "death"; and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

Bagot and Hall brought to the barre.

The lord Fitzwater appealeth the duke of Aumarle of treason [, in conspiring Gloucester's death; and throws down a gage of battle.]

[Twenty other lords did the same. Aumerle answered Fitz-Walter's challenge by throwing down a gage.]

The duke of Surrie stood vp also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the appellants were causers of the duke of Glocesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement against the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was doone by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied:

[Surrey said that Fitz-Walter's charge was false; and threw down a gage.]

[1] A former valet of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Hall was, by his own confession, present at the murder of Gloucester.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 453/1.

and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered herevnto, that he was not present in the parlement house, when iudgement was giuen against them, and all the lords bare witnesse thereof. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants to Calis, to murther the duke of Glocester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norfolke affirme it, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie; throwing downe an other hood which he had borowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England,[1] and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale.

[Aumerle threw down a borrowed gage of battle against Norfolk, who accused him of sending two servants to murder Gloucester.]

[Norfolk was licensed to return, that he might arraign his appeal.]

In agreement with the last sentence of these excerpts, Shakspere makes Bolingbroke promise that Norfolk shall be recalled from exile, to answer Aumerle's challenge. Carlisle says that Norfolk is dead (IV. i. 86-102). Norfolk's death is thus noticed by Holinshed:[2]

The death of the duke of Norffolke.

[*Hol.* iii. 514/1/73.] This yeare [1399] Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norffolke, died in exile at Venice; whose death might haue beene worthilie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not beene consenting to the death of the duke of Glocester.

Holinshed does not tell us that Norfolk joined crusades

Against black Pagans, Turkes, and Saracens;

but Shakspere may have transferred to Bolingbroke's foe the honour, which Bolingbroke had himself acquired through warfare with "miscreants." In 1390 a small corps of Englishmen formed part of an army—commanded by Lewis Duke of Bourbon, uncle of Charles VI.—which besieged Africa, a fortress seventy miles distant from Tunis.

[Polydore Vergil said that Bolingbroke commanded the Englishmen at the siege of Africa.]

[*Hol.* iii. 473/1/69.] Where, by *Polydor Virgil* it may seeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaster, earle of Derbie,[3] should be capteine of the English men, that (as before ye haue heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and Genowais. It should

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[1] Northumberland was Constable.—*Dugdale*, i. 278/1. The Marshal was Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.—*Dugdale*, i. 298/1.

[2] Norfolk died on September 22, 1399.—*Inq. p. m.* 1 H. IV—71 (O. B.).

[3] *Polyd. Verg.* has the support of *St. Denys* (i. 652),—written by a contemporary of Bolingbroke,—which records that a small band of Englishmen went to the siege of Africa "cum comite Delby (*sic*) anglico, filio ducis Lencastrie." *Frois.* (xii. 255)—whom *Hol.* had previously cited—does not mention Bolingbroke's presence, but says that "messire Jean, dit Beaufort, fils bâtard au duc de Lancastre" was at the siege of Africa in 1390.

Thom. Wals. The earle of Derbie his exploits in his iournie against the infidels of Prutzenland.

otherwise appeare by other writers, who affirme that the said earle made a iournie in deed the same time against the miscreants; not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenland, where he shewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage:

The appeals of battle having been adjourned (ll. 104-106), York enters with the news that Richard has abdicated. On August 31 (?), 1399, the day after his arrival in London, Richard was conveyed to the Tower,[1] where

[*Hol.* iii. 503/1/47.] diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

The king is persuaded to resigne the crowne to the duke.

And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obteine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion proceeded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howsoeuer their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king, being now in the hands of his enimies, and vtterlie despairing of all comfort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminence, so that, in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie; the mondaie being the nine and twentith daie of September, and feast of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne.

[Richard abdicated on St. Michael's Day, 1399.]

The news, that Richard has yielded his sceptre to Bolingbroke (ll. 107-110), should be compared with the testimony of witnesses present at the abdication, as to what followed the King's reading aloud of the instrument mentioned in the preceding excerpt.

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[1] *Eves.*, 155, 156.

[*Hol.* iii. 504/2/39.] Now foorthwith, in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saieng that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successour, and king after him . . .: desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successour and their king after him.[1]

[Richard wished to be succeeded by Bolingbroke.]

When York has announced Richard's abdication, Bolingbroke says (l. 112):

In Gods name Ile ascend *the regall throne.*

With reference to these words I quote the following passages, showing how, on September 30, after hearing the sentence of Richard's deposition read, Parliament elected Bolingbroke as his successor.

[*Hol.* iii. 505/2/28.] Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster, rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forhead, and likewise on his brest, and, after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people, there being present, these words following.

[Bolingbroke stood up, and crossed himself.]

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge
or claime to the crowne.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-

[1] Richard and the commissioners appointed to receive his abdication met in the forenoon of September 29,—the abdication took place in the afternoon of the same day,—"where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid earle of Northumberland, that, before time at Conwaie [? Flint] in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canterburie, then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he, for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of to occupie so great a charge as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie Duke of Hereford; and that to doo in such conuenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised and ordeined."—*Hol.* 503/2/46 (*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 416/2).

"ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and "the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by "right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie "the third; and through the right that God of his grace hath sent "me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer the "same, which was in point to be vndoone for default of good "gouernance and due iustice."

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie, hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, "Yea, yea, yea!" After which answer, the said archbishop, going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addressed to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, &, taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, (the archbishop of Yorke assisting him,) and with great reuerence set him therein, after that the duke had first vpon his knees made his praier in deuout manner vnto almightie God.

[Each Lord asked another's opinion of the claim.]

The demand of the archbishop of Canturburie to the commons.

[The commons cried "Yea, yea, yea!"]

Thom. Wals.

The duke of Hereford placed in the regall throne. [Cp. l. 112.]

Shakspere has antedated Carlisle's speech,[1] if we assume it to have been delivered on or about "wednesdaie following" the day (Saturday, October 18, 1399) on which Aumerle was appealed by Fitz-Walter.

My next excerpt comprises the part of Carlisle's speech paraphrased by Shakspere (IV. i. 117-135).

[*Hol.* iii. 512/2/29.] On wednesdaie [Oct. 22, 1399] following,

[1] The authenticity of this speech is doubtful. According to the writer of *Trais.*—the earliest known authority for it—the speech was delivered on October 1 (70; 220); if we are to understand "lendemain" as having reference to September 30, the date immediately preceding. But, as Mr. Williams pointed out (*Trais.*, 221, note), Carlisle's protest seems more apposite if we suppose that it was made on October 23, when, in a secret committee, Northumberland asked the peers, "what should be done with Richard lately King, saving his life, which King Henry wished by all means to be held sacred?"—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 426/2. The excerpt, "On wednesdaie . . . was granted," is in Bodl. MS. 2376 (*Archaeol.* xx. 279, 280).

John Stow. The request of the commons.

request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Wherevpon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed foorth his opinion concerning that demand; affirming that there was none amongst them woorthie or meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more: "And I assure you" (said he) "there is not so ranke a "traitor, nor so errant a theef, nor yet so cruell a murtherer "apprehended or deteined in prison for his offense, but he shall be "brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye "proceed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither "his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster, *whom* "ye *call king* [Cp. l. 134], hath more trespassed to K. Richard & "his realme, than king Richard hath doone either to him, or "vs:" . . . As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbeie of saint Albons.

Hall. A bold bishop and a faithful [was Carlisle, who argued (1) that Richard being their sovereign, the Lords could not judge him; (2) it were unjust to condemn him in his absence].

[When Carlisle had ended his speech, he was arrested.]

When Carlisle has been arrested, Bolingbroke says:

> Fetch hither Richard, that in common view
> He may surrender; so we shall proceede
> Without suspition. 156

Afterwards Northumberland desires Richard to read

> These Accusations, and these grieuous Crymes
> Committed by your Person, and your followers,
> Against the State and Profit of this Land;
> That, by confessing them, the Soules of men
> May deeme that you are worthily depos'd. 224

The official acts, which have been dramatized in "the Parliament Sceane," are thus described:

[*Hol.* iii. 504/2/60.] Upon the morrow after, being tuesdaie, and the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of

Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand; which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them [*p.* 505] granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that, notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie, in auoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

[Richard's abdication, and his wish that Bolingbroke might succeed him, announced to Parliament.]

K. Richards resignation confirmed by parlement.

[Articles, setting forth Richard's crimes, were to be drawn up, and publicly read.]

All this was doone accordinglie, for the articles, which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed vp, and there shewed readie to be read; but, for other causes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred.

Holinshed thus prefaces the "Articles" which Northumberland desires Richard to "reade o're" (l. 243):

[*Hol.* iii. 502/1/8.] . . . manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard: the which (to the end the commons might be persuaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthie to be deposed) were ingrossed vp in 33 solemne articles.

[Richard's crimes were set forth in 33 articles.]

Perhaps Richard's manual surrender of his crown (ll. 181-189) is a dramatic version of a symbolical transfer made by him in the Tower, on September 29, after he had expressed a wish that Bolingbroke—who was present—might be his successor.

[*Hol.* iii. 504/2/45.] And, in token heereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger, being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes [Bolingbroke's] finger, . . .

But Froissart (xiv. 222, 223) describes how, in the presence of "lords, dukes, prelates, erles, barones, and knyghts, and of the notablest men of london & of other good townes," Richard, "aparelled like a king in his robes of estate, his sceptre in his hand, & his croun on his hed," delivered the sceptre to Bolingbroke, and then "toke the crowen fro his head with both his hands, and set it before him, & sayd: 'Fair 'cosyn, Henry duke of Lancaster, I geue and deliuer you this crowne 'wherewyth I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the 'right there to dependynge.'"—Berner's *Froissart*, 1525, vol. ii. fol. cccxiiii.

[Richard put his signet ring upon Boling-broke's finger.]

On the afternoon of September 29, 1399, Bolingbroke, Northumberland, William, Abbot of Westminster, and other witnesses, met "in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging," at the Tower (*Hol.* iii. pp. 503, 504), before whom Richard,

[*Hol.* iii. 504/1/19.] with glad countenance . . . said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet, for the more suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

By this official document,—which has a remote general likeness to his speech in IV. i. 204-215,—Richard absolved his subjects from their allegiance, resigned his crown and lordships, renounced the style and honours of a king, and acknowledged that he was justly deposed.

In regard to Richard's words (ll. 255-257),—

> I haue no Name, no Title,
> No, not that Name was giuen me at the Font,
> But tis vsurpt,—

the late Rev. W. A. Harrison pointed out (*Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1880-82, p. 59*) two passages in *Traïson*, whence it appears that Richard, after his abdication, was styled "Iehan de Bordeaulx qui fu nomme Roy Richart Dengleterre" (71, 72), and "Iehan de Londres lequel fu nomme Richart" (94). After his capture the Londoners called him a bastard (*Trais.*, 64); and Bolingbroke, conversing with the fallen King in the Tower, before the abdication, spoke of Richard's illegitimacy as a common rumour (*Frois.*, xiv. 219, 220). We learn from *Ann. R. II.—H. IV.* (237, 238) that Richard, being in danger of death, was hastily baptized by the name of John, but afterwards, in compliment to his godfather Richard King of the Majorcas,[1] "confirmatus fuit per Episcopum, vocatusque 'Ricardus.'"

[1] "Richard, King of the Majorcas" (*Majoricarum*) is unknown in history. Richard II.'s godfather was James, titular King of Majorca.—*Froissart*, ed. Buchon (Panthéon Littéraire), i. 521. This James, son of James II. King of Majorca, was the third husband of Joanna I., Queen of Naples.

I have not found this story anent Richard's name in chronicles published before 1608, when the Parliament Scene was first printed.

While he is gazing into the mirror (ll. 281-283), Richard says:

> Was this Face the Face
> That euery day, vnder his House-hold Roofe,
> Did keepe ten thousand men?

Holinshed speaks thus of the King's lavish household expenditure:

Harding.

[*Hol.* iii. 508/1/5.] He kept the greatest port, and mainteined the most plentifull house, that euer any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted dailie to his court aboue ten thousand persons that had meat and drinke there allowed them.

The noble house-keeping of king Richard.

Shakspere has postdated Richard's committal to the Tower (l. 316). According to Holinshed:

The king cõmitted to the tower.

[*Hol.* iii. 501/2/63.] The next day after his comming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower,[1] and there committed to safe custodie.

I know not why Bolingbroke should "solemnly set downe" his coronation on "Wednesday next" (ll. 319, 320). He was crowned on Monday, October 13, 1399; as appears from Holinshed, who records Bolingbroke's coronation on "saint Edwards daie, and the thirteenth of October" (511/1/24), and says (511/1/71): "The solemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tuesdaie, the parlement began againe."

The first Parliament of Henry IV. entailed the crown upon him and the heirs of his body. Holinshed relates this settlement, and thus alludes to the impending plot of the Abbot of Westminster, broached at the close of Act IV.

[The Abbot of Westminster's plot might have dethroned Bolingbroke.]

[*Hol.* iii. 514/1/22.] By force of this act king Henrie thought himselfe firmelie set on a sure foundation, not needing to feare any storme of aduerse fortune. But yet shortlie after he was put in danger to haue beene set besides the seat, by a conspiracie begun in the abbat of Westminsters house, which had it not beene hindred, it is doubtfull whether the new king should haue inioied

[1] According to *Eves.* (156) Richard reached London on Saturday, August 30, 1399, and was taken to the Tower on the following day. *Ann. R. II.—H. IV.* (251) and *Ott.* (208, 209) give September 1 as the date of his arrival in London, and add that on September 2 he was removed from the palace of Westminster, by water, to the Tower. With hesitation I accept the dates of the monk of Evesham, whose authority concerning the events of Richard's last year deserves great regard.

his roialtie, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principalitie.

Act V. sc. i.—There was no such parting of Richard and Isabelle as is here represented. They never met again after Richard left Windsor;[1] not long before he sailed for Ireland. Between the two historical events which this scene connects—Richard's transference to Pomfret,[2] and Isabelle's return to France—an interval of more than a year elapsed. Richard's captivity in the Tower is ignored. Northumberland enters, and thus addresses the deposed King (ll. 51, 52):

> My Lord, the minde of Bullingbrooke is changde;
> You must to Pomfret, not vnto the Tower.

Richard was sent to the Tower on or about August 31, 1399; whence,

[Richard was conveyed to Leeds, and afterwards to Pomfret, where he died.]

[*Hol.* iii. 507/2/64.] shortlie after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & from thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare).

Moreover, Northumberland tells the Queen that she "must away to France" (l. 54). She was, however, detained by Bolingbroke; and did not, when returning to France, leave London—where this scene is laid—until June 28, 1401.[3]

Act V. scc. ii., iii.—The description which York gives of Bolingbroke's reception by the Londoners (V. ii. 7-17) has full warrant from the following excerpt.

The dukes receiuing into London.

[*Hol.* iii. 501/2/44.] As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Paules church. It was a woonder to see what great concursse of people, & what number of horsses, came to him on the waie as he thus passed the countries, till his

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[1] When in the Tower, Richard commanded that the Queen might be sent for, to speak to him; but Bolingbroke, who was present, pleaded the Council's authority as an excuse for disobedience.—*Trais.*, 66; 217. Richard married her in 1396; and, at the historic date of Act V. sc. i., she was about twelve years of age.—*Chron. R. II.—H. IV.*, 129 (Appendix).

[2] Richard was removed from the Tower on the Morrow of SS. Simon and Jude (Oct. 29, 1399), soon after midnight.—*Ann. R. II.—H. IV.*, 313. *Ott.*, 223. In *Trais.* (75; 227) the date given for his removal from the Tower is October 31, 1399. According to *Ann. R. II.—H. IV.* (313) and *Ott.* (223) the place of his subsequent imprisonment was then, at least, a state secret; but the writer of *Chron. Giles* tells us (*Hen. IV.*, 10) that Richard was taken from the Tower to Leeds Castle in Kent, and was thence conveyed to Pomfret Castle.

[3] *Usk*, 61; 185. Adam of Usk was an eye-witness of her departure from London.

comming to London, where (vpon his approch to the citie) the maior rode foorth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, vttering the same also with words, as the like [had] not lightlie beene seene. For in euerie towne and village where he passed, children reioised, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked togither in the fields and streets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I speake of the presents, welcommings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communaltie.

[Joy in the towns and villages through which he passed. The fields and streets of London thronged.]

When Richard was removed from Westminster to the Tower (p. 119 above), he narrowly escaped an outbreak of hatred far exceeding what York noticed (V. ii. 5, 6; 27-30) on the day before.

[*Hol.* iii. 501/2/66.] Manie euill disposed persons, assembling themselues togither in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them the worshipfull commoners and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adoo, the other were reuoked from their euill purpose: . . .

[A design to waylay and murder Richard frustrated by the Mayor and Aldermen.]

As York ends with a firm profession of loyalty to Bolingbroke, the Duchess of York exclaims: "Here comes my sonne[1] Aumerle!" to which the Duke replies (ll. 41-43):

> Aumerle that was;
> But that is lost for being Richards friend,
> And, Madam, you must call him Rutland[2] now:

By Parliament sitting on November 3, 1399,

[*Hol.* iii. 513/2/1.] it was finallie enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parlement against the duke of Glocester and other, should in this wise following be ordred. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester, there present, were iudged to loose

Dukes [of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter,] *and others, depriued of their titles.*

[1] Aumerle's mother was Isabel, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon. She died in 1394.—*Hol.* 481/1/28 (*Wals.*, ii. 214, 215). York was survived by his second wife, Joan Holland, daughter of Thomas Holland, second Earl of Kent.

[2] Earl of Rutland was his former title. He was created Duke of Albemarle on September 29, 1397; on which day the Parliament wherein he appealed Gloucester was prorogued.—*Eves.*, 141.

their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles, and dignities therevnto belonging.

The historic date of January 4, 1400,[1]—the day on which York detected Aumerle's treason,—can be given to such portions of scenes ii. and iii., Act V., as have for their subject the discovery of the Abbot's plot. The material for these portions was chiefly furnished by the closing sentence of the third, and the whole of the fourth, paragraph quoted below.

[*Hol.* iii. 514/2/10.] But now to speak of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as cheefe instrument thereof. Ye shall vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is *Hall.* reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derbie, and yoong of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therfore doubting now, least if *What mooued the abbat of Westminster to conspire against the king.* the king continued long in the estate, he would remooue the great beame that then greeued his eies, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and councell, where they might consult and commen togither, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat, after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house, on a day in the terme time,[2] all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie; whose names were: *The lords that conspired against the duke.* Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, late duke of Excester; Thomas Holland earle of Kent, late duke of Surrie; Edward earle of Rutland, late duke of Aumarle, sonne to the duke of Yorke; Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie; Thomas lord Spenser, late earle of Glocester; Thomas[3] the bishop of Carleill; sir Thomas Blunt; and [Maudelen, a priest, resembled Richard.] Maudelen, a priest, one of king Richards chappell, a man as like

[1] Aumerle went to dine with his father "le premier Dimenche de lan" [1400]; and, having seated himself, laid the letter containing evidence of the plot on the table.—*Trais.*, 80; 233.

[2] The conspirators met at the Abbot of Westminster's chambers, on December 17, 1399.—*Trais.*, 77; 229.

[3] *Thomas*] *John* Hol.

him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall freends, and, when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in councell, and, after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iusts to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Salisburie and 20 with him, at Oxford; to the which triumph K. Henrie should be desired, &, when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroied, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people; the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hervpon was an indenture sextipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreouer, they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

A iusts deuised to be holden at Oxford [, where Bolingbroke was to be slain, and Richard thus reinstated in the throne.]

An indenture sextipartite.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsore, earnestlie requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be at Oxenford on the daie appointed of their iustes; both to behold the same, and to be the discouerer and indifferent iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and dooings. The king, being [*p.* 515] thus instantlie required of his brother in law,[1] and nothing lesse imagining than that which was pretended, gentlie granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obteined, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such an high & solemne

He is desired to come and see the iusts.

[The conspirators' preparations.

[1] "Our trusty brother in law" (*Rich. II.*, V. iii. 137), John Earl of Huntingdon, married Elizabeth, sister german of Bolingbroke.

triumph apperteined. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared horsse and harnesse for his compassed purpose; and, when he had all things readie, he departed towards Oxenford, and, at his comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland, departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

[They all met at Oxford, except Rutland.

[Rutland had the indenture in his bosom.]

The duke of Yorke taketh the indenture from his son.

The father, espieng it, would needs see what it was; and, though the sonne humblie denied to shew it, the father, being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome; and perceiuing the contents therof, in a great rage caused his horsses to be sadled out of hand, and spitefullie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parlement,[1] he incontinentlie mounted on horssebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland, seeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horsse,[2] and rode another waie to Windsore in post, so that he got thither before his father, and, when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saieng that he must needs deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knees, beseeching him of mercie and forgiuenesse, and, declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obteined pardon. Therewith came his father, and, being let in, deliuered the indenture, which he had taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiuing his sonnes words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Oxenford.

[York reviled his son,—for whom he had become surety,—and rode off to Windsor, to warn Bolingbroke.]

[Rutland outstripped York.]

The earle of Rutland vttreth y^e^ whole conspiracie to the king.

[Afterwards came York with the indenture.]

Act V. scc. iv. and v.—Scene iv., Act V., and the latter part[3] (ll.

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[1] Cp. *Rich. II.*, V. ii. 44, 45.

[2] Shakspere has made Aumerle take York's horse; for, according to all the texts of *Rich. II.*, V. ii. 111, the Duchess exclaims: "After, Aumerle! mount the vpon *his* horse."

[3] What a groom, who had once served Richard, says about "Roane Barbarie" (ll. 76-80), and the fallen King's comment thereon (ll. 84-86), may possibly have been suggested to Shakspere by a story of a greyhound named

95-117) of the next scene, faithfully represent one of the several accounts of Richard's death.

Sir Piers de Exton, a murtherer of king Richard [, because of words which he heard Bolingbroke say].

[*Hol.* iii. 517/1/7.] One writer,[1] which seemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards dooings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, sore sighing, said: "Haue I no "faithfull freend which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be "my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my life?" This saieng was much noted of them which were present, and especiallie of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his

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Mathe; though the dog's abandonment of his old master was deliberately cruel, while Barbary was, as Richard admits, "created to be awed by man," and "borne to beare."

[Berner's *Froissart*, ed. 1 (1523-25), vol. ii. fol. ccc.xii.]

[Richard had a greyhound called Mathe, who would follow no one else.]

[At Flint Castle, Mathe left Richard, and fawned on Bolingbroke.]

[This was an omen that Bolingbroke should be King of England.]

[Mathe would never after follow Richard.]

And, as it was enformed me, kynge Richarde had a grayhounde called Mathe, who alwayes wayted vpon the kynge, and wolde knowe no man els. For, whansouer the kyng dyde ryde, he that kept the grayhounde dyde lette hym lose, and he wolde streight rynne to the kynge and fawne vpon hym, and leape with his fore fete vpon the kynges shulders. And as the kynge & the erle of Derby talked togyder in the courte [of Flint Castle], the grayhounde, who was wont to lepe vpon the kyng, left the kynge & came to the erle of Derby, duke of Lancastre, and made to hym the same frendly countinaunce & chere as he was wonte to do to the kyng. The duke, who knewe nat the grayhounde, demaunded of the kyng what the grayhounde wolde do. "Cosyn," quod the kyng, "it is a gret good token to you, and an yuyll "sygne to me." "Sir, howe knowe you that?" quod the duke. "I knowe it well," quod the kyng: "The grayhounde maketh "you chere this day as kynge of Englande: (as ye shalbe, and I "shalbe deposed:) the grayhounde hath this knowledge natur-"ally, therfore take hym to you; he wyll folowe you & forsake "me." The duke vnderstode well those wordes, and cherisshed the grayhounde, who wolde neuer after folowe kyng Richarde, but folowed the duke of Lancastre.

Usk says (39, 40; 155) that the dog once belonged to Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, on whose death it came to Richard, whom it had never before seen. After leaving Richard it went to Shrewsbury, and there *Usk* saw it fawn upon Henry.

[1] The writer, I suppose, of *Trais.* (93-96; 248-250). *Hol.* had a MS. of *Trais.*, which he cites as "The French pamphlet" (see p. 82, note 1, above). But Mr. Williams pointed out (*Trais.*, l., note 3) that a MS. of Froissart's fourth book (No. 8323 Regius, Bibliothèque du Roi) has an addition containing the familiar story of Richard's murder by Exton, the writer of which addition says that he was informed of its truth "par homme digne de foy, nommé Creton" (li.). The only important difference between *Hol.'s* version, and the original story as narrated by Creton and the writer of *Trais.* is that, according to the latter authorities, Bolingbroke expressly ordered Exton to slay Richard: the aside which gave Exton his cue ("Haue I no . . . of my life") first occurring, I believe, in *Halle* (20), whose account of Richard's murder agrees in other particulars with what *Hol.* relates.

[Exton went to Pomfret with eight followers; and ordered the sewer not to taste Richard's food.]

companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier, that was accustomed to sew[1] and take the assaie before king Richard, to doo so no more, saieng: "Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat." King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie; wherevpon, much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier whie he did not his dutie: "Sir" (said he) "I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of "Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie." When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saieng: "The diuell take "Henrie of Lancaster and thee togither!" And with that word, sir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, euerie of them hauing a bill in his hand.

[When the sewer refused to taste the food, Richard struck him, and bade the devil take him and Bolingbroke. Then the murderers entered.]

King Richard, perceiuing this, put the table from him, &, steping to the formost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers, being half dismaied herewith, lept into the chaire where king Richard was woont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauersed his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life;[2] without giuing him respit once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one striken with the pricke of a giltie conscience, for murthering him, whome he had so long time obeied as king.

The desperat manhood of king Richard.

K. Richard murthered.

[Exton's remorse.]

Act V. sc. vi.—This scene is postdated, for the revolt was suppressed before Richard's death. When sc. vi. opens, "the latest newes" which Bolingbroke has heard is that the rebels have burnt

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[1] "sew . . . assaie" = serve and remove the dishes, and taste the food in them.

[2] February 14, 1400, is the usually accepted date of Richard's death (see *Eves.*, 169); but, on January 29, 1400, Charles VI. referred to him as Richard late King of England, whom God pardon.—*Rymer*, viii. 124. *Wylie* (i. 114, 115) cites documentary evidence from which he infers that Richard was murdered about the middle of January, 1400.

Cirencester; but whether they had been "tane or slaine" was unknown. As Holinshed's account of the rebellion was not dramatized, an epitome of the chief facts recorded by contemporary chroniclers will suffice. The rebel lords marched to Windsor, hoping to surprise Henry. Warned in time, he fled by night (Jan. 4-5) to London, and raised forces to oppose them. The rebels retreated, and arrived at Cirencester on January 6. At midnight, the townsmen attacked them in their lodgings, and, after a struggle which lasted for many hours, obliged them to surrender. The lords were then confined in the abbey. About vespers a chaplain attached to them set fire to some houses in Cirencester, in order that the prisoners might escape while the townsmen were extinguishing the flames. But the men of Cirencester, paying no heed to the fire, brought the rebels out of the abbey, and beheaded the Earls of Salisbury and Kent about sunset, on January 7, 1400.—*Usk*, 40, 41; 156. *Traïson*, 80-82; 233-235. *Ann. R. II.—H. IV.*, 323-326.

Holinshed's narration of what befell the other conspirators should be compared with ll. 7-29.

[*Hol.* iii. 516/2/16.] The lord * Hugh Spenser,[1] otherwise called earle of Glocester, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Bristow, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. . . . Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie, knight, . . . but sir Leonard Brokas, and [others] . . . , were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the cheefe conspirators were set on polles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others. Shortlie after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun, (as is said,) gooing betweene his monasterie & mansion, for thought fell into a sudden palsie, and shortlie after, without speech, ended his life.[2] The bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracie; but the king, of his mercifull

* *Thoma Spenser saith Wal. & others,*

[Spenser beheaded.] *Hall.*

Execution[s of Blunt, Seely, Brocas, and others]. *Tho. Walsing. Hall.*

[The chief conspirators' heads set on London Bridge.] *The abbat of Westminster dieth suddēlie. Thom. Wals.*

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[1] Qq. 1, 2, 3, 4, read: "The heades of *Oxford*, Salisbury, Blunt and Kent" (V. vi. 8). F1 has: "The heads of Salsbury, *Spencer*, Blunt, and Kent." As Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, had no share in the rebellion, the reading of F1 should be preferred.

[2] William Colchester, Abbot of Westminster, was a prisoner in the Castle of Reigate on January 25, 1400.—*Claus:* 1 H. IV. pars i. m. 19 (O. B.). He must have soon regained his freedom.—*Ann. R. II.—H. IV.*, 330; and *Claus*, 1 H. IV. pars ii. m. 6 (O. B.). He was probably the William Abbot of Westminster present at Pisa in 1408.—Martène's *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ii. 1395 C. According to Dugdale (*Monasticon*, ed. 1817-30, i. 275, 276) Colchester was Abbot of Westminster until some date in October, 1420.

The bishop of Carleill dieth through feare, or rather thorough greefe of mind, to see the wicked prosper as he tooke it. Hall.

clemencie, pardoned him of that offense; although he died shortlie after,[1] more through feare than force of sicknesse, as some haue written.

The excerpt quoted above (pp. 125, 126) contains all that Holinshed has recorded touching Exton. From the subjoined description of Richard's funeral, it appears that Bolingbroke paid as much respect to the late King's memory as may warrant the closing lines of this scene.

[*Hol.* iii. 517/1/49.] After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and seered, and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige to be soong in the euening, and masse of *Requiem* in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the other, his face discouered, was shewed to all that coueted to behold it.

[Richard's body conveyed from Pomfret to London.]

The dead bodie of K. Richard brought to y^e^ Tower.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, bare faced; where it laie three daies togither, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie doone for him, both at Paules, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the masse of *Requiem*, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was commanded to be had vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers.

[Funeral rites at Westminster and St. Paul's.]

The following excerpts bear upon the characters of Richard II., Edmund Duke of York, and Sir John Bushy.

In summing up the general aspect of society in Richard's time, Holinshed says, with regard to the King:

His personage.

[*Hol.* iii. 507/2/68.] He was seemelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good inough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it.

His chance verelie was greatlie infortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he tooke it for the best waie he could deuise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accustomed

[1] He lived several years after this time. See *Wylie* (i. 109, 110) for an account of Carlisle's fortunes subsequent to the rebellion.

to hazard [*p.* 508] all they haue to atteine therevnto. But such misfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those princes, which, when they are aloft, cast no doubt for perils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious, and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. . . . [He was prodigal, ambitious, and dissolute.]

[*Hol.* iii. 508/1/32.] Furthermore, there reigned abundantlie the filthie sinne of leacherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, speciallie in the king.[1] [He was an adulterer.]

York, says Holinshed,

[*Hol.* iii. 464/2/49.] being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that the state of the common-wealth might haue beene redressed without losse of any mans life, or other cruell dealing. [York's gentle nature.]

He

[*Hol.* iii. 485/2/25.] was a man rather coueting to liue in pleasure, than to deale with much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the realme.[2] [York was not ambitious.]

When John of Gaunt married Katharine Swinford, the Duke of Gloucester,

[*Hol.* iii. 486/1/20.] being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, misliked his brothers matching so meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough. [Gloucester disliked, but York tolerated, Gaunt's match.]

The Speaker of the "Great Parliament" (September, 1397) was

[*Hol.* iii. 490/2/28.] sir Iohn Bushie, a knight of Lincolneshire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond measure. *Sir Iohn Bushie, speaker.*

While discharging the office of Speaker at this Parliament,

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[1] Bolingbroke charges Bushy and Greene with tempting Richard to commit this sin (III. i. 11-15).

[2] *Hardyng* thus describes him (340, 341):

> . . . Edmonde hyght of Langley of good chere,
> Glad and mery and of his owne ay lyued,
> Without wronge, as chronicles haue breued.
> When all the lordes to councell and parlyament
> Went, he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng,
> All gentyll disporte as to a lorde appent,
> He vsed aye, and to the pore supportyng
> Where euer he was in any place bidyng,
> Without suppryse, or any extorcyon
> Of the porayle, or any oppressyon.

[*Hol.* iii. 490/2/57.] Sir Iohn Bushie, in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accustomed; but inuented vnused termes, and such strange names as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince, being desirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Impudent flatterie [of Sir John Bushy liked by Richard].

Richard was very unfortunate in his choice of favourites, for

[*Hol.* iii. 492/2/72.] such as were cheefe of his councell were esteemed of the commons to be the woorst creatures that might be; as [*p.* 493] the dukes of Aumarle, Norfolke, and Excester, the earle of Wiltshire, sir Iohn Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Henrie[1] Greene: which three last remembred were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and priuie hatred.

[The commons held Aumerle, Norfolk, and Wiltshire, to be the worst of men; and greatly hated Bushy, Bagot, and Greene (Cp. *R. II.*, II. ii. 127—139.)]

VI. FIRST PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

Act I. sc. i.—A more precise date than the year 1402[2] cannot be assigned to the opening scene in *The Historie of Henry the fourth;*[3] because, though but "yesternight" (l. 36) a post had brought tidings of Sir Edmund Mortimer's capture by Glendower, on June 22, 1402,[4] Sir Walter Blunt has since arrived with news of the Scots' defeat at Homildon (ll. 67-73); which happened on September 14, 1402.[5] The last historic event of the play is the battle of Shrewsbury; fought on July 21, 1403.[6]

Of Mortimer's capture Holinshed gives the following account:

[*Hol.* iii. 520/1/64.] Owen Glendouer, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble togither against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer, earle of

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[1] *Henrie*] *Thomas* Hol.

[2] For an excerpt relating to the proposed crusade, of which Henry speaks in this scene (ll. 18-29), see p. 159 below.

[3] I quote the text of Q1 (1598).

[4] *Usk*, 75; 200. [5] *Ott.*, 238. [6] *Usk*, 80; 206.

March.[1] But, comming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortuned, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shamefull villanie[2] vsed by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of monie giuen for libertie to conueie them awaie.

The earle of March [Sir Edmund Mortimer] *taken prisoner in batell by Owen Glendouer.*

[The Welsh-women's villany.]

A Scottish army having been defeated on June 22, 1402,[3] while returning from a border foray,

[*Hol.* iii. 520/2/40.] Archembald, earle Dowglas, sore displeased in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost, as ye may likewise read in the Scotish histories. For, at a place called Homildon, they were so fiercelie assailed by the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Persie, surnamed Henrie Hotspur,[4] and George earle of March,[5] that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and

Scots vanquished at Homildon.

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[1] In 1402, Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, being a minor, was Henry's ward.—*Usk*, 21 ; 127. Glendower's prisoner was Sir Edmund Mortimer, brother to Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March (see p. 134, note 4, below), and uncle to the fifth Earl. *Hol.'s* mistake misled Shakspere (1 *Hen. IV.*, I. iii. 84). On December 13, 1402, Sir Edmund Mortimer wrote to his tenants, informing them that he had joined in a quarrel raised by Owen Glendower, "of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his Crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said Crown, shall be King of England (la quelle est tielle, qe si le Roy Richard soit en vie de luy restorer a sa coronne, et sinoun qe mon honore Neuewe q'est droit heir al dit coronne seroit Roy d'Engleterre)."—*Ellis*, II. i. 24.

[2] I shall imitate Shakspere's reticence (I. i. 43-46) in regard to the Welshwomen's "villanie." *Hol.* (528/1/36-48) gives full details.

[3] *Hol.* 520/2/34. They were defeated at Nisbet, Roxburghshire. "Nesbitmore in Marchia."—*Fordun*, ii. 433. *Hol.* does not mention the date of Mortimer's capture, which, as the reader will perceive, coincides with the overthrow of the Scots in the summer of 1402. If it were possible that Shakspere could have known the former date, we might conjecture that he rolled into one the defeats at Nisbet and Homildon, in order that the post bringing tidings of Glendower's victory should reach London about the same time as Sir Walter Blunt arrived with the consoling news of Scottish disaster.

[4] The Earl of Northumberland had two sons, "the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe ; verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie, being the elder, was surnamed, for his often pricking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were anie seruice to be doone abroad."—*Hol. H. S.* 249/1/30. According to *Dugdale* (i. 278/2) Northumberland had three sons, named Henry, Thomas, and Ralph.

[5] Shakspere's "Lord Mortimer of Scotland" (1 *Hen. IV.*, III. ii. 164). See p. 142 below.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

put to flight, on the Rood daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. . . . There were slaine . . . three and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons; and of prisoners among other were these: Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour, Archembald earle Dowglas,[1] (which in the fight lost one of his eies,) Thomas erle of Murrey, George[2] earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith;[3] with fiue hundred other of meaner degrees.

I supplement my last excerpt by quoting from Holinshed's *Historie of Scotland* another account of the battle of Homildon.

Archembald Dowglas inuadeth England.

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 254/1/57.] Archembald, earle of Dowglasse, sore displeased, and woonderfullie wroth in his mind for this ouerthrow [at Nisbet], got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men; and, hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staieng till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglasse, Murdocke (eldest sonne to duke Robert) earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus; with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men, met them, and assailed

The nobles of Scotland in this armie.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon.

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[1] In the original text of *Hol.* (ed. 2) this sentence stands thus: "Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour Archembald earle Dowglas"; and in the 1st ed. of *Hol.* also the words "gouernour Archembalde" are unpunctuated. The corresponding lines (70-72) of 1 *Hen. IV.* (ed. 1), I. i. are:

> ". . . . of prisoners, Hotspur tooke
> Mordake [the] Earle of Fife, and eldest sonne
> To beaten Douglas;" . . .

and subsequent editions have the same reading. Steevens believed (*Var. Sh.* xvi. 187) that the omission of a comma after "gouernour" misled Shakspere; because the "gouernour," or Regent, of Scotland was Robert Steward, Duke of Albany, whose eldest son was "Mordacke earle of Fife." But, as in the play Murdach Steward is called "*eldest* sonne," it would seem that Shakspere must have known one or both of the excerpts relating to the battle of Homildon, which I quote from Holinshed's *Historie of Scotland.*

[2] *George*] *Robert* Hol.

[3] *Hol.'s* slip has misled Shakspere (cp. I. i. 73). "Menteith" was another title of Murdoch Steward, who, in *Hol.* (ii. *H. S.* 259/2/65, is called "Mordo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith"; a description confirmed by *Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 262/2/54, and *H. S.* 419/1/32.

them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constreined to forsake the same; and, comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuerthelesse put to the woorsse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. . . .

The Scots, through force of the Englishmens shot, descend the hill.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward, eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, . . . with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Rood day in haruest, in the yeere 1403 [1402], vpon a Tuesday.

Prisoners taken.

Buch. 1401.
1402 *H.B.*

Act I. sc. iii.—This scene and ll. 91-99, sc. i. Act I., are illustrated by my next excerpts.

[*Hol.* iii. 521/1/l. l.] Henrie, earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas, earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie, in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull freends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and especiallie they were greeued, bicause the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scotish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for, of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Mordake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne; though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the Persies being sore offended, (for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar preies,) by the counsell of the lord Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, whose studie was euer (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windsore, (vpon a purpose to prooue him,) and there required of him, that either by ransome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane,[1] whom (as they

[Northumberland and Hotspur were angered because all their Scottish prisoners were claimed by the King, to whom the Earl of Fife alone had been delivered.]

[Worcester a makebate.]

The request of the Persies [, that Henry would ransom Mortimer].

[1] Henry IV. and Hotspur were cousins, Henry's grandfather, Henry Plantagenet Duke of Lancaster, being brother german to Mary, Hotspur's grandmother. Perhaps *Halle* (*Hol.*'s authority) alluded to the common descent of the two Percies, and Edmund fifth Earl of March, from Henry III.

reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthie prison, shakled with irons; onelie for that he tooke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

[Henry's misgiving about this request.]

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat neere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third; which Edmund, at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclamed heire apparant to the crowne and realme;[1] whose aunt, called Elianor,[2] the lord Henrie Persie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well beare,[3] that anie man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king, when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, bicause he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices; & therefore he would neither ransome him, nor releeue him.[4]

[The Earl of March had been proclaimed heir-apparent by Richard.]

[Henry answered that he would not ransom Mortimer, who had willingly suffered himself to be taken.]

The saieng of the L. Persie.

The Persies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: "Behold, "the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber "with his owne will not redeeme him!"[5] So in this furie the

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[1] *Hol.* has, I believe, copied a mistake of *Halle* (27). On August 6, 1385, Parliament recognized Edmund's father—Roger fourth Earl of March—as heir-presumptive to the crown.—*Eulog.*, iii. 361.

[2] Elizabeth.—*Rymer*, viii. 334. She was the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer, and the wife of Hotspur.—*Eulog.*, iii. 396.

[3] *beare*] *heare* Hol. edd. 1, 2.

[4] In the last article of their "quarell" the Percies, addressing Henry IV., said that "Edmundus Mortymere, frater Rogeri Mortymere nuper comitis Marchie et Ultonie, fuit captus per Owinum Glendore in mortali bello campestri, et in prisona ac vinculis ferreis adhuc crudeliter tentus, in causa tua, quem tu proclamasti captum ex dolo, et noluisti pati deliberacionem suam per se nec per nos consanguineos suos et amicos."—*Hardyng*, 353. Cp. p. 131, n. 1, above, where a letter is quoted in which Edmund Mortimer speaks of his nephew. As to Roger, fourth Earl of March, and father of Edmund, fifth Earl, see p. 89, n. 1, above. *Halle's* version of this article (30) has "Edmond Mortimer earle of Marche and Ulster," to represent "Edmundus Mortymere, frater Rogeri Mortymere nuper comitis . . . Ultonie."

[5] We learn from *Eulog.* (iii. 395, 396) that, in 1403, Hotspur desired Henry IV. to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer. An altercation ensued, and the King drew his dagger. "'Non hic,' dixit Henricus [Percy], 'sed in campo.' Et recessit." This open quarrel can hardly be assigned to an earlier date than June, for on June 26, 1403, Northumberland wrote a friendly letter to Henry.—*Proc. Priv. Co.* i. 204.

Persies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onelie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. . . .

The conspiracies of the Persies with Owen Glendouer.

King Henrie, not knowing of [*p.* 522] this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales; whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots, which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men: promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and, to other Scotish lords, great lordships and seigniories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scots, in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old greefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

[Henry was unaware of the Percies plot.]

The Persies raise their powers.

They craue aid of Scots.

The Persies, to make their part seeme good, deuised certeine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, brother * to the lord Scroope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow.

The archbishop of Yorke of counsell with the Persies in conspiracie.

The Chronicles contain this notice of the marriage of Sir Edmund Mortimer; whom Shakspere, misled by Holinshed, makes Henry call "that Earle of March" (I. iii. 84):

[*Hol.* iii. 521/1/21.] Edmund Mortimer, earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkesomnesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncerteine, agreed to take part with Owen against the king of England; and tooke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.[1]

The earle of March marieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

Believing that Glendower's prisoner was Edmund Earl of March, Holinshed thus comments upon Henry's unwillingness to ransom a dangerous rival (Cp. 1 *Hen. IV.*, I. iii. 158, 159):

[*Hol.* iii. 520/2/5.] The king was not hastie to purchase the

* "brother" should be "cousin." See pedigree of Scrope in *Wylie*, ii. 197.

[1] "Eodem anno [1402] Dominus Edmundus Mortimer, . . . circa festum S. Andreae Apostoli [Nov. 30], filiam prædicti Owyni Glyndore desponsavit maxima cum solemnitate, & (sicut vulgariter dicitur) conversus est totaliter ad Wallicos."—*Eves.*, 182.

The suspicion of K. Henrie grounded vpō a guiltie conscience.

deliuerance of the earle March, bicause his title to the crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore suffered him to remaine in miserable prison; wishing both the said earle, and all other of his linage, out of this life, with God and his saincts in heauen, so they had beene out of the waie, for then all had beene well inough as he thought.

Act II. sc. iii.—The Lord, whose temporizing letter roused Hotspur's scorn (II. iii. 1-38), was, no doubt, one of the "noblemen" or "states of the realme" to whom the Percies' articles were submitted.

[*Hol.* iii. 522/1/19.] These articles being shewed to diuerse *Thom. Wals.* noblemen, and other states of the realme, mooued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onelie promise to the Persies aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales[1] confirmēd the same. Howbeit, when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus, after that the conspirators had discouered themselues, the lord Henrie Persie, desirous to proceed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March [*i. e.* Sir Edmund Mortimer], & other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers foorth of Cheshire and Wales.

[The Percies were abandoned by nobles who promised to aid them.]

Act II. sc. iv.—The Prince of Wales was at a tavern in Eastcheap when Falstaff—reporting to him the news of the rebellion, brought by a nobleman of the Court—says: "Worcester is stolne away to night" (l. 392). We learn from Holinshed that, as soon as Hotspur had made the first move, by assembling "an armie of men of armes and archers,"

The earle of Worcester, gouernour to the prince, slippeth from him.

[*Hol.* iii. 522/1/32.] his vncle Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London, in secret manner conueied[2] himselfe

Hall.

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[1] *Hardyng* tells us (351, prose addition; 361) that he saw the sealed letters by which these noblemen bound themselves to join the Percies' revolt. The Lord, whose letter is read in II. iii., was "well contented to bee" at the gathering-place, "in respect of the loue" he bore the Percies' house, but what followed was a tacit refusal of help.

[2] "the prince . . . manner conueied." I have altered the punctuation here by placing a comma after "London," and removing a comma which stood after "manner." *Hol.*'s punctuation—which is the same in both editions of his Chronicles—might lead one to infer that the Prince had come to town to enjoy himself clandestinely, and Shakspere perhaps so understood the sentence. Comparison with *Ott.* (240) shows that the words "in secret manner" apply to Worcester.

out of the princes house; and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increased their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise.

Act III. sc. i.—The first scene of Act III. is laid at the Archdeacon of Bangor's house, where Hotspur, Mortimer, and Glendower have met to partition between them King Henry's realm. Before going to business, Hotspur and Glendower talk of certain portents attending the latter's nativity (ll. 13-40). I do not find in Holinshed any birth recorded which was marked by such signs, but it is possible that a horrible prodigy associated with Mortimer's entrance into the world set Shakspere's imagination working to devise marvels suited to the fairer fortunes of the Welsh prince.

[*Hol.* iii. 521/1/27.] Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for, the same night he was borne, all his fathers horsses in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies.[1]

[Prodigy at Mortimer's birth.]

Malone conjectured that Shakspere transferred to the time of Glendower's birth a portent recorded in the ensuing excerpt:

[*Hol.* iii. 519/2/59.] In the moneth of March [1402] appeared a blasing starre, first betweene the east part of the firmament and the north, flashing foorth fire and flames round about it, and, lastlie, shooting foorth fierie beams towards the north; foreshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of bloud that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the same time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welshmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming foorth to defend his possessions, which the same Owen wasted and destroied; and, as the fortune of that daies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and manie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the Welshmen into high pride, and increased meruelouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

1402

A blasing starre [, foreshowing bloodshed in Wales and Northumberland].

The lord Greie of Ruthen taken in fight by Owē Glendouer.

[1] According to *Eves.* (179), *Chron. Giles* (*Hen. IV.* 11), and *Eulog.* (398), Mortimer's birth was thus signalized. But, as in *Hol.*, the paragraph immediately preceding—which records Mortimer's marriage, and is quoted by me at p. 135 above—ends with the words "the said Owen," "this man" might be understood to mean Glendower. *Wals.* (ii. 253, 254)—from whom *Hol.* derived both paragraphs—meant, perhaps, that Glendower was the man at whose nativity horses "were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies."

Glendower claims to have thrice sent Henry "weather beaten backe" to England (III. i. 64-67). The first of these luckless expeditions was made in 1400 (see an account of it at p. 104 above). Henry's second failure was ascribed to the "art magike," in which Glendower professes to be so deeply skilled (III. i. 46-49). Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 520/2/19.] About mid of August [1402],[1] the king, to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the capteine of the Welsh rebels,[2] Owen Glendouer; but in effect he lost his labor, for Owen coueied himselfe out of the waie into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not beene heard of: in such sort, that the king was constreined to returne home, hauing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a great part of the countrie.

Intemperat weather [caused by Glendower's sorcery].

The third expedition has been antedated. It was undertaken in 1405,[3] after the suppression of Archbishop Scrope's revolt, when Henry

The K. passeth into Wales.

[*Hol.* iii. 530/2/70.] tooke his iournie directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe; in somuch that, losing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned.

He looseth his cariages. He returneth.

Waiving further discussion of supernatural matters, Glendower draws Hotspur's attention to a map, upon which Mortimer points out the intended partition of England and Wales between the confederates (ll. 70-77). According to Holinshed, Northumberland, Hotspur, and Glendower,

[*Hol.* iii. 521/2/57.] by their deputies, in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them; causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the couenants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen

An indenture tripartite.

A diuision of that which they had not.

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[1] *Wals.* ii. 250. *Usk*, 76; 201. *Ott.* 235.
[2] *rebels*] Hol. ed. 1. *rebell* Hol. ed. 2.
[3] *Wals.* ii. 271.

Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Persie.[1]

Hotspur scoffs at a prophecy (ll. 149-155) which seems to have had much weight; for Holinshed, speaking of the partition described in my last excerpt, says:

[*Hol.* iii. 521/2/67.] This was doone (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie,[2] as though king Henrie was *the moldwarpe*, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the *dragon*, the *lion*, and the woolfe, which should diuide this realme betweene them. *A vaine prophesie.*

Act III. sc. ii.—In this scene Prince Henry is reproached by his father for devotion to ignoble pleasures and base associates. The Prince answers (ll. 18-28):

> So please your Maiestie, I would I could
> Quit all offences with as clear excuse,
> As well as (I am doubtlesse) I can purge
> My selfe of many I am chargd withall:
> Yet such extenuation let me beg,
> As, in reproofe of many tales deuisde
> (Which oft the eare of greatnes needs must heare)
> By smiling *pickthanks*, and base newesmongers,
> I may, for some things true, wherein my youth
> Hath faulty wandred and irregular,
> Find pardon on my true submissiön.

[1] This alliance was made after Hotspur's death. On February 28, 1405, "Henricus, comes Northumbriae, fecit legiam et confoederationem et amicitiam cum Owino Glendore, et Edmundo de Mortuomari, filio quondam Edmundi comitis Marchiae [the third Earl], in certis articulis continentibus formam quae sequitur et tenorem."—*Chron. Giles* (*Hen. IV.* 39). In the following pages of *Chron. Giles* (40, 41) the tripartite division of England and Wales is set forth.

[2] This prophecy is in MSS. Bodl. 1787 (printed in *Archaeol.*, xx. 258). The "talpa ore Dei maledicta" was to suffer for her past misdeeds; and "terra revertetur ad asinum [Richard II.], vel aprum, vel draconem, vel leonem." Hotspur was angered by hearing from Glendower

> "... of *the Moldwarp* and the Ant,
> Of the dreamer *Merlin* and his prophecies, ...
> And of a *Dragon* ...
> A couching *Lion*, &c."

Halle says (28): "a certayne writer writeth that this earle of Marche, the Lorde Percy and Owen Glendor wer vnwysely made beleue by a Welsh Prophecier, that king Henry was the Moldwarpe, ... by the deuiacion and not deuinacion of that mawmet *Merlyn*." A clause in the indenture between Northumberland, Mortimer and Glendower runs thus: "Item, si disponente Deo, appareat praefatis dominis ex processu temporis, quod ipsi sint eaedem personae, de quibus propheta loquitur, inter quos regimen Britanniae majoris dividi debeat et partiri, tunc ipsi laborabunt, et quilibet ipsorum laborabit juxta posse, quod id ad effectum efficaciter perducatur."—*Chron. Giles* (*Hen. IV.*, 40).

The Prince's reference to the slanders of certain "pickthanks," who accused him of a more serious transgression than that of keeping loose company, seems to anticipate a misunderstanding which arose between the father and son towards the end of Henry IV.'s reign. In 1412, the

The prince of Wales accused to his father.

John Stow.

[*Hol.* iii. 539/1/1.] lord Henrie, prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants were busie to giue informations against him, whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father: for they put into the kings head, not onelie what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince kept to the offense of manie, but also what great resort of people came to his house; so that the court was nothing furnished with such a traine as dailie followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, he being yet aliue; through which suspicious gelousie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his sonne, as in times past he had doone.

The suspicious gelousie of the king toward his son.

The Prince (sore offended with such persons as, by slanderous reports, sought not onelie to spot his good name abrode in the realme, but to sowe discord also betwixt him and his father) wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to reprooue all such slanderous deuises of those that sought his discredit. And to cleare himselfe the better, (that the world might vnderstand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise,) about the feast of Peter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentith daie of June, he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his freends that wished him well, as the like traine had beene sildome seene repairing to the court at any one time in those daies.

The prince goeth to the court with a great traine.

At Westminster Prince Henry made his peace with the King, by whom "he was dismissed with great loue and signes of fatherlie affection." I give the passage following these words, because it contains the epithet "pickthanks," which occurs in the lines quoted above; and also elucidates the Prince's avowal that "some things" were "true," wherein his youth had "faulty wandred."

["Pickthanks" sowed division between the King and Prince Henry.]

[*Hol.* iii. 539/2/28.] Thus were the father and the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said *pickthanks* had sowne diuision, insomuch that the sonne, vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse sproong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour.

Which was the more likelie to come to passe, by their informations that priuilie charged him with riot[1] and other vnciuill demeanor vnseemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age; with whome he spent the time in such recreations,[2] exercises, and delights as he fansied. But yet (it should seeme by the report of some writers) that his behauiour was not offensiue or at least tending to the damage of anie bodie; sith he had a care to auoid dooing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue; whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discerne his disposition, which was in no degree so excessiue, as that he deserued in such vehement maner to be suspected.

[Prince Henry's behaviour.] *Abr. Fl. out of Angl. prælijs.* [Note against "Thus . . . diuision" in orig.]

Continuing to rebuke his son, the King says (ll. 32, 33):

> Thy place in counsell thou hast rudely lost,
> Which by thy yonger brother is supplide.

Holinshed briefly mentions the well-known story[3] that Prince Henry once struck Chief-Justice Gascoign; and adds:

[*Hol.* iii. 543/2/17.] The king after expelled him out of his priuie councell, banisht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yoonger brother) president of councell in his steed.

[Clarence made president of the Council instead of Prince Henry.

[1] I find nothing to warrant this charge, but it is said that Eastcheap—the Shaksperian Prince Hal's old haunt—was once disturbed by a riot in connexion with which Prince John—Falstaff's "yong sober blouded boy" (2 *Hen. IV.*, IV. iii. 94)—is mentioned. Under 1410, *Stow* writes (550): "Vpon the eeuen of Saint Iohn Baptist [June 23], Thomas and Iohn, the kings sonnes, being in East-cheap at London, at supper, after midnight, a great debate hapned betweene their men, and men of the court, lasting an houre, till the Maior and Sheriffes with other Citizens ceased the same." The riot is thus chronicled by *Greg.* (106): "And the same tyme [1410] was the hurlynge in Estechepe by the lorde Thomas and the lorde John, the kyngys sone, &c."

[2] One of these "recreations" is thus described by *Stow* (557): 'He [Prince Henry] liued somewhat insolently, insomuch that, whilest his father liued, being accompanied with some of his yong Lords and gentlemen, he would waite in disguised aray for his owne receiuers, and distresse them of their money; and sometimes at such enterprises both he and his company were surely beaten: and when his receiuers made to him their complaints how they were robbed in their comming vnto him, *hee would giue them discharge of so much money as they had lost; and, besides that, they should not depart from him without great rewards for their trouble and vexation;* especially they should be rewarded that best had resisted him and his company, and of whom he had receiued the greatest and most strokes.' With the words italicized cp. what Prince Henry says in regard to the booty taken from the travellers on Gadshill: "The money shall bee paid backe againe with aduantage" (1 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 599).

[3] See p. 161, below.

Shakspere has used a dramatist's freedom in making Henry IV. speak of Hotspur as "being no more in debt to yeares" than the Prince (l. 103). Whether Shakspere was ignorant of, or chose to disregard, the chronological aspect of this matter, I know not, but from a comparison of two passages in his authority (*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 249/2/7, &c., and iii. 511/2/9, &c.) he could have learnt that in 1388 Harry Percy was old enough to command the English forces at Otterburne, while in 1399 Harry Monmouth was only twelve years of age. Indeed it is probable that Hotspur was older than the King. Henry IV. was born on April 3, 1367 (*Compotus Hugonis de Waterton*, cited in *Notes & Queries*, 4th S. xi. 162); and Walsingham tells us (i. 388) that, on November 25, 1378, Hotspur displayed his pennon for the first time ("primo . . . suum vexillum displicuit") at the siege of Berwick Castle.

When the Prince has succeeded in gaining his father's confidence, and has been promised a command in the royal army, Sir Walter Blunt enters and announces that news of the rebels' gathering at Shrewsbury has been sent by "Lord Mortimer of Scotland" (l. 164). In the following excerpt George of Dunbar, Earl of the March of Scotland,[1] is called "the Scot, the earle of March"; an appellation which might have led Shakspere to believe that the Scottish Earls of March were akin to the English Mortimers, Earls of March.

[*Hol.* iii. 522/2/39.] King Henrie, aduertised of the proceedings of the Persies, foorthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and, being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaieng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enimies, lieng in campe neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie such thing; for the Persies thought that he would haue staied at Burton vpon Trent, till his councell had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to doo. But herein the enimie was deceiued of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his owne person; wherevnto the earle of March incited him, considering that in delaie is danger, & losse in lingering.

The kings speedie diligence.

Act IV. sc. i.—A messenger brings Hotspur news that Northumberland "is grieuous sicke" (l. 16), and delivers a letter containing the Earl's excuses for not coming himself or sending the expected reinforcements. After speaking of the efforts made by Hotspur and Worcester to increase their strength (p. 137 above), Holinshed says:

[1] He is called "George de Dunbarre, Erle of the Marche of Scotland," in the indenture (dated July 25, 1400) by which he engages to transfer his allegiance from Robert III. to Henry IV.—*Rymer*, viii. 153.

[*Hol.* iii. 522/1/39.] The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but, being sicke, had promised vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all conuenient speed. [Northumberland prevented by sickness from joining Hotspur and Worcester.]

Act IV. sc. ii.—If, in Shakspere's day, there were some captains who "misused the kinges presse damnablie" (l. 13), contemporaries of Sir John Falstaff had also enriched themselves by a like practice. In 1387, Richard Earl of Arundel,—to whom the command of an English fleet had been given,—

[*Hol.* iii. 454/1/53.] vnderstanding that the duke of Glocester, and manie other noblemen would see the muster of his men, vsed all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the most choisest and pikedst fellowes that might be gotten; not following the euill example of others in times past, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and reserued the residue to their pursses. *A great abuse in choise of souldiers.*

Act IV. sc. iii.—Shakspere assigned to Sir Thomas Blunt the mission (ll. 41-51) which, as my next excerpt shows, was entrusted to the Abbot of Shrewsbury and a clerk of the Privy Seal.

[*Hol.* iii. 523/1/35.] The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene [July 21, 1403], they set their battels in order on both sides, and now, whilest the warriors looked when the token of battell should be giuen, the abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie seale, were sent from the king vnto the Persies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reasonable agreement. By their persuasions, the lord Henrie Persie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & so sent with them his vncle the earle of Worcester, to declare vnto the king the causes of those troubles, and to require some effectuall reformation in the same. *The king offereth to pardon his aduersaries*

Act V. sc. i.—Holinshed's epitome of the Percies' charges is interwoven with the speeches of Hotspur (IV. iii. 60-62; 90-96) and Worcester (V. i. 41-58). I have transposed the order of the passages in Holinshed concerning the Abbot of Shrewsbury's mission, and the delivery of the Percies' articles to Henry. "The next daie"—when, as appears from the preceding excerpt, the Abbot offered Henry's terms to the rebels—was the day after that on which Hotspur's esquires were sent to the royal camp with these articles.

[*Hol.* iii. 523/1/8.] Now when the two armies were incamped,

The Persies sent their articles to the king.

the one against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord Persie with their complices sent the articles (whereof I spake before), by Thomas Caiton, and Roger[1] Saluain, esquiers, to king Henrie, vnder their hands and seales; which articles in effect charged him with manifest periurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finallie to be murthered. Diuerse other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of the realme, and suffering the earle of March to remaine in prison, without trauelling to haue him deliuered.[2] All which things they, as procurors & protectors of the common-wealth, tooke vpon them to prooue against him, as they protested vnto the whole world.

King Henrie charged with periurie.

Procurors & protectors of the common-wealth.

The kings answer to the messengers that brought the articles.

King Henrie, after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquiers, that he was readie with dint of sword and fierce battell to prooue their quarrell false, and nothing else than a forged matter; not doubting, but that God would aid and assist him in his righteous cause, against the disloiall and false forsworne traitors.

Act V. sc. ii.—On the day of battle (July 21), Hotspur, after hearing Henry's proposals, sent back their bearer, the Abbot of Shrewsbury, accompanied by Worcester, to the King (see p. 143 above). Holinshed left Worcester's treachery unexplained, but Shakspere has supplied a motive for it (ll. 4-23).

[*Hol.* iii. 523/1/48.] It was reported for a truth, that now

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[1] *Roger*] *Thomas* Hol.

[2] All these charges are made in Hotspur's or Worcester's speech. (They are contained in the Percies' "quarell," cited at p. 134, n. 4, above.) Hotspur says that Henry "taskt the whole state" (IV. iii. 92), and reformed "certaine edicts" and "streight decrees" (IV. iii. 79); words which embody the accusations of having levied "taxes and tallages," and infringed "lawes and customes of the realme." Worcester's complaint that they were in danger of their lives from Henry's jealousy (V. i. 59-64)—cp. what Hotspur says (IV. iii. 98)—occurs in some letters which, besides the articles, were sent abroad by the Percies, wherein they affirmed that "where through the slanderous reports of their enimies, the king had taken a greeuous displeasure with them, they durst not appeare personallie in the kings presence, vntill the prelats and barons of the realme had obteined of the king licence for them to come and purge themselues before him, by lawfull triall of their peeres, whose iudgement (as they pretended) they would in no wise refuse."—*Hol.* iii. 522/1/52.

when the king had condescended vnto all that was resonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle of Worcester (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephues hart more in displeasure towards the king, than euer it was before ; driuing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not.

The earle of Worcesters double dealing in wrong reporting the kings words.

The armies are on the point of joining battle when Hotspur thus encourages his followers (V. ii. 82-89) :

O Gentlemen, the time of life is short !
To spend that shortness basely were too long,
If life did ride vpon a dials point,
Still ending at the arriual of an houre.
And if we liue, we liue to tread on kings,
If die, braue death, when princes die with vs !
Now, for our consciences, the armes are faire,
When the intent of bearing them is iust.

The ensuing excerpt contains a speech attributed to Hotspur, which has less martial ardour than is displayed in these lines.

Henry's rapid advance obliged the rebels to desist

The Persies troubled with the kings sudden comming.

The lord Persie exhorteth his complices to stick to their tackle.

[*Hol.* iii. 522/2/60.] from assaulting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand ; and foorthwith the lord Persie (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and souldiers to prepare themselues to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point, that by no meanes it could be auoided, "so that" (said he) "this "daie shall either bring vs all to aduancement & honor, or else, if "it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings "spitefull malice and cruell disdaine : for plaieng the men (as we "ought to doo), better it is to die in battell for the common-"wealths cause, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, "which after shall be taken from vs, by sentence of the enimie."

Act V. sc. ii. ll. 97-101 ; sc. iii. ll. 1-29 ; sc. iv. ll. 1-86.—Hotspur, deceived by Worcester's false report of Henry's words, resolves to fight :

[*Hol.* iii. 523/1/57.] then suddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng, "S. George ! vpon them !" the aduersaries cried, "*Esperance ! Persie !*" and so the two armies furiouslie ioined. The archers on both sides shot for the best game, laieng on such load

with arrowes, that manie died, and were driuen downe that never rose againe.

Hall.
The Scots.

The Scots (as some write), which had the fore ward on the Persies side, intending to be reuenged of their old displeasures doone to them by the English nation, set so fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the same draw backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The

The Welshmen come to aid the Persies.

Welshmen also, which before had laine lurking in the woods, mounteines, and marishes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Persies, and refreshed the wearied people with new succours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to distresse, what with the violent impression of the Scots, and the tempestuous stormes of arrowes, that his aduersaries discharged freely against him and his people,—it was no need to will him to stirre: for suddenlie, with his fresh battell, he approched and relieued his men; so that the battell began more fierce than

[Valour of Hotspur and Douglas.]

before. Here the lord Henrie Persie, and the earle Dowglas, a right stout and hardie capteine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward togither, bent their whole forces towards the kings person; comming vpon

The earle of March [withdrew Henry from the side of the field where Hotspur and Douglas fought].

him with speares and swords so fiercelie, that the earle of March, the Scot, perceiuing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safegard (as it appeared); for they gaue such a violent onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard, that, slaieng his standard-bearer

Tho. Walsi.

[Sir Walter Blunt and the Earl of Stafford slain.]

sir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it; as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king constable of the realme, and diuerse other.

Hall.

The valiance of the yoong prince [, who would not retire though he was wounded.]

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie yoong gentleman; for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men, that were about him, would haue conueied him foorth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happilie haue striken some feare into their harts: and so, without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceassed either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to incourage his men where it seemed

most need. This battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king, crieng, "saint "George! victorie!" brake the arraie of his enimies; and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saieng: "I maruell to "see so many kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke of an "other." The king, in deed, was raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for, as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne hands six and thirtie persons of his enimies. The other on his part, incouraged by his dooings, fought valiantlie, and slue the lord Persie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre.[1]

A sore battell & well mainteined.

The valiant dooings of the earle Dowglas.

[He slew Blunt and three others who wore the King's coat.]

The high manhood of the king.

The lord Persie slaine.

Act V. sc. v.—Touching the numbers slain (ll. 6-10), and the fates of Worcester and Vernon (l. 14), Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 523/2/52.] There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the procuror and setter foorth of all this mischeefe, sir Richard Vernon, and . . . diuerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part, beside the earle of Stafford, . . . sir Hugh Shorlie, sir Iohn Clifton, . . . sir Robert[2] Gausell, sir Walter Blunt,[3] . . . There died in all vpon the kings side sixteene hundred, and foure thousand were greeuouslie wounded. On the contrarie side were slaine, besides the lord Persie, the most part of the knights and esquiers of the countie of Chester, to the number of two hundred, besides yeomen and footmen: in all there died of those that fought on the Persies side, about fiue thousand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, being saturdaie. Upon the mondaie folowing, the earle of Worcester, . . . and sir Richard Vernon . . . were condemned and beheaded. [*p.* 524] The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the bridge.

The earle of Worcester taken.

Knights slaine on the kings part.

The slaughter of Cheshire men at this battell.

The earle of Worcester and others beheaded.

Douglas is then released, "ransomlesse and free" (ll. 27-31). Holinshed thus ends his account of the battle:

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[1] "Inter quos [the slain] Henricus Percy corruit interemptus, dubium cujus manu, suis, ignorantibus ejus casum, putantibus, ipsum regem captasse vel occidisse. Quamobrem se cohortantes, clamabant ingementes, 'Henry Percy Kinge.' Quorum clamores rex intelligens, ne vana spe deducti certarent ulterius, . . . clamavit et ipse voce qua valuit, 'Mortuus est Henricus Percy.'" —*Ott.*, 243.

[2] *Robert*] *Nicholas* Hol.

[3] "Sherly, Stafford, Blunt" (V. iv. 41). "Sir Nicholas Gawsey . . . Clifton" (V. iv. 45, 46).

The earle Dowglas taken prisoner.

[*Hol.* iii. 523/2/46.] To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquished, and put to flight; in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

VII. THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY IV

The Second part of Henrie the fourth is separated from the preceding play by a historic interval of nearly two years, which elapsed between the battle of Shrewsbury (July 21, 1403) and Archbishop Scrope's rebellion (May—June, 1405). Dramatic action pauses while Morton is speeding to the Earl of Northumberland with the news of Hotspur's defeat and death. The historic period dramatized in the two Parts of *Henry IV.* closes with Henry V.'s coronation on April 9, 1413.

Act I. sc. i.—For the brief space of time filled by Morton's warning —that a "speedy power" (l. 133) has been sent against Northumberland—historic and dramatic dates coincide. Though Sir Robert Waterton—not Prince John—was Westmoreland's colleague, we may fairly identify the "power" spoken of by Morton with the "armie" which, as the ensuing passage shows, was 'got on foot' to meet Northumberland.

The earle of Westmerland raiseth a power against the earle of Northumberland.

[*Hol.* iii. 524/1/3.] The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought) or at the least towards the king, to procure a peace; but the earle of Westmerland, and sir Robert Waterton, knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his freend, turned suddenlie backe, and withdrew himselfe into Warkewoorth castell.

Northumberland's submission, however, averted a battle, and peace was restored until he gave countenance to Archbishop Scrope's revolt in 1405.

Act I. sc. iii.—Archbishop Scrope and his fellow-conspirators discuss their chances of success, and resolve to move at once, without waiting for Northumberland. Nothing in this scene admits of historical comment except Hasting's report (ll. 70-73) that the King's

> . . . diuisions, as the times do brawle,
> Are in three heads: one power against the French,
> And one against Glendower; perforce a third
> Must take vp vs: . . .

The third power is commanded by Prince John [1] and Westmoreland, the King and Prince Henry will encounter the Welsh, but "no certaine notice" has been obtained of the leader who will oppose the French (ll. 82-85).

Shakspere seems to have antedated some assistance rendered by the French to Glendower in the summer of 1405, after Archbishop Scrope's revolt had been suppressed. About this time [2]

Hall.

The marshall Mõtmerãcie sent to aid Owen Glendouer.

[*Hol.* iii. 531/1/8.] the French king had appointed one of the marshals of France, called Montmerancie, and the master of his crosbowes, with twelue thousand men, to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They tooke shipping at Brest, and, hauing the wind prosperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as *Thomas Walsingham* saith; though *Enguerant de Monstrellet* maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie.

Failing to capture Haverfordwest,

[They met Glendower at Denbigh.]

[*Hol.* iii. 531/1/37.] they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their comming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioifullie receiued of the Welsh rebels, and so, when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbes: but, hearing of the kings approch, they suddenlie returned towards Wales.

The suburbs of Worcester burnt.

[The French and Welsh retreated when Henry approached.

Act II. sc. iii.—Moved by the prayers of his wife and daughter-in-law the Earl of Northumberland determines to seek refuge for a while in Scotland, though he would fain "go to meete the Archbishop" (l. 65). But the historical fact is that Scrope was executed before Henry marched against Northumberland, who,

[*Hol.* iii. 530/2/35.] hearing that his counsell was bewraied, and his confederats brought to confusion, through too much hast of the archbishop of Yorke, with three hundred horsse got him to Berwike. The king comming forward quickelie, wan the castell of

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[1] Wrongly styled "Duke of Lancaster" (l. 82) by Shakspere. This title was borne by Henry Prince of Wales.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 428/1.

[2] In a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Hereford, and dated from Pomfret Castle, "vii die Augusti" [1405], Henry says that the arrival of the French at Milford Haven "ad nostrum jam noviter pervenit intellectum."—*Rymer*, viii. 405. The French embarked about the end of July, 1405. When the wind favoured them, they set sail, and landed at Milford Haven.—*St. Denys*, iii. 328. According to *Chron. Normande* (370), they sailed on July 22, 1405, and remained in Wales until November 1 next following.

The earle of Northumberland [and Lord Bardolph fled to Scotland.]

Warkewoorth. Wherevpon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselfe in suertie at Berwike, fled with the lord Berdolfe into Scotland, where they were receiued of sir Dauid Fleming.[1]

Act III. sc. i.—A note of time occurs at l. 60, which, if we could ignore historic and dramatic contradictions, would enable us to say that the Third Act opens in 1407. Henry calls to mind how "eight yeares since,"—that is, in 1399,—Northumberland had been his trustiest friend. Yet this memory presents itself in the historical year 1405, before the end of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion was known. We need not, however, concern ourselves about years, for but a few dramatic days have elapsed since the battle of Shrewsbury.[2] Chronology being thus travestied, the news that "Glendour is dead" (l. 103) is not liable to question because he survived Henry; nor is anything gained if we accept the erroneous date[3] given in the following excerpt:

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miserie.

[*Hol.* iii. 536/1/1.] The Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare [1408-9] of king Henrie his reigne; being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that, in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caues; where, being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to susteine nature, for meere hunger and lacke of food, [he] miserablie pined awaie and died.

Act IV. scc. i.-ii.—From the ensuing passages were derived the scenes in which the suppression of Archbishop Scrope's revolt is dramatized. Before the rebellion broke out "the king was minded to haue gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels, that, vnder their cheefteine Owen Glendouer, ceassed not to doo much mischeefe still against the English subiects" (*Hol.* iii. 529/1/51).

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[1] Northumberland sealed a letter written at Berwick-upon-Tweed on June 11, 1405.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 605/1. Before his flight he delivered Berwick to the Scots.—*Ott.*, 257. In the same month of June, ere Henry reached Berwick, the Scots burnt the town and retreated.—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 605/2. *Ott.*, 257.

[2] *T-A.*, 285.

[3] Pennant says, without citing any authority, that Glendower died on September 20, 1415.—*Tour in Wales*, 1778, p. 368. But in the following year Sir Gilbert Talbot was licensed to receive Glendower's submission. On February 24, 1416, powers were granted by Henry V. "ad Communicandum & Tractandum cum Meredith ap Owyn, Filio Owyni de Glendourdy, de & super certis Materiis, praefato Gilberto per Nos injunctis & declaratis, Et tàm ad praedictum Owinum, quàm alios Rebelles nostros Wallenses, ad Obedientiam & Gratias nostras, si se ad eas petendum optulerint, nomine nostro Admittendum & Recipiendum," . . . *Rymer*, ix. 330, 331. Mr. Gairdner wrote to me: "But his [Glendower's] obit was no doubt observed in some churches in Wales, by which the day of his death would have been long preserved, while the year, I take it, was a mere false inference on Pennant's part."

[*Hol.* iii. 529/1/56.] But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mowbraie, earle marshall, sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolke, (who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had beene banished, as ye haue heard,) the lords Hastings, Fauconbridge,[1] Berdolfe, and diuerse others. It was appointed that they should meet altogither with their whole power, vpon Yorkeswold, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be cheefteine; promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop, accompanied with the earle marshall, deuised certeine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselues greeued with: which articles they shewed first vnto such of their adherents as were neere about them, & after sent them abroad to their freends further off; assuring them that, for redresse of such oppressions, they would shed the *last* drop of blood in their bodies,[2] if need were.

A new conspiracie against king Henrie by the earle of Northumberland & others.

[Northumberland promised to join them with a number of Scots. Scrope devised articles setting forth the grievances of the nobility and commons.]

The archbishop, not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, foorthwith discouered his enterprise; causing the articles aforesaid to be set vp in the publike streets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that mooued him to rise in armes against the king: the reforming whereof did not yet apperteine vnto him.[3] Herevpon, knights, esquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie townes and countries about, being allured either for desire of change, or

The archbishop of Yorke one of the cheefe conspirators.

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[1] In *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 604/1, John "Fauconberge," Ralph Hastings, and John "Colvyle de Dale," are styled "Chivalers."

[2] With "they would shed the *last* drop of blood in their bodies," cp. Mowbray's threat (IV. ii. 43, 44) that, if the articles were rejected,

> "... we ready are to trie our fortunes,
> To the *last* man."

[3] Westmoreland, addressing the Archbishop, denies the "neede of any such redresse" as Scrope speaks of, and adds (IV. i. 98): "Or if there were, *it not belongs to you.*"

else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled togither in great numbers; and the archbishop, comming foorth amongst them clad in armor,[1] incouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) pricked them foorth to take the enterprise in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose; promising forgiuenesse of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In deed, the respect that men had to the archbishop caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, mooued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The archbishop in armor.

The estimation which men had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The king, aduertised of these matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iournie into Wales, and marched with all speed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Neuill, earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, togither with the lord Iohn of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled togither such power as they might make, and, togither with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord Iohn to defend the borders against the Scots, (as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Eeuers, the lord Robert Umfreuill, & others,) made forward against the rebels; and, comming into a plaine within the forrest of Galtree,[2] caused their standards to be pitched downe in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other; for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

The earle of Westmerland and the lord Iohn of Lancaster the kings sonne prepare themselues to resist the kings enimies.

The forest of Galtree.

When the earle of Westmerland perceiued the force of the aduersaries, and that they laie still and attempted not to come

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[1] Prince John reproves the Archbishop for appearing "here, an *yron man*" (IV. ii. 8). With the Prince's complimentary words (ll. 16-22), cp. what is said of Scrope in the last passage of this paragraph, "In deed, the respect," &c.

[2] The two armies met on May 29, 1405, at "Shupton [Shipton] sur le More, bien pres la Citee d'Everwyk."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 605/1. Galtres Forest formerly reached from York to Aldborough.—*Bartholomew, s.v.*

forward vpon him, he subtillie deuised how to quaile their purpose; and foorthwith dispatched messengers vnto the archbishop to vnderstand the cause as it were of that great assemblie, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in a[r]mour. The archbishop answered, that he tooke nothing in hand *against* the kings *peace*,[1] but that whatsoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free accesse, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he mainteined that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed foorth a scroll, in which the articles were written wherof before ye haue heard.

The subtill policie of the earle of Westmerland.

The archbishops protestation why he had on him armes.

[Scrope sent Westmoreland a scroll containing the articles.]

The messengers, returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles, [*p.* 530] he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he *liked*[2] of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose; promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who, reioising hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and persuaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune togither. Here, when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and, without anie more adoo, the earle of Westmerland and those that were with him agreed to doo their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

[Westmoreland affected to like them.]

[Mowbray was persuaded by Scrope to confer with Westmoreland.]

The earle of Westmerland, vsing more policie than the rest: "Well" (said he) "then our trauell is come to the wished end; "and where our people haue beene long in armour, let them depart "home to their woonted trades and occupations: in the meane "time *let vs drinke togither*[3] in signe of agreement, that the people

The earle of Westmerlands politike dealing.

[He proposed that they should drink

[1] The Archbishop says to Prince John (IV. ii. 31): "I am not here *against* your fathers *peace*."

[2] Prince John says of the articles (IV. ii. 54): "I *like* them all, and do allow them well."

[3] Cp. Prince John's words (IV. ii. 63): "*Lets drinke together* friendly, and embrace."

together in sight of the two armies.]

"on both sides maie see it, and know that it is true, that we be "light at a point." They had no sooner shaken hands togither,

[Meanwhile a message was sent to the rebels that they might depart, for peace was concluded.]

but that a knight was sent streight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded; commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people, beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking togither of the lords in louing manner, they being alreadie wearied with the vnaccustomed trauell of warre, brake vp their field and returned homewards; but, in the meane time, whilest the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland; and yet the archbishop perceiued not that he was deceiued, vntill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall, with diuerse other. Thus saith *Walsingham.*

They accordingly left the field, but Westmoreland's forces increased.]

The archbishop of Yorke and the earle marshall arrested.

I quote another account which Holinshed gives, because two details were taken from it by Shakspere; namely, that the conference of the royal officers with Scrope and Mowbray was held—as Westmoreland proposes—"*iust* distance tweene our *armies*" (IV. i. 226); and that the rebels submitted to Prince John.

Elton.

[Another account is that, in a conference midway between the armies, Westmoreland persuaded Scrope and Mowbray to trust the king's mercy by submission to Prince John.]

[*Hol.* iii. 530/1/38.] But others write somwhat otherwise of this matter; affirming that the earle of Westmerland, in deed, and the lord Rafe Eeuers, procured the archbishop and the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground *iust* in the midwaie betwixt both the *armies;* where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perilous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to mooue warre against the king; aduising them therefore to submit themselues without further delaie vnto the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord Iohn, who was present there in the field with banners spred, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword, if they refused this counsell: and therefore he willed them to remember themselues well; &, if they would not yeeld and craue the kings pardon, he bad them doo their best to defend themselues.

Herevpon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselues vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord Iohn that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Where-

vpon their troops scaled and fled their waies; but, being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Howsoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power; and from thence he went to Yorke, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsundaie [June 8, 1405] in a place without the citie: that is to vnderstand, the archbishop himselfe, the earle marshall, sir Iohn Lampleie, and sir William[1] Plumpton. ¶ Unto all which persons, though indemnitie were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed.

[The rebels dispersed because Scrope and Mowbray did not return to them.]

The archbishop of Yorke, the earle marshall, & others put to death. Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 168.

Act IV. sc. iii.—The surrender of Sir John Colevile of the Dale[2] to Falstaff is a comic incident which appears to have been suggested by the mere record of Colevile's execution at Durham, when Henry was marching against Northumberland.

[*Hol.* iii. 530/2/31.] At his [Henry's] comming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Iohn Collcuill of the Dale, and sir Iohn Griffith, being conuicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded.

The lords [—and Sir John Colevile of the Dale—] *executed.*

Whether the historic time of this scene be 1405[3] or 1412 is doubtful, for, shortly before leaving the stage, Prince John says (l. 83):

I heare the King my father is sore sick.

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[1] *William*] *Robert* Hol.

[2] It appears that in the month of May,—but before the Archbishop and Earl Marshal were arrested,—the rebels under Sir John Fauconberg, Sir Ralph Hastings, and Sir John Colvyle de Dale, were embattled near Topcliff, until ("tan *que*") Prince John and Westmoreland "eux fesoit voider le champ, & eux myst a fuyte & sur lour fuier feurent pris." On May 29 the troops of Prince John and Westmoreland were ranged in order of battle upon Shipton on the Moor, confronting the forces of Scrope and Mowbray, "armes & arraies a faire de guerre, . . . & en tiel arraie les ditz Richard [Scrope] & Thomas [Mowbray] & autres lour complices feuront pris mesme le jour sur le dit More."—*Rot. Parl.*, iii. 604/2; 605/1.

[3] *Halle* (35) makes contemptuous mention of a story that "at the howre of the execucion of" Archbishop Scrope, "the kyng at the same tyme syttyng at dyner . . . was incontinently striken with a leprey," and (45) denies that the "sore sodayn disease" which caused Henry's death was a "Lepry stryken by the handes of God as folysh Friers before declared" (see p. 160 below). According to *Eulog.* (408) the king, immediately after Scrope's execution (June 8, 1405), "quasi leprosus apparere cepit." Another account is that, in 1408, Henry, after his return from York, where he had been occupied with punishing Northumberland's accomplices, "decidit in languorem et extasim consequenter, ita ut mortuus putaretur apud Mortlake."—*Ott.*, 263.

Under the latter date Holinshed first makes mention of the sickness which eventually proved fatal to Henry.

The king is vexed with sicknesse.

[*Hol.* iii. 540/2/72.] He [Henry] held his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being sore vexed with sicknesse, so that it was thought sometime, [*p.* 541] that he had beene dead: notwithstanding it pleased God that he somwhat recouered his strength againe, and so passed that Christmasse with as much ioy as he might.

Act IV. sc. iv.—Henry died on March 20, 1413 (*Wals.*, ii. 289), about which time we might suppose this scene to open, if dramatic chronology were reconcilable with historic dates. Soon after entering the King says to Clarence (ll. 20-26):

> How chance thou art not with the prince thy brother? 20
> He loues thee, and thou dost neglect him, Thomas;
> Thou hast a better place in his affection
> Then all thy brothers: cherrish it, my boy;
> And noble offices thou maist effect 24
> Of mediation, after I am dead,
> Between his greatnesse and thy other brethren.

It is just possible that a hint for these lines was taken from part of a long speech addressed by Henry IV. to his eldest son (*Stow*, 554-556), in which the King—who was then on his deathbed—expressed a fear lest Clarence's ambition and the Prince's haughtiness might cause strife between the two brothers.

The King advises Clarence to refrain from chiding Prince Henry for faults,

> Till that his passions, like a whale on ground,
> Confound themselues with working.

Perhaps the source of this metaphor was the following account of a stranded whale:

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some reported) for his eies, being great, were in his head and not in his backe.

[*Hol.* iii. 1259/2/32.] The ninth of Iulie [1574. 1573 according to Harrison's *Chronologie* (*Shakspere's England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, App. I. lvi.)], at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet besid[e]s Ramesgate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shoot himselfe on shore; where, for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land.

As Westmoreland announces Prince John's success (ll. 83-87), time recedes until 1405 is again the historic date, but, when Harcourt brings tidings that Northumberland and Bardolph, "*with a great power of* English and of *Scots*," have been overthrown by the Sheriff of Yorkshire (ll. 97-99), we are transported to the historical year 1408. Northumberland's defeat is thus described:

[*Hol.* iii. 534/1/20.] The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had beene in Wales, in France, and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yeare: and, as their euill fortune would, whilest the king held a councell of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a dismall houre, *with a great power of Scots*, returned into England; recouering diuerse of the earls castels and seigniories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Heerevpon, incouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Yorkeshire, & there began to destroie the countrie. At their comming to Threske, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to releeue the common-wealth; willing all such as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defensible wise to assist them. 1408

The earle of Northumb. & the lord Bardolfe returne into Englād.

The king, aduertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enimies; but, yer the king came to Notingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokesbie, shiriffe of Yorkeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power; comming to Grimbaut brigs, beside Knaresbourgh, there to stop them the passage; but they, returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, neere to Haizelwood, where they chose their ground meet to fight vpon. The shiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and so, with a standard of S. George spred, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who, vnder a standard of his owne armes, incountred his aduersaries with great manhood. There was a sore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the end the victorie fell to the shiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but sore wounded, so that he shortlie after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slaine outright: . . . This battell was fought the nineteenth day of Februarie [1408].

The shiriffe of Yorkeshire [assembled the forces of the county to resist them].

His hard corage to fight.

[Lord Bardolph taken.]

The earle of Northumberland slaine.

Hardly has the news of Northumberland's defeat been uttered ere the King swoons, and historic time is again as it was when the scene opened.

While the King is unconscious, Clarence mentions a portent[1] (l. 125):

The riuer hath thrice flowed, *no ebbe between.*

Holinshed says:

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 388. *Three floods without ebbing between.*

[*Hol.* iii. 540/1/45.] In this yeare [1411], and vpon the twelfth day of October, were three flouds in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & *no ebb*ing *betweene:* which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be seene.

Act IV. sc. v.—My next excerpt is the well-known story which is dramatized in the "Crown Scene."

Hall

[*Hol.* iii. 541/1/22.] During this his [Henry IV.'s] last sicknesse, he caused his crowne (as some write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head;[2] and suddenlie his pangs so sore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall spirits had beene from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had beene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

[Henry IV. swooned, and was left for dead, with his crown on his pillow.]

The prince taketh awaie the crowne before his father was dead.

The prince, his sonne, being hereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, tooke awaie the crowne, and departed. The father, being suddenlie reuiued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and, hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had taken it awaie, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to misuse himselfe. The prince, with a good audacitie, answered: "Sir, to mine and all "mens iudgements you seemed dead in this world; wherefore I, as "your next heire apparant, tooke that as mine owne, and not as "yours." "Well, faire sonne" (said the king with a great sigh), "what right I had to it, God knoweth." "Well" (said the prince), "if you die king, I will haue the garland, and trust to keepe it "with the sword against all mine enimies, as you haue doone."

He is blamed of the king.

His answer.

A guiltie conscience in extremitie of sicknesse pincheth sore.

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[1] Recorded by *Fab.* (576) under the 13th year of Henry IV. Clarence speaks of a threefold tide which occurred "a little time before" Edward III.'s death, and Gloucester is alarmed by "vnfather'd heires, and lothly births of nature" (IV. iv. 121-128), lately observed. I find no records of these latter portents. There may be an allusion to the wet summer of 1594—cp. *Mids. N. D.*, II. i. 82-114—in Gloucester's remark that "the seasons change their manners," &c. (ll. 123, 124).

[2] *Mons.* (ii. 435), who was, I suppose, *Halle's* authority for the following story, says that, "comme il est accoutumé de faire au pays," the crown was placed "sur une couche assez près de lui" [Henry].

Then said the king, "I commit all to God, and remember you to "doo well." With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and shortlie after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of Westminster called Ierusalem, the twentith daie of March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age 46: when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fiue moneths, and od daies, in great perplexitie and little pleasure. . . .

The death of Henrie the fourth.

The King's "very latest counsaile" (l. 183) to Prince Henry is illustrated by two passages from Holinshed. Advising engagement in "forraine quarrells" as an expedient for occupying the "giddie mindes" of unfaithful subjects, Henry says (ll. 210-213) that he

> had a purpose now
> To leade out manie to the Holy Land,
> Lest rest and lying stil might make them looke
> Too neare vnto my state.

Holinshed thus describes the warlike preparations which were made with the design of reconquering Jerusalem:[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 540/2/60.] In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Henries reigne, a councell was holden in the white friers in London; at the which, among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things necessarie to be prouided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Ierusalem from the Infidels. . . .

Fabian.

The k. meant to haue made a iournie against the Infidels.

[*Hol.* iii. 541/1/5.] The morrow after Candlemas daie began a parlement, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the same parlement was ended: for now that his prouisions were readie, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, capteins, vittels, munitions, tall ships, strong gallies, and all things necessarie for such a roiall iournie as he

1413

A parlement.

[1] These preparations have perhaps been postdated, and their object (an expedition against France) misunderstood. On April 18, 1412, a patent (*Rymer*, viii. 730) was issued to press sailors "ad Deserviendum nobis in quodam Viagio supra Mare infra breve faciendo"; and on July 12, 1412, Henry acknowledges the loan of a thousand marks from the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the expenses which "Nos, pro communi Commodo, circa Prosecutionem & Adeptionem Juris nostri (Deo dante) in partibus Aquitanniæ, ac alibi, in partibus Transmarinis, infra breve facere oportebit."—*Rymer*, viii. 760. In August, 1412, the Duke of Clarence was sent with a strong force ("manu valida") to the assistance of the Armagnac faction.—*Wals.*, ii. 288. On August 10 he landed at la Hogue-Saint-Vast.—*Chron. Normande*, 418.

pretended to take into the holie land, he was eftsoones taken with a sore sicknesse, which was not a leprosie, striken by the hand of God (saith maister *Hall*) as foolish friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languished till his appointed houre, and had none other greefe nor maladie.

The K. sick of an apoplexie. Hall.

As the scene ends Henry recognizes the fulfilment of a prophecy that he "should not die but in Jerusalem" (l. 238). Holinshed relates how this prediction was accomplished:

Fabian.

[*Hol.* iii. 541/1/63.] We find, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his praiers at saint Edwards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and so to proceed foorth on his iournie: he was so suddenlie and greeuouslie taken, that such as were about him, feared lest he would haue died presentlie; wherfore to relecue him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, he recouered his speech, and, vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name; wherevnto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then said the king: "Lauds be giuen to the father of "heauen, for now I know that I shall die heere in this chamber; "according to the prophesie of me declared, that I should depart "this life in Ierusalem."[1]

[Henry swooned while praying at the shrine of Edward the Confessor.]

[A prophecy that Henry should depart this life in Jerusalem.]

[1] *Fab.* (576) says that, by a council held at White Friars on November 20, 1412, it was "concluded, that for the kynges great Iournaye that he entendyd to take, in vysytynge of the holy Sepulcre of our Lord, certayne Galeys of warre shuld be made, & other purueaunce concernynge the same Iournay." *Fab.* then tells the story—which I quote from *Hol.*—of Henry's death in the Jerusalem Chamber. There can hardly be a doubt, however, that Henry accomplished a pilgrimage to Jerusalem before he ascended the throne. On November 18, 1392, the Venetian Senate granted the request of "Lord Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Hereford, and Northampton, . . . the eldest son of the Duke of Aquitaine" [John of Gaunt], that he might have "the hull of a galley, with all necessary tackle, to visit the holy places."—*Ven. State PP.*, i. 33/107. On November 30, 1392, the Senate decreed the expenditure of a sum of public money to honour the Earl of Derby, the eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, "the intimate friend of our Signory, on this his coming to Venice, bound for the Holy Sepulchre."—*Ibid.*, 33/108. And on March 31, 1393, the Grand Council ordained that one hundred golden ducats of public money should be expended to "honour the Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, on this his return."—*Ibid.*, 34/110.

Act V. sc. ii.—The new King hears a vindicatory speech of the Lord Chief-Justice (ll. 73-101), by whom, in time past, he had been committed to prison for a gross act of lawlessness. I have mentioned above (p. 141) an insult offered by Prince Henry to the Chief-Justice, and I here quote the account which Holinshed gives of this matter. After his coronation Henry V. is said to have dismissed his unworthy associates,

[When Henry V. came to the throne he chose wise counsellors.]

[*Hol.* iii. 543/2/10.] and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once, to hie offense of the king his father, he had with his fist striken[1] the cheefe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison: when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also streict to ward, & he (then prince) obeied.

[Once, when he was Prince, he struck the Chief-Justice.]

In his answer to the Chief-Justice the King repeats Henry IV.'s words (ll. 108-112):

> Happie am I that haue a man so bold,
> That dares do iustice on my proper sonne;
> And no lesse happie, hauing such a sonne,
> That would deliuer vp his greatnesse so,
> Into the hands of Iustice!

The story of Prince Henry's rudeness to the Chief-Justice made its earliest known appearance in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Gouernour*, 1531[2] (ff. 122-123 verso). Stow copied Elyot (557, 558). I quote *The Gouernour* because it contains the remark attributed to Henry IV., which Holinshed omitted.

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[1] The following passage in *Redman* (11) is the earliest known authority for the blow given by Prince Henry to the Chief-Justice, and the consequent supersession of the Prince in the Council by the Duke of Clarence: "Senatu movebatur, nec in curiam aditus ei patebat; et illius fama hæsit ad metas, quod summum judicem, litibus dirimendis et causarum cognitionibus præpositum, manu percuteret, cum is unum in custodiam tradidisset ex cujus familiaritate voluptatem mirificam Henricus perciperet. Eam dignitatem, quam is amisit, Thomas illius frater, Dux Clarensis, est consecutus." Mr. Cole proves that Redman's *Vita Hen. V.* was "composed between 1536 . . . and 1544."—*Ibid.*, pp. ix., x.

[2] Sir N. H. Nicolas pointed out (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, pp. 256, 257) a likely source for this fiction; and in an exhaustive paper entitled "The Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief-Justice Gascoign," Mr. F. Solly-Flood has given details from which it appears that, on account of a judgment delivered towards the close of Edward I.'s reign, in the case of Roger de Hengham *versus* William de Brews, the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench was reviled in open court by the defendant. The record (Rot. coram Rege, m. 33, 34 Ed. I., m. 75) of the Court's judgment against De Brews for his misbehaviour contains the following passage: "Quæ quidem, videlicet *contemptus et inobedientia* [cp. the words—"contempt and disobedience"—attributed by Elyot to the Chief-Justice] tam ministris ipsius Domini Regis quam sibi ipsi aut curiæ suæ facta valde sunt odiosa et hoc nuper apparuit cum idem Dominus Rex filium suum primogenitum et carissimum Edwardum Principem Walliæ

The moste renomed prince kinge Henry the fifte, late kynge of Englande, durynge the life of his father was noted to be fierce [*fol.* 122 *verso*] and of wanton courage: it hapned that one of his seruantes, whom he well fauored, for felony by hym committed was arrayned at the Kynges benche, wherof he being aduertised, and incensed by light persones aboute hym, in furious rage came hastily to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to be vngyued and sette at libertie; where at all men were abasshed, reserued the chiefe iustice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that his seruaunt mought be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme, or, if he wolde haue hym saued from the rigour of the lawes, that he shuld optaine, if he moughte, of the kynge his father his gracious pardon, wherby no lawe or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuored hym selfe to take away his seruaunt. The iuge (consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that moughte therby ensue) with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince, vpon his alegeance, to leue the prisoner and departe his way. With whiche commandement the prince being set all in a fury, all chafed & in a terrible maner, came vp to the place of [*fol.* 123] iugement; (men thinkyng that he wolde haue slayne the iuge or haue done to hym some damage;) but the iuge, sittyng styll without mouynge, declarynge the maiestie of the kynges place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these wordes folowyng:

"Sir, remembre your selfe: I kepe here the place of the king

[One of Prince Henry's servants was arraigned at the King's Bench for felony.]

[The Prince came to the bar and demanded the release of his servant.]

[The Chief-Justice admonished the Prince to let the law take its course, or obtain a pardon from the King.]

[The Prince endeavoured to take away his servant,

[and, being commanded to desist,

[went up to the Chief-Justice in a menacing manner.]

[But the Chief-Justice, without blenching, asserted his authority as the King's representative,

pro eo quod quædam verba grossa et acerba cuidam ministro suo dixerat et hospicio suo fere per dimidium annum amovit nec ipsum filium suum in conspectu suo venire permisit quousque predicto ministro de predicta transgressione satisfecerat."—*Solly-Flood*, 106. Here we have evidence of verbal abuse bestowed on a royal officer by the first Prince of Wales, whose punishment resembles that which, according to Redman, Prince Henry suffered for striking the Chief-Justice. (Cp. "nec in curiam aditus ei patebat," p. 161, note 1, above.) Mr. Solly-Flood informs us that the Rotuli coram Rege and the Controlment rolls embrace every commitment by the King's Bench either *ad respondendum* or *in penam*. He carefully examined all the entries made during the reign of Henry IV. on these rolls,—which are perfect throughout this reign,—and found no record of Prince Henry's commitment for any offence, or of the commitment of any one during Henry IV.'s reign for the offences attributed to the Prince by Elyot and Redman.—*Solly-Flood*, 102.

"your soueraigne lorde and father,[1] to whom ye owe double "obedience; wherfore eftsones in his name I charge you desiste "of your wilfulnes and vnlaufull entreprise, & from hensforth gyue "good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre "subiects. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience go you "to the prisone of the kynges benche, where vnto I committe you; "and remayne ye there prisoner vntill the pleasure of the kyng "your father be further knowen."

[and bade the Prince go to the prison of the King's Bench.]

With whiche wordes beinge abasshed, and also wondrynge at the meruailous grauitie of that worshipful Iustice, the noble prince, layinge his waipon aparte, doinge reuerence, departed, and wente to the kynges benche as he was commaunded. Wherat his seruantes, disdainyng, came and shewed to the kynge all the hole affaire. Whereat he a whiles studienge, after, as a man all rauisshed with [*fol.* 123 *verso*] gladnesse, holdyng his eien and handes vp towarde heuen, abrayded, sayinge with a loude voice:

[The Prince obeyed; whereat his servants, being indignant, laid the whole matter before the King. King Henry answered that

"O mercifull god, how moche am I, aboue all other men, "bounde to your infinite goodnes! specially for that ye haue "gyuen me a iuge who feareth nat to ministre iustice, and also "a sonne who can suffre semblably and obey iustice!"

[he was happy to have a judge who ministered justice fearlessly, and a son who obeyed justice.]

Before leaving the stage Henry says (l. 134; 141, 142):

> Now call we our high court of parliament: . . .
> Our coronation done, we wil accite
> (As I before remembred) all our state.

Holinshed briefly notices the first Parliament of Henry V.

[*Hol.* iii. 543/2/44.] Immediatlie after Easter he called a parlement, in which diuerse good statutes, and wholesome ordin-

A parlement [called by Henry V.]

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[1] I then did vse the person of your father;
The image of his power lay then in me: . .
Your Highnesse pleased to forget my place,
The maiestie and power of law and iustice,
The image of the King whom I presented,
And strooke me in my very seate of iudgement; . . . 80

The writer of *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*, 1598, made the Judge—to whom Prince Henry had given "a boxe on the eare"—say (sc. iv. ll. 99-102, p. 14): "in striking me in this place, you greatly abuse me, and not me onely, but also your father: whose liuely person here in this place I doo represent." This assertion has—accidentally, no doubt—the same scope as the doctrine laid down by the Court of King's Bench in regard to William de Brews's contempt: "Et quia sicut honor et reverentia qui ministris ipsius Domini Regis ratione officii sui [fiunt] ipsi Regi attribuuntur, sic dedecus et contemptus ministris suis facta eidem Regi attribuuntur."—*Solly-Flood*, 106.

ances, for the preseruation and aduancement of the commonwealth were deuised and established.

Act V. sc. v.—Falstaff interrupts the royal procession on its return after Henry's coronation, and is sent by the King into banishment with Henry's other "misleaders"; all of whom have been forbidden to come within "*ten mile*" of 'our person'; though they are to receive pensions now for "competence of life," and "aduancement" in future, if they reform themselves (ll. 67-74). Holinshed thus records Henry's coronation and altered behaviour:

The day of king Henries coronation a very tempestuous day.

[*Hol.* iii. 543/1/54.] He was crowned the ninth of Aprill, being Passion sundaie, which was a sore, ruggie, and tempestuous day, with wind, snow, and sleet; that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie. But this king euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto misrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred); inhibiting them vpon a great paine, not once to approch, lodge, or soiourne within *ten mile*s of his court or presence: . . .

A notable example of a woorthie prince [, who, when he became King, banished his unruly mates].

The following sketch of Henry IV.'s character and circumstances may have afforded Shakspere some hints.

His stature.

[*Hol.* iii. 541/2/20.] This king was of a meane stature, well proportioned, and formallie compact; quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat more loue amongst the nobles and people of this realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will in the beginning.

[His character.]

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, after he had atteined to the crowne, what with such taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was constreined to charge the people with; and what by punishing such as, mooued with disdeine to see him vsurpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile), did at sundrie times rebell against him; he wan himselfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had beene longer by manie yeares than it was) had beene possible for him to haue weeded out & remooued.

VIII. HENRY V.

Henry V. appears to have received the Dauphin Lewis's[1] gift of tennis-balls in Lent, 1414.[2] This date marks the commencement of historic time in *The Life of Henry the Fift;* and the play ends with Katharine of Valois's betrothal in May, 1420.

Act I. Prologue.—

> O for a Muse of Fire, that would ascend
> The brightest Heauen of Inuentiön,
> A Kingdome for a Stage, Princes to Act,
> And Monarchs to behold the swelling Scene!
> Then should the Warlike Harry, like himselfe,
> Assume the Port of Mars; and at his heeles
> (Leasht in, like Hounds) should Famine, Sword, and Fire
> Crouch for employment.

A speech[3] attributed to the "Warlike Harry" contains a parable which may have suggested the picture of these crouching hounds of Famine, Sword, and Fire. On January 2, 1419, Rouen, despairing of succour, after five months' siege,[4] yielded to the pressure of famine so far as to open communication with Henry through ambassadors.

A presumptuous orator.

[*Hol.* iii. 567/1/39.] One of them, seene in the ciuill lawes, was appointed to declare the message in all their names; who, shewing himselfe more rash than wise, more arrogant than learned, first tooke vpon him to shew wherin the glorie of victorie consisted; aduising the king not to shew his manhood in famishing a multi-

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[1] Lewis was a contemporary of the events dramatized in *Hen. V.*, Acts I.-IV. He died on December 18, 1415.—*Mons.*, iii. 366; *Journal*, xv. 210. His brother, the Dauphin John, died on April 3 (*Journal*, 216) or 4 (*Mons.*, iii. 408), 1417. During the historic time embraced by Act V. the Dauphin was Charles, who afterwards reigned as Charles VII., and is a character in 1 *Hen. VI.*

[2] "Eodem anno [1414] in Quadragesima rege existente apud Kenilworth, Karolus [*sc.* Ludovicus], regis Francorum filius, Dalphinus vocatus, misit pilas Parisianas ad ludendum cum pueris."—*Ott.*, 274. In 1414 Ash Wednesday fell on February 21.

[3] A speech, similar in outline, is attributed to Henry by *Redman* (55). I quote from it a passage which has some resemblance to that in which Henry takes credit to himself for employing the "meekest maid" to punish Rouen: "Benigne et clementer omnia me administrare nemo est qui non intelligat, cum fame potius quam flamma, ferro, aut sanguine, Rotomagum ad deditionem perpello."

[4] The forces blockading Rouen were ordered to take up their positions on August 1, 1418.—*Page*, 6. On January 2, 1419, Henry gave audience to the ambassadors from Rouen.—*Page*, 26-28. Rouen opened her gates on January 19, 1419.—*Page*, 41, 42. Page was present at the siege.—*Page*, 1.

[Henry should allow the people without the walls to pass through his lines, and then assault Rouen.]

tude of poore, simple, and innocent people, but rather suffer such miserable wretches, as laie betwixt the wals of the citie and the trenches of his siege, to passe through the campe, that they might get their liuing in other places; and then, if he durst manfullie assault the citie, and by force subdue it, he should win both worldlie fame, and merit great meed at the hands of almightie God, for hauing compassion of the poore, needie, and indigent people.

The kings answer to this proud message.

When this orator had said, the king, who no request lesse suspected, than that which was thus desired, began a while to muse; and, after he had well considered the craftie cautell of his enimies, with a fierce countenance, and bold spirit, he reproued them; both for their subtill dealing with him, and their malapert presumption, in that they should seeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour. And therefore, since it appeared that the same was vnknowne vnto them, he declared that the goddesse of battell, called *Bellona*, had three handmaidens, euer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blood, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choise to vse them all three, (yea, two or one of them, at his pleasure,) he had appointed onelie the meekest maid of those three damsels to punish them of that citie, till they were brought to reason.

[He has chosen Famine—the meekest of Bellona's handmaids—to punish Rouen.]

And whereas the gaine of a capteine, atteined by anie of the said three handmaidens, was both glorious, honourable, and woorthie of triumph: yet, of all the three, the yoongest maid, which he meant to vse at that time, was most profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lieng in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he should slaie them; and yet had he saued their liues, so that, if anie lacke of charitie was, it rested in them, and not in him. But to their cloked request, he meant not to gratifie them within so much; but they should keepe them still to helpe to spend their vittels. And as to assault the towne, he told them that he would they should know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he should see occasion: but the choise was in his hand, to tame them either with blood, fire, or famine, or with them all;

[If the people without the walls die, those who expelled them from Rouen must bear the blame.]

[He will take his own course to win the city.]

whereof he would take the choise at his pleasure, and not at theirs.

Act I. sc. i.—Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury tells John Fordham Bishop of Ely[1] that a bill for disendowing the Church, which nearly passed in the eleventh year of Henry IV.'s reign, has been revived. If this bill were carried, the clergy must lose "the better halfe" of their "Possession":

> For all *the Temporall Lands*, which men deuout
> By Testament haue *giuen* to the Church,
> Would they strip from vs; being valu'd thus:
> As much as would *maintaine, to the* Kings *honor*,
> Full *fifteene Earles*, and *fifteene hundred Knights*,
> *Six thousand and two hundred* good *Esquires*;
> And, to *reliefe of* Lazars, and weake age
> Of indigent faint Soules, past corporall toyle,
> *A hundred Almes-houses*, right well supply'd;
> *And to* the *Coffers* of *the King*, beside,
> A *thousand pounds* by th'yeere. Thus runs the Bill.

Holinshed took from Halle (49) the following account of the renewal of this bill:

Anno Reg. 2. 1414

[Parliament at Leicester.

[*Hol.* iii. 545/2/6.] In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie called his high court of parlement, the last daie of Aprill, in the towne of Leicester; in which parlement manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie petitions mooued were for that time deferred. Amongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlement holden at Westminster, in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to none effect), might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of which supplication was, that *the temporall lands* (deuoutlie *giuen*, and disordinatlie spent by religious, and other spirituall persons) should be seized into the kings hands; sith the same might suffice to *mainteine, to the honor* of the king, and defense of the realme, *fifteene earles, fifteene hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers*, and *a hundred almesse-houses*, for *reliefe* onelie *of* the poore, impotent, and needie persons; *and the king* to haue cleerelie *to* his *coffers* twentie *thousand pounds:* with manie other prouisions and values of religious houses, which I passe ouer.

A bill exhibited to the parlemēt against the clergie.

[1] Bishop of Ely from 1388 to 1425.—*Godwin*, 274.

My next excerpt shows how the danger was averted:

[*Hol.* iii. 545/2/29.] This bill was much noted, and more feared, among the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie neere; and therefore to find remedie against it, they determined to assaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow this bill: wherein they thought best to trie if they might mooue the kings mood with some sharpe inuention, that he should not regard the importunate petitions of the commons.[1] Wherevpon, on a daie in the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared, how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Aniou and Maine, and the countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title apperteining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie heire of the same; but also the whole realme of France, as heire to his great grandfather king Edward the third.[2]

[The clergy resolved to divert Henry's attention from the disendowment bill.]

The archbishop of Canturburies oration in the parlement house.

Act I. sc. ii.—In presence of the assembled English peers, Henry calls upon Chichele to show whether the Salic law "or should or should not" bar the King's claim to France. I exhibit in parallel columns Holinshed's version[3] of the Archbishop's speech and Shakspere's paraphrase of it. Chichele inveighed

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Parliamēt of Leyceter. At'whiche parliam̃t was put vp y^e Bylle whiche was put vp at y^e plyament in y^e xi. yere of kyng Henry the .iiii.

[1] And this yere [1414] the kyng helde his Parlyament at Leyceter, where, amonge other thynges, the foresayd Bylle [*Fab.*, 575, 576] put vp by the Commons of the lande, for the Temporalties beynge in the Churche, as it is before [towchid in the xi yere of the iiiith Henry], was agayne mynded. In fere wherof, lest the kynge wolde therunto gyue any Comfortable Audyence, as testyfye some wryters, certayne Bysshoppes and other hede men of the Churche put y^e kyng in mynde to clayme his ryght in Fraunce; & for the exployte therof they offrede vnto hym great & notable summes. By reason whereof y^e sayd byll was agayne put by, and the kynge sette his mynde for the Recouery of the same; . . .—*Fab.*, 578.

When I said (*Henry V.*, revised ed., New Sh. Soc., p. viii) that "Hall seems to be the sole authority for the revival of the confiscation scheme in Henry the Fifth's reign," this passage in *Fab.* was unknown to me.

[2] There is not so much as an allusion to these claims of Henry in the accounts of the Leicester Parliament's proceedings given by *Rot. Parl.* and *Elmham* (cap. xvii.). When Parliament met at Westminster, on November 19, 1414, the Chancellor (Henry Beaufort) opened the session by a sermon in which he announced that the King had determined to resort to war with France, and therefore needed a large subsidy.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 34. It does not appear from *Rot. Parl.* (iv. 16/1) that Chichele was one of the triers of petitions in the Leicester Parliament, but we learn from the same authority (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 35/1) that he held the office of trier in the Parliament of Westminster. He was translated from S. David's to Canterbury.—*Godwin*, 512. The Pope's confirmation of Chichele's election was requested by Henry in a letter dated on March 23, 1414.—*Rymer*, ix. 119. The temporalities were restored on May 30, 1414.—*Ibid.* 131.

[3] *Hol.* abridged and turned into the third person a speech which *Halle*

[*Hol.* iii. 545/2/46.] against the surmised and false fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer *against* the kings of England in *barre* of their iust title *to* the crowne of *France*. The verie words of that supposed law are these: '*In terram Salicam* '*mulieres ne succedant;*' that is to saie, '*Into* the *Salike land* let 'not women *succeed.*' *Which the French* glossers expound *to be the realme of France, and* that *this law* was made by king *Pharamond;* whereas *yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the* riuers *of Elbe and Sala;* and that when *Charles the great* had ouercome *the Saxons*, he placed there *certeine Frenchmen*, which hauing *in disdeine* the *dishonest maners of the Germane women*, made a *law*, that the *females should* not succeed to any inheritance within that *land, which at this daie is called Meisen:* so that, if this be true, this *law was not* made *for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen* possessed *the land Salike, till foure hundred* and *one and twentie yeares after* the death *of Pharamond*, the *supposed* maker *of this* Salike *law;* for this Pharamond deceassed *in*

There is no *barre*
To make *against* your Highnesse Clayme *to France,* 36 *The Salike law.*
But this, which they produce from Pharamond:
"*In terram Salicam Mulieres ne succedant,*"
"No Woman shall *succeed in Salike Land:*"
Which Salike Land, *the French* vniustly gloze 40
To be the Realme of France, and Pharamond
The founder of *this Law*, and Female Barre.
Yet their owne Authors faithfully *affirme,*
That the Land Salike is in 44 *Germanie,*
Betweene the Flouds *of Sala and* of *Elue;*
Where *Charles the Great*, hauing subdu'd *the Saxons,*
There left behind, and settled *certaine French,*
Who (holding *in disdaine the* 48 *German Women,*
For some *dishonest manners of* their life)
Establisht then this *Law;* to wit,
"No *Female*
"*Should* be Inheritrix *in* Salike *Land:*"
Which Salike, (as I said,) 'twixt 52 Elue and Sala,
Is at this day in Germanie *call'd Meisen.*
Then doth it well appeare, the Salike *Law*
Was not deuised *for the Realme of France;*
Nor did *the French possesse the* 56 *Salike Land*
Vntill *foure hundred one and twentie yeeres*
After defunction *of* King *Pharamond,*
(Idly *suppos'd* the founder *of this Law,*)

[Though the French say that Pharamond made the law for France, the Salic land is in Germany, where Charles the Great placed certain Frenchmen, long after Pharamond's death.]

Mesina [Misena, Meissen].

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assigns to Chichele (50-52). On his deathbed Henry protested that neither ambition nor the desire of fame prompted him to undertake war with France; "but onelie that, in prosecuting his iust title [to the French crown, through Edward III.], he might in the end atteine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those peeces of his inheritance [from Henry II.], which to him of right belonged: and that, before the beginning of the same warres, he was fullie persuaded by men both wise and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent he might and ought both begin the same warres, and follow them," &c. This last clause has the following sidenote: "Cheeflie Chichelie archb. of Cantur. for dashing y^e^ bill against the cleargie," &c. Cp. Henry's appeal to Chichele (I. ii 13-32; 96).

the yeare 426, *and Charles the great subdued the Saxons, and* placed *the French*men in those parts *beyond the riuer* of *Sala, in the yeare* 805.

[Pippin traced his title to the French crown through the female line, and so also did Hugh Capet.]

Moreouer, it appeareth by *their* owne *writers*, that *king Pepine, which deposed Childerike*, claimed *the crowne of France, as heire generall*, for that he was *descended of Blithild, daughter to king Clothair* [*p.* 546] the first. *Hugh Capet also, (who vsurped the crowne* vpon *Charles duke of Loraine*, the *sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great,) to* make *his title* seeme true, and appeare good, (*though in* deed *it was* starke *naught,*) *conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to* king *Charlemaine, sonne to Lewes the emperour*, that was *son* to *Charles the great. King Lewes also, the tenth,*[1] (otherwise called saint Lewes,) being verie *heire to the* said *vsurper* Hugh *Capet, could* neuer be *satisfied in his conscience* how he might iustlie keepe and possesse *the crowne of France, till* he was persuaded and fullie instructed, *that queene Isabell his grandmother was lineall*ie descended *of the ladie Ermengard, daughter* and heire *to the* aboue named *Charles duke of Loraine; by the which marriage, the* bloud and *line of Charles the great was* againe *vnited* and restored *to the crowne* & scepter *of France: so that* more *cleere* than *the sunne* it openlie *appear*eth, that the *title* of *king*

[Therefore the king of England cannot be barred from claiming France

Who died within *the yeere* of our Redemption
Foure hundred twentie six; *and Charles the Great*
Subdu'd the Saxons, and did seat *the French*
Beyond the Riuer Sala, in the yeere
Eight hundred fiue. Besides, *their* *Writers* say,
King Pepin, which deposëd Childerike,
Did, *as Heire Generall,* (being *descended*
Of Blithild, which was *Daughter to King Clothair,*)
Make Clayme and Title to *the* *Crowne of France.*
Hugh Capet also, (who vsurpt the Crowne
Of *Charles* the *Duke of Lóraine, sole Heire male*
Of the true *Line and Stock of Charles* the *Great,*)
To find *his Title* with some shewes of truth,
(*Though, in* pure truth, *it was* corrupt and *naught,*)
Conuey'd himselfe as th'*Heire to th' Lady Lingare,*
Daughter to Charlemaine, who was the *Sonne*
To Lewes the Emperour, and Lewes, the *Sonne*
Of *Charles the Great. Also King Lewes the Tenth,*
Who was sole *Heire to the Vsurper Capet,*
Could not keepe quiet *in his conscïënce,*
Wearing *the Crowne of France, 'till* *satisfied*
That faire *Queene Isabel, his Grand-mother,*
Was Lineall of the Lady Ermengare,
Daughter to Charles the foresaid *Duke of Lóraine:*
By the which Marriage, the Lyne of *Charles the Great*
Was re-*vnited to the Crowne of France.*
So that, as *cleare* as is *the* Summers *Sunne,*
King Pepins Title, and *Hugh Capets Clayme.*
King *Lewes* his satisfaction, all *appeare*
To hold in Right and Title of *the Female:*

[1] *Hol.'s* slip misled Shakspere. *Halle* has: "Kyng Lewes also the ninth" (51).

Pepin, the *claime* of *Hugh Capet*, the possession of *Lewes;* yea, and *the* French *kings to this daie*, are deriued and conueied from *the* heire *female;* though *they would*, vnder the colour of such a fained *law*, *barre* the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alledged out of *the booke of Numbers* this saieng: 'When a man *dieth* with-'out a sonne, *let the inheritance* 'descend to his *daughter.*'

So doe the Kings of France vnto *this day;*
Howbeit *they would* hold vp this Salique *Law*
To *barre* your Highnesse clayming from the Female;
And rather chuse to hide them in a Net,
Then amply to imbarre their crookëd Titles
Vsurpt from you and your Progenitors.
King. May I, with right and conscience, make this claim?
Cant. The sinne vpon my head, dread Souëraigne!
For in *the Booke of Numbers* is it writ,
"*When* the *man dyes, let the Inheritance*
"*Descend* vnto the *Daughter.*"

through the same line of descent.]

[The book of Numbers.]

Chichele then reminds Henry how Edward III., "*on a Hill, stood*"; watching the Black Prince defeat "the full Power of France," with but half of the English army (I. ii. 105-110). Holinshed records (iii. 372/2/27) how a knight, sent to ask Edward for reinforcements, came "where" the King "*stood* aloft *on a* windmill *hill*," surveying the battle.[1]

When Westmoreland says that the hearts of the English nobles are in France, Chichele exclaims:

> O let their bodyes follow, my deare Liege,
> With *Blood* and *Sword* and *Fire*, to win your *Right!*
> In ayde whereof, we *of the Spiritualtie*
> Will rayse your *Highnesse such a* mightie *Summe*,
> *As neuer* did the Clergie at one time
> Bring in to any of your Ancestors.

Chichele,

[*Hol.* iii. 546/1/30.] hauing said sufficientlie for the proofe of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance foorth his banner to fight for his *right*, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither *bloud, sword*, nor *fire;* sith his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chapleins and obedient subiects *of the spiritualtie* might shew themselues willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that, in their spirituall conuocation, they

[Chichele urged Henry to make war, and promised him a larger sum of money than the clergy had ever paid to any prince.]

[1] An incident which Charles VI. reminds his nobles of (*Hen. V.*, II. iv. 53-62).

had granted to his *highnesse such a summe* of monie, *as neuer* by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.[1]

Chichele answers Henry's fear, that the Scot might pour down upon defenceless England, by recalling the day (October 17, 1346) when David II. was vanquished and taken prisoner, during Edward III.'s absence in France.—*Avesbury*, 145, 146. For the unhistorical assertion that David was sent to France (l. 161), Shakspere was perhaps indebted to the play of *King Edward III.*, where (Act IV. sc. ii. p. 53) we find Edward resolving to summon Copeland, David's captor,

> hither out of hand,
> And with him he shall bring his prisoner king.

In the last scene (Act V. sc. i. p. 71), which is laid at Calais, Copeland enters, "and King David."

To Chichele's instance Westmoreland replies (ll. 166-168):

> But there's a saying very old and true:
> "If that you *will France win*,
> "Then *with Scotland first begin*."

After recording Chichele's speech, and offer of a subsidy, Holinshed adds:

The earle of Westmerland persuadeth ye king to the conquest of Scotland.

[*Hol.* iii. 546/1/44.] When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill, earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king, vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would suerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to mooue the king to begin first with Scotland; and therevpon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen; concluding the suimme of his tale with this old saieng: that, "Who so *will France win*, must *with Scotland first* "*begin*."

War with France being resolved on, audience is given to ambassadors from the Dauphin. They present to the King a "Tun[2] of

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[1] The Convocation of Canterbury met on October 1, 1414, and broke up on October 20, 1414, after granting Henry two whole tenths.—*Wake*, 350, 351. This convocation was summoned for the settlement of matters relating to church discipline, as the mandate (*Wake*, Appendix, 87) shows.

[2] Perhaps "Tunne" = a *cup*. Higins (*Nomenclator*, 1585, p. 233, col. 1) defined "Ooscyphium" as "a *tun*, or nut to drinke in." In *The Famous Victories*, sc. ix., p. 29, the ambassador's action is described by this stage direction: "He deliuereth a Tunne of Tennis Balles." Henry says: "What, a guilded Tunne? I pray you, my Lord of Yorke, looke what is in it." York answers: "Here is a Carpet and a Tunne of Tennis balles."

Treasure" (l. 255), containing tennis-balls (l. 258); a gift which their master deems "meeter for" Henry's "spirit" than French dukedoms. Of this incident Holinshed gives the following account:

Biton. A disdainefull ambassage. [The Dauphin's 'Paris balles.']

[*Hol.* iii. 545/1/1.] Whilest in the Lent season the king laie at Killingworth, there came to him from Charles [*sc.* Lewis] Dolphin of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with them a barrell of Paris balles; which from their maister they presented to him for a token that was taken in verie ill part, as sent in scorne, to signifie, that it was more meet for the king to passe the time with such childish exercise, than to attempt any worthie exploit.

Part of Henry's answer (ll. 264-266) to the ambassadors—

> Tell him, "he hath made a match with such a Wrangler,
> "That all *the Courts* of *France* will be disturb'd
> "With Chaces"

—may be derived from the concluding portion of this excerpt:

[Henry's 'London balles.']

[*Hol.* iii. 545/1/9.] Wherfore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long, he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walles of *the* best *court* in *France*.[1]

Act II. Chorus.—When Shakspere wrote ll. 8-10,—

> For now sits Expectation in the Ayre;
> And hides a Sword, from Hilts vnto the Point,
> With Crownes Imperiall, Crownes, and Coronets

,—he may have been thinking of a woodcut-portrait of Edward III.,[2]—engraved on page 174,—which appeared in the first edition of Holinshed (1577, vol. iii. p. 885).

Act II. sc. ii.—This scene is laid at Southampton, in August, 1415.[3]

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[1] Cp. the rest of the passage in *Ott.* (cited above, p. 165): "Cui rex Anglorum rescripsit, dicens, se in brevi pilas missurum Londoniarum quibus terreret [tereret] & confunderet sua tecta." Henry's threat that the Dauphin's balls shall become "Gun-stones" (I. ii. 282) may be Shakspere's reminiscence of Caxton (*Chronicle*, ed. 1482, sign. t. 5), who says that Henry "lete make tenys balles for the dolphyn in al the hast that they myȝt be made, and they were grete *gonne stones* for the Dolphyn to playe with all." But a cannon-shot was called a gunstone in Shakspere's time. See examples in the revised ed. of *Henry V.* (New Sh. Soc.), p. 162. In a contemporary poem, ascribed to Lydgate, Henry speaks of a "game at tynes" which his guns "shall play with Harflete."—*Chron. Lond.*, 220.

[2] In Rastell's *Pastyme of People*, 1529, Edward III. is portrayed at full length, holding a sword encircled by two crowns. For a comparison with II., Chorus, l. 6,—where Henry is styled "the Mirror of all Christian Kings,"—see p. 205, note 2, below.

[3] The treason of Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey was "publisshid and openli knowe" at Southampton, on August 1, 1415.—*Chron. R. II.*—*H. VI.*, 40. On August 2, a jury found the conspirators guilty (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 65), and, on August 5, Clarence was commissioned to pass sentence on Cambridge and Scrope (*Rymer*, ix. 300).

All the historic negotiation which preceded Henry's departure for France was passed over or postdated, and the event placed next to the tennis-balls' incident is the conspiracy of Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey.

[*Hol.* iii. 548/1/66.] When king Henrie had fullie furnished his nauie with men, munition, & other prouisions, [he,] perceiuing that his capteines misliked nothing so much as delaie, determined his souldiors to go a ship-boord and awaie. But see the hap! the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was crediblie informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge, brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henrie lord Scroope of Masham, lord treasuror, with Thomas Graie, a knight of Northumberland, being confederat togither, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended.

The earle of Cambridge & other lords apprehended for treason

Neither Holinshed nor, I believe, any chronicler published in Shakspere's day[1] relates that the conspirators were led on by Henry to doom themselves (ll. 39-51). The speech (ll. 79-144) in which Henry upbraids

[1] *Saint-Remy*—whose *Mémoires*, from 1407 to 1422, were first published in 1663—says—as do other chroniclers—that the conspirators sought to make the Earl of March an accomplice by offering to place him on the throne, but that he revealed their design to Henry. *Saint-Remy* adds (vii. 488-489) that the King thereupon called a council of his nobles, and after telling them that he had heard, though he could not believe, that some of his subjects were engaged in a plot to deprive him of his crown, asked, if the report were true, what should be done to these traitors. The question was put to each lord in succession, and the conspirators answered that such traitors ought to suffer a death so cruel as to be a warning to others. Every one present having given his opinion, Henry confronted March with the guilty men, who owned their treasonable project. *Waurin* (V. i. 177-179) gives the same account of the conspirators' detection.

the traitors was wholly Shakspere's work, except that part of it where Scrope's dissimulation and ingratitude is denounced (ll. 93-142). The germ of these lines lay in the following passage :

[*Hol.* iii. 548/2/3.] The said lord Scroope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow; in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that, when anie priuat or publike councell was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented so great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour, and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke, that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be doone and followed. Also the said sir Thomas Graie (as some write) was of the kings priuie councell.

Thom. Wals. [Henry's trust in Lord Scrope.]

The formal words used by Exeter in arresting Cambridge seem to have been taken from Holinshed : "I arrest thee of High Treason, *by the name of Richard Earle of Cambridge.*" Holinshed says (iii. 549/1/26) : "indicted he was *by the name of Richard earle of Cambridge* of Connesburgh in the countie of Yorke, knight."

Cambridge qualifies his guilt (ll. 155-157) :

> For me : the Gold of France did not seduce;
> Although I did admit it as a motiue,
> The sooner to effect what I intended.

The motive which is supposed to have really influenced him was of a different sort.

[*Hol.* iii. 548/2/72.] Diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lord Scroope & Thomas Graie for the murthering of king Henrie to [*p.* 549] please the French king withall, but onelie to the intent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Edmund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence : after the death of which earle of March, (for diuerse secret impediments, not able to haue issue,) the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he rather confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that the earle of March should haue tasted of the same cuppe that he had drunken, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted. Therefore destitute of comfort

[Cambridge feigned to be in the French interest, but his real object was to secure the crown for March, whom he hoped to succeed.]

& in despaire of life to saue his children, he feined that tale; desiring rather to saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in deed; for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not priuilie but openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare.

Having heard Grey's[1] confession (ll. 161-165), Henry dooms the traitors:

K. God quit you in his mercy! Hear your sentence!
You haue *conspir'd* against Our Royall person,
Ioyn'd with an enemy proclaim'd, and from his Coffers
Receyu'd the Golden Earnest of Our death;
Wherein you would haue sold your King to slaughter,
His Princes and his Peeres to seruitude,
His Subiects to oppression and contempt,
And his whole Kingdome into *desolation.*
Touching our *person, seeke* we no *reuenge;*
But we our Kingdomes safety must so tender,
Whose ruine you haue[2] sought, that to her Lawes
We do deliuer you. *Get* you *therefore hence,*
(*Poore miserable wretches!*) to *your* death!
The taste whereof, *God, of his mercy, giue*
You patience to indure, *and* true *Repentance*
Of all *your* deare *offences!*—Beare them hence!

These lines should be compared with the following speech, taken by Holinshed from Halle:

[*Hol.* iii. 548/2/15.] These prisoners, vpon their examination, confessed, that for a great summe of monie which they had receiued of the French king, they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands of his enimies, or else to haue murthered him before he should arriue in the duchie of
Hall. Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come before his presence; before whome he caused to be brought the offendors also, and to them said: "Hauing thus *conspired* the

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[1] Johnson pointed out (*Var. Sh.*, xvii. 314) a resemblance between Grey's words (l. 165),—"My *fault*, but not my *body*, pardon, Soueraigne,"—and an expression of Dr. William Parry, executed on March 2, 1585, for plotting the death of Elizabeth. In a letter addressed to the Queen, Parry said: "I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A poena*, good ladie."—*Hol.* iii. 1387/1/57.

[2] *you haue*] Qq. *you three* F2. *you* F1.

"death and destruction of me, which am the head of the realme "and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you "likewise haue sworne the confusion of all that are here with me, "and also the *desolation* of your owne countrie. To what horror "(O lord!) for any true English hart to consider, that such an "execrable iniquitie should euer so bewrap you, as for pleasing of "a forren enimie to imbrue your hands in your bloud, and to ruine "your owne natiue soile. *Reuenge* herein *touching* my *person*, "though I *seeke* not; yet for the safegard of you my deere freends, "& for due preseruation of all sorts, I am by office to cause "example to be shewed. *Get* ye *hence therefore*, ye *poore miserable* "*wretches*, to the receiuing of *your* iust reward; wherein *Gods* "maiestie *giue you* grace *of his mercie, and repentance of your* "heinous *offenses*." And so immediatlie they were had to execution.

King Henries words to the traitours.

The earle of Cambridge and the other traitors executed.

The general purport of Henry's final speech (ll. 182-193) is the same as the "words few" which he is said to have spoken after the traitors "were had to execution."

[*Hol.* iii. 548/2/43.] This doone, the king, calling his lords againe afore him, said in words few and with good grace. Of his enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers; the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their ancestors aforetime in France had atchiued, whereof the due report for euer recorded remained yet in register. The great mercie of God that had so gratiouslie reuealed vnto him the treason at hand, whereby the true harts of those afore him [were] made so eminent & apparant in his eie, as they might be right sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger to be nothing in respect of the certeintie of honor that they should acquire; wherein himselfe (as they saw) in person would be lord and leader through Gods grace. To whose maiestie, as cheeflie was knowne the equitie of his demand, euen so to his mercie, did he onelie recommend the successe of his trauels.

[Henry's address to his lords, after the traitors were had to execution.]

Act II. sc. iv.—A dramatic date should perhaps be given to the council over which Charles VI. is presiding when the English ambassadors crave admittance (ll. 65-66). Henry—who, we learn, "is footed

in this Land already" (l. 143)—disembarked near Harfleur on August 14, 1415.[1] In February, 1415, Exeter was an ambassador to the French Court, associated with others in negotiating a marriage between Henry and Katharine.[2] But the message here delivered by Exeter (ll. 77-109) substantially, and, to some slight extent, literally, reproduces the terms of a despatch addressed to Charles VI., which must have been received about the time of the invasion, for, before putting to sea, Henry,

[Before sailing from Southampton, Henry despatched letters to Charles VI.]

[*Hol.* iii. 548/1/44.] first princelie appointing to aduertise the French king of his comming, therefore dispatched Antelope his purseuant at armes with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld; contrarie to the lawes of God and man: the king further declaring how sorie he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to make warre to the destruction of christian people; but sithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now, for fault of iustice, he was forced to take armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king, *in the bowels of* Iesu Christ,[3] to render him that which was his owne; whereby effusion of Christian bloud might be auoided. These letters, cheeflie to this effect and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton the fift of August. When the same were presented to the French king, and by his councell well perused, answer was made, that he would take aduise, and prouide therein as time and place should be conuenient: so the messenger [was] licenced to depart at his pleasure.

Two passages may have served as authorities for the talk concerning defensive measures which precedes Exeter's entrance (ll. 1-49). When news of Henry's preparations for invasion reached France,

[*Hol.* iii. 547/2/7.] the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, bicause his father was fallen into his old disease of

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[1] *Gesta*, 14. "Kidecaws"—Henry's landing-place—is about three miles distant from Harfleur.—*Ibid.*, 13.

[2] Their powers are dated December 5, 1414.—*Rymer*, ix. 184, 185. They had not concluded their mission on February 17, 1415.—*Ibid.*, 201. An account of this embassy—taken from *Halle* (57)—was given by *Hol.* (iii. 546/2/37). Cp. *Mons.*, iii. 273, 274, 289.

[3] Henry bids Charles (II. iv. 102, 103),

> " . . . *in the Bowels of* the Lord,
> Deliver vp the Crowne," . . .

frensie, sent for the dukes of Berrie[1] and Alanson, and all the other lords of the councell of France: by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arriued to inuade France, but also to stuffe and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garrisons of men: . . . [The Dauphin summoned the Duke of Berri and other lords of the Council, who gave advice for the defence of France.]

At a later date:

[*Hol.* iii. 549/2/55.] The French king, being aduertised that king Henrie was arriued on that coast, sent in all hast the lord de la Breth constable of France, the seneshall of France, the lord Bouciqualt marshall of France, the seneshall of Henault, the lord Lignie, with other; which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie, on all those frontiers towards the sea. [The Constable and other lords provided for the defence of France.]

Act III. Chorus.—Shakspere thus sums up the answer which Exeter—"th'Embassador from the French"—brings to Henry (ll. 29-31):

> That the King doth offer him
> Katherine his Daughter, and with her, to Dowrie,
> Some petty and vnprofitable Dukedomes.

This offer was made by William Bouratier, Archbishop of Bourges, the spokesman of an embassy charged with the answer of the French to Henry's demands. At Winchester,[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 547/2/34.] before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbishop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, dissuading warre, and praising peace; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but base and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in mariage; so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismisse his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse. [The Princess Katharine and a dowry offered to Henry.]

Act III. sc. i.—Henry encourages a storming-party, which has been repulsed, to mount again a breach in the walls of Harfleur. Holinshed's

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[1] John Duke of Berri is present, and the Constable speaks (see next excerpt), in sc. iv., Act II. At this council it was resolved that the Archbishop of Bourges should be sent to Henry (*Hol.* iii. 547/2/17). See next note.

[2] The ambassadors left France on June 17, 1415.—*St. Denys*, v. 512. On July 26, 1415, they reported, in Charles's presence, the ill success of their mission.—*St. Denys*, v. 530.

words (iii. 549/2/69), "And dailie was the towne assaulted," may have suggested to Shakspere the King's speech (ll. 1-34).

Act III. sc. ii.—Gower bids Fluellen "come presently to the Mynes; the Duke of Gloucester would speake with you" (ll. 58-60). Fluellen answers that "the Mynes is not according to the disciplines of the Warre:[1] . . . th'athuersarie . . . is digt himselfe foure yard vnder the Countermines." Holinshed says that

[Gloucester's mines.]

[*Hol.* iii. 549/2/70.] the duke of Glocester, to whome the order of the siege was committed, made three mines vnder the ground; and, approching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

[The French counter-mines.]

[*p.* 550] For although they with their countermining somwhat disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with

Titus Liuius.

that worke; yet they were so inclosed on ech side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them.

Act III. sc. iii.—In the last scene a parley[2] was sounded from Harfleur (III. ii. 148). Now King Henry enters and summons the Governor to yield "to our best mercy" (l. 3). On September 18, 1415,[3] the besieged made a conditional offer of submission.

[An unconditional surrender of Harfleur demanded.]

[*Hol.* iii. 550/1/38.] The king, aduertised hereof, sent them word, that, except they would surrender the towne to him the morow next insuing, without anie condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce vntill nine of the clocke the next sundaie, being

A fiue daies respit.

the two and twentith of September; with condition, that, if in the meane time no rescue came, they should yeeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure.

We may suppose that this scene opens on September 22,—the day fixed for yielding Harfleur, if no relief came,—and therefore the Governor thus answers King Henry's summons (ll. 44-47):

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[1] It seems that "the disciplines of the Warre" really were violated, for, contrary to the prohibition of Ægidius Romanus, the mines were begun in sight of the besieged, who of course countermined them.—*Gesta*, 24, 25. Ægidius Romanus wrote for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1363-1404), *De Regimine Principum*, a part of which is entitled "De re militari veterum."—*Gesta*, p. 16, note 2.

[2] *Hol.*'s account of the first overture for surrender has this sidenote: "The seuenteenth of September they within Harflue praie *parlee*."

[3] The truce was ratified on September 18.—*Gesta*, 30. The besieged asked for a parley "about midnight," September 17.—*Hol.* iii. 550/1/23.

Our expectation hath this day an end:
The Dolphin, whom of Succours we entreated,
Returnes vs "*that* his *Power*s are *yet not* ready
"*To rayse so great a Siege.*"

During the truce,

[*Hol.* iii. 550/1/68.] the lord Bacqueuill was sent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, *that* the kings *power* was *not yet* assembled, in such number as was conuenient *to raise so great a siege.* This answer being brought vnto the capteins within the towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England, after that the third daie was expired; which was on the daie of saint Maurice, being the seuen and thirtith daie after the siege was first laid. The souldiors were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen.

[Succour refused by the Dauphin.]

Harflue yeelded and sacked.

Henry then commands Exeter (ll. 52, 53) to enter Harfleur;

there remaine,
And fortifie it strongly 'gainst the French:[1] . . .

On September 22,

[*Hol.* iii. 550 2/30.] the king ordeined capteine to the towne his vncle the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir Iohn Fastolfe; with fifteene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand, and thirtie six knights.

[Exeter made Captain of Harfleur.]

Harfleur being disposed of, Henry says (ll. 54-56):

For vs, deare Vnckle,
(The Winter comming on, and Sicknesse growing
Vpon our Souldiers,) we will retyre to Calis.

Holinshed names several Englishmen of rank who died during the siege, or were licensed to return home on account of sickness; and adds:

[*Hol.* iii. 550/2/44.] King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue proceeded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses; but, bicause the dead time of the winter approched, it was determined by aduise of his councell, that he should in all conuenient speed set forward, and march through the countrie towards Calis by land, least his returne as then home-

[A march to Calais resolved on.]

[1] In making Henry say to Exeter, "Vse mercy to them all" (l. 54), Shakspere ignored *Hol.'s* report (iii. 550/2/5) that the King expelled from Harfleur "parents with their children, yoong maids and old folke," and filled their places with English immigrants. Higden's *Polychronicon* (edd. Babington and Lumby, viii. 550) is *Hol.'s* authority.

wards should of slanderous toongs be named a running awaie; and yet that iournie was adiudged perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much minished by the flix and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death aboue fifteene hundred persons of the armie: and this was the cause that his returne was the sooner appointed and concluded.

Great death in the host by the flix.

Act III. sc. v.—Henry left Harfleur on October 8,[1] and crossed the Somme on October 19.[2] The following excerpt illustrates this scene, which opens after Charles VI. has received sure tidings that Henry "hath past the Riuer Some" (l. 1):

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/42.] The French king, being at Rone, and hearing that king Henrie was passed the riuer of Some, was much displeased therewith, and, assembling his councell[3] to the number of fiue and thirtie, asked their aduise what was to be doone. There was amongst these fiue and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling himselfe king of Sicill;[4] the dukes of Berrie and Britaine, the earle of Pontieu the kings yoongest sonne, and other high estates. At length thirtie of them agreed, that the Englishmen should not depart vnfought withall,[4*] and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter: and so Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell.

The French king cõsulteth how to deale with ye Englishmen.

Dolphin king of Sicill.

The French K. sendeth defiance to king Henrie.

Charles commands the French princes to "goe downe vpon" (l. 53) Harry England;

> And in a Chariot, Captiue into Roan,[5]
> Bring him our Prisoner!

Touching the assurance of victory which the French had on the night before their defeat at Agincourt, Holinshed says:

A chariot.] [*Hol.* iii. 554/1/7.] The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the

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[1] *Gesta*, 36 (cp. note 4). [2] *Gesta*, 43.

[3] To reconcile a subsequent date (see p. 184, n. 2, below) we must suppose that this council was held on October 19, not, as *Mons.* says (iii. 330), on October 20.

[4] *Hol.* has been misled by *Halle* (64). *Mons.* (iii. 330) does not mention the presence of the Dauphin at this council, but says that "le roi Louis" was there. Lewis was titular King of Sicily. He was the son of Lewis Duke of Anjou, Charles VI.'s eldest uncle; and father of Réné, whose daughter Margaret married our Henry VI. [4*] Cp. *Hen. V.*, III. v. 2, 12.

[5] *Chariot, Captiue*] P.A. Daniel conj. *And in a Captiue Chariot into Roan* Fi.

citie of Paris; crieng to their soldiers: "Haste you to the spoile, "glorie and honor!" little weening (God wot) how soone their brags should be blowne awaie.

The Dauphin's presence at Agincourt (III. vii.), despite his father's injunction to remain at Rouen (III. v. 64), is unhistorical.[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/72.] The Dolphin sore desired to haue beene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father. [The Dauphin not at the battle.]

Act III. sc. vi.—Gower is told by Fluellen that "the Duke of Exeter . . . keepes the Bridge most valiantly, with excellent discipline" (ll. 6-12). The fighting of which Fluellen speaks occurred at the Ternoise, and is thus described by Holinshed:

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/3.] The king of England, (hearing that the Frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to passe with his armie by a bridge, and doubting least, if the same bridge should be broken, it would be greatlie to his hinderance,) appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to go thither with all speed before him, and to take possession thereof, and so to keepe it, till his comming thither.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen busie to breake downe their bridge, assailed them so vigorouslie, that they discomfited them, and tooke and slue them; and so the bridge was preserued till the king came, and passed the riuer by the same with his whole armie. This was on the two and twentith day of October.[2] [The French defeated in an attempt to break down the bridge over the Ternoise.]

Pistol then enters and asks Fluellen to intercede with Exeter for Bardolph, whom the Duke has sentenced to be hung for stealing a "Pax[3] of little price" (ll. 42-51). During Henry's march there was no

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[1] In the Q. version of *Henry V.* "Burbon" has the part in Act III. sc. vii. and Act IV. sc. v. which F. assigns to the Dauphin. As to this matter, and also Johnes's conjecture that Shakspere confounded Sir Guichard Dauphin (see p. 196 below) with the Dauphin of France, see Mr. Daniel's Introduction to the *Parallel Texts of Henry V.* (New Sh. Soc.), p. xiii.

[2] *Livius* (15) gives the date October 22, wrongly adding that it was the day of S. Romanus, Confessor. This saint's day is kept on October 23. *Elmham* says (56) that Henry crossed the Ternoise on the morrow of S. Romanus (Oct. 24). On October 23, according to another authority, Henry was marching towards the Ternoise, which he crossed on October 24.—*Gesta*, 46. We may, I think, fairly infer that the bridge was seized on the day before Henry's transit.

[3] *Elmham* (53), *Livius* (13), and *Gesta* (41), agree that a pyx was stolen. D'Arnis's *Lexicon Manuale*, 1866, has these definitions: "Pax—Instrumentum quod inter Missarum solemnia populo osculandum praebetur; *instrument que*

Iustice in warre [, for the theft of a pyx].

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/33.] outrage or offense doone by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a souldiour took a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once remooued till the box was restored, and the offendor strangled.

Hearing from Fluellen of Bardolph's sentence, Henry says (ll. 113-117): "Wee would haue all such offendors so cut off: and we giue expresse charge that, in our Marches through the Countrey, there be nothing compell'd from the Villages; nothing taken but pay'd for." At some time between August 14—the date of Henry's landing near Harfleur—and August 17,[1] the King

Titus Liuius.

A charitable proclamation.

[*Hol.* iii. 549/2/28.] caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie, on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same; or to hurt or doo anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance: . . .

One hardship of the march from Harfleur was lack of victuals:

[Everything paid for.]

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/30.] Yet in this great necessitie, the poore people of the countrie were not spoiled, nor anie thing taken of them without paiment, . . .

> Turne thee back, 148
> And tell thy King, *I* doe *not seeke* him now,
> . . . . . .
> Goe, bid thy Master well aduise himselfe 168
> If we may passe, we will; if we be hindred,
> We shall *your tawnie ground with your red blood*
> Discolour: . . .

I have quoted above parts of Henry's answer to Montjoy[2] (ll. 148,

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le prêtre présente à baiser; ol[im] *paix.*" "Pyxis—Vas in quo reponuntur hostiæ consecratæ ad viaticum; *pyxis, boîte à hosties.*" For more information on this point see *Var. Sh.*, 1821, xvii. 362, 363; Nares's *Glossary*, s. vv. "Pax" and "Pix"; Dyce's *Glossary*, s. v. "Pax"; and *French*, 108-110. According to *Gesta* (41) the thief "suspensus interiit" on October 17.

[1] *Gesta*, 14, 15.

[2] On October 20, Henry was informed by three French heralds that the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon would give him battle before he reached Calais. —*Gesta*, 44, 45. According to *Elmham* (54) the three heralds who delivered this message were sent from the Constable, the Dukes of Orleans, Brabant, Bourbon, Alençon, and Bar. Perhaps Montjoy—whom *Halle* makes the sole bearer of the French challenge—was one of these heralds. We learn from *Mons.* (iii. 331, 332) that, during the interval which elapsed between the decision of the council and the battle (Oct. 25), the Constable sent Montjoy to Aire, a place not far distant from Agincourt.

149; 168-171); italicizing words found in Holinshed's paraphrase of the speech attributed to the King by Halle (64).

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/56.] King Henrie aduisedlie answered: "Mine "intent is to doo as it pleaseth God: *I* will *not seeke* your maister "at this time; but, if he or his seeke me, I will meet with them, "God willing. If anie of your nation attempt once to stop me in "my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie be it; and yet "wish I not anie of you so vnaduised, as to be the occasion that "I die *your tawnie ground with your red bloud.*" *K. Henries answer to the defiance.*

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward,[1] and licence to depart.

Act III. sc. vii.—Two of the French leaders named below—the Constable and Rambures—take part in the dialogue which may have been suggested to Shakspere by the closing words of my next excerpt.

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/50.] The cheefe leaders of the French host were these: the constable of France, the marshall, the admerall,[2] the lord Rambures, maister of the crosbowes, and other of the French nobilitie; which came and pitched downe their standards and banners in the countie of saint Paule, within the territorie of Agincourt, . . . [The French leaders.]

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis; and all that night, after their comming thither, made great cheare, and were verie merie, pleasant, and full of game.[3] [The French were "full of game."]

Midnight is past when a messenger enters and says (ll. 135, 136): "My Lord high Constable, the English lye within fifteene hundred paces of your Tents." According to Holinshed, the French were

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[1] "There's for thy labour, Mountioy. . . . Thankes to your Highnesse" (ll. 167, 176).

[2] Marshal Boucicaut, and the Admiral Jacques de Châtillon.

[3] The Constable says that the English will "fight like Deuils," if they have "great Meales of Beefe." Orleans observes: "I, but these English are shrowdly out of Beefe." The Constable rejoins: "Then shall we finde to morrow, they haue only stomackes to eate, and none to fight."—ll. 161-166. *Halle* (66) makes the Constable encourage the French captains—when they were awaiting a signal to join battle—by laying down this maxim: "For you must vnderstand, y^t^ kepe an Englishman one moneth from hys warme bed, fat *befe*, and stale drynke, and let him that season tast colde and suffre hunger, you then shall se his courage abated, hys bodye waxe leane and bare, and euer desirous to returne into hys own countrey." Cp. *Famous Victories*, xiii. 39; 1 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 9; and *Edward III.*, III. iii. pp. 43, 44.

[Distance between the French and English camps.]

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/48.] incamped not past two hundred and fiftie pases distant from the English.

Act IV. Chorus.—In describing the two camps as they appeared by night, the Chorus bids us observe how (ll. 8, 9)

> Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames
> Each Battaile sees the others vmber'd face.

When the English encamped,

[The camp-fires.]

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/47.] fiers were made to giue light on euerie side, as there likewise were in the French host, . . .

> The confident and ouer-lustie French 18
> Doe the low-rated English play at Dice; . . .

The French,

[The French played dice for the English.]

[*Hol.* iii. 554/1/3.] as though they had beene sure of victorie, made great triumph; for the capteins had determined before how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice.[1]

In the other camp (ll. 22-28):

> The poore condemnëd English,
> Like Sacrifices, by their watchfull Fires
> Sit patiently, and inly ruminate 24
> The Mornings danger; and their gesture sad,
> Inuesting lanke-leane Cheekes, and Warre-worne Coats,
> Presenteth[2] them vnto the gazing Moone
> So many horride Ghosts. 28

Steevens compared these lines with Tacitus's description (*Ann.* I. lxv.) of the night before a battle between the Romans and the Germans, in A.D. 15, when Arminius was endeavouring to prevent Caecina from reaching the Rhine. The different aspect of the hostile camps is thus portrayed in Grenewey's translation (ed. 1598, p. 26) of this passage:

[The German camp.]

The night was vnquiet for diuers respects: the barbarous enimie, in feasting and banketting, songs of ioie and hideous outcries, filled the valleies and woods, which redoubled the sounde

[The Roman camp.]

againe. The Romans had small fires, broken voices, laie neere the trenches, went from tent to tent; rather disquieted, and not able to sleepe, then watchfull.

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[1] This is mentioned in the *Gesta* (49) as a report: "Et ut dicebatur tam securos se reputabant de nobis, quòd regem nostrum et nobiles suos nocte illâ sub jactu aleæ posuerunt." Rambures asks (III. vii. 93, 94): "Who will goe to Hazard with me for twentie Prisoners?"

[2] 27. *Presenteth*] Hanmer. *Presented* F.

Holinshed gives a somewhat brighter picture:

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/63.] The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter; and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit, reconciling themselues with God by hoossell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelie giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yeeld, or flee. [Demeanour of the English.]

Act IV. sc. i.—Henry and Gloucester enter, and are soon joined by Bedford and Sir Thomas Erpingham. In the third scene of this Act, Exeter, Westmoreland, and Salisbury take parts, and Warwick has a short speech (l. 20) in the eighth scene. Gloucester[1] and Exeter[2] were at Agincourt. Erpingham had the honour of beginning the battle.[3] Bedford and Westmoreland were not at Agincourt. Westmoreland was a member of a council assigned to Bedford,[4] who was appointed "Custos" of England during Henry's absence.[5] The presence of Salisbury and Warwick at Agincourt is not, I believe, mentioned by any chronicler. I do not know an authority for the association of "Talbot"—doubtless the celebrated soldier of that name is meant—with those whom Henry speaks of (IV. iii. 51-55) as sharers in the fame of the coming battle.

Gower calls out "Captaine Fluellen!" (l. 64), and, being reproved by the Welshman, promises to "speake lower" (l. 82). On the previous day (October 24), Henry, after crossing the Ternoise, beheld the French approaching.[6] Expecting an attack, he disposed his troops for battle. Subsequently the English continued their march until they reached a village in which they encamped.[7]

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/41.] Order was taken by commandement from the king, after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that, in marching foorth to this village, euerie man kept himselfe quiet: . . . [The English kept silence.]

The hour of battle is drawing near when Henry prays (ll. 309-312):

> Not to day, O Lord,
> O not to day, thinke not vpon the fault
> My Father made in compassing the Crowne!
> I Richards body haue interrëd new; . . .

Soon after ascending the throne, Henry

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[1] *Gesta*, 58, 59. *Mons.*, iii. 341. [2] *Mons.*, iii. 341.

[3] The English attacked; "before whome there went an old knight, sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand" (*Hol.* iii. 554/1/53).

[4] *Rymer*, ix. 223. [5] *Rymer*, ix. 305.

[6] *Gesta*, 46. *Elmham*, 57. [7] *Gesta*, 46-48. *Elmham*, 57-59.

[Richard's body removed from Langley to West-minster.]

[*Hol.* iii. 543/2/58.] caused the bodie of [*p.* 544] king Richard to be remooued with all funerall dignitie conuenient for his estate, from Langlie to Westminster; where he was honorablie interred with queene Anne his first wife, in a solemne toome erected and set vp at the charges of this king.

Henry also pleads (ll. 315-319):

> Fiue hundred poore I haue in yeerely pay,
> Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold vp
> Toward Heauen, to pardon blood; and I haue built
> Two Chauntries, where the sad and solemne Priests
> Sing still for Richards Soule.

Fabyan records (577) Henry's provision that there should be, on Richard's behalf,

[A weekly mass and alms.]

one day in the weke a Solempne Dirige, and vpon the morowe a Masse of Requiem by note; after which Masse endyd, to be gyuen wekely vnto pore people. xi. *s.* viii. *d.* in pens: & vpon y^e^ day of

[A yearly almsgiving.]

his Anniuersary, after y^e^ sayd masse of Requiem is songe, to be yerely Destrybuted for his soule. xx. *li.* in .*d.*

Henry founded three[1] houses of religion,

[Henry IV. enjoined by the Pope to have con-tinual prayer made for Richard's soul.]

[*Fab.*, 589.] for asmoche as he knewe well that his Fader had laboured the meanes to depose the noble Prynce Richarde the Seconde, and after was consentyng to his deth; for which offence his said Fader had sent to Rome, of that great Cryme to be assayled, and was by y^e^ Pope enioyned, that lyke as he had beraft hym of his naturall and bodely lyfe for euer in this world, that so, by contynuel prayer and Suffragies of the Churche, he shuld cause his Soule to lyue perpetuelly in the Celestyall worlde.

Act IV. sc. ii.—"The Sunne is high" (l. 63) when the Constable exclaims (ll. 60-62):

> I stay but for my Guard. On! To the field![2]
> I will the Banner from a Trumpet take,
> And vse it for my haste.

Henry is said to have received a message from the French leaders, inviting him to fix his ransom (see p. 191 below).

[*Hol.* iii. 554/1/23.] When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmets, and

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[1] One of the houses was dissolved by Henry V.—*Fab.*, 589.
[2] *I . . . Guard: on To . . . take,*] F1.

caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards: as, amongst other, the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare; the which he commanded to be borne before him in steed of his standard. [The trumpet-banner used for a standard.]

Act IV. sc. iii.—The English leaders converse before each goes to his charge. Speaking of the French, Westmoreland says (l. 3):

Of fighting men they haue full threescore thousand.

This was Halle's[1] computation, according to whom they had

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/56.] in their armie (as some write) to the number of threescore thousand horssemen, besides footmen, wagoners, and other. *The number of the French mē three score thousand. Enguerant.*

Exeter remarks (l. 4):

There's fiue to one; besides they all are fresh.

Shakspere made large allowance for losses on the march, and invalided soldiers. After crossing the Somme, Henry

[*Hol.* iii. 552/1/15.] determined to make haste towards Calis, and not to seeke for battell, except he were thereto constreined; bicause that his armie by sicknesse was sore diminished: in so much that he had but onelie two thousand horssemen, and thirteene thousand archers, bilmen, and of all sorts of other footmen. *The kings armie but of 15000.*

When the King enters, Westmoreland cries (ll. 16-18):

O that we now had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England,
That doe no worke to day!

Henry expresses another view of the matter (ll. 20, 21):

If we are markt to dye, we are enow
To doe our Countrey losse; . . .

These words comprise all that Shakspere took from a speech

[1] Though in the sidenote *Hol.* refers to "Enguerant" (Monstrelet) as an authority for 60,000, this estimate is really derived from *Halle* (65). But *Mons.*—whom, to judge from the context, *Halle* followed—says (iii. 335) that "les François fussent bien cent cinquante mille chevaucheurs."

attributed to Henry by Livius[1] (Forojuliensis), and englished by Holinshed. This speech[2] should be contrasted with IV. iii. 21-67.

A wish.
A noble courage of a valiant prince.

[*Hol.* iii. 553/2/44.] It is said, that as he heard one[3] of the host vtter his wish to another thus: "I would to God there were "with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within "England!" the king answered: "I would not wish a man more "here than I haue; we are indeed in comparison to the enimies "but a few, but if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our "iust cause, (as I trust he will,) we shall speed well inough. But "let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but "onelie to Gods assistance; to whome I haue no doubt we shall "worthilie haue cause to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that "for our offenses sakes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our "enimies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the "realme of England susteine; but if we should fight in trust of "multitude of men, and so get the victorie, (our minds being prone "to pride,) we should thervpon peraduenture ascribe the victorie "not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and "thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs: "and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then should our realme "and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. "But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant! God "and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud "aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at "the least the most of them) into our hands."

[If our enemies prevail, the fewer we are the less loss shall England sustain.]

As Henry dismisses the English leaders to their posts, he is

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[1] *Livius*, 16, 17.

[2] Part of another speech of Henry to his "capteins and soldiers"—epitomized by *Hol.* (553/2/32) from *Halle* (67, 68)—has a more Shaksperian tone: "To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to doo manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame."

[3] Sir Walter Hungerford. This wish was uttered on October 24, after the English had crossed the Ternoise and were expecting an attack. Henry's chaplain—an ear-witness, as the words I quote indicate—says: "Et inter cætera quæ tunc dicta notavi, quidam dominus Walterus Hungyrford miles impræcabatur ad faciem regis quod habuisset ad illam paucam familiam quam ibi habuit, decem millia de melioribus sagittariis Angliæ, qui secum desiderarent esse. Cui rex, . . . nollem habere etsi possem plures per unum quàm habeo."—*Gesta*, 47.

addressed by Montjoy, whom the Constable has sent with a message (ll. 79-81):

> Once more I come to know of thee, King Harry,
> If for thy Ransome thou wilt now compound,
> Before thy most assurëd Ouerthrow: . . .

In his answer Henry recounts his soldiers' vow that (ll. 116-121)

> yet ere Night
> They'le be in fresher Robes; or they will pluck
> The gay new Coats o're the French Souldiers heads,
> And turne them out of seruice. If they doe this,
> (As, if God please, they shall,) my Ransome then
> Will soone be leuyed.

And adds (ll. 122-125):

> Come thou no more for Ransome, gentle Herauld!
> They shall haue none, I sweare, but these my ioynts,
> Which if they haue as I will leaue vm them,
> Shall yeeld them little, tell the Constable!

This incident is based on the following story:

Hall.

[*Hol.* iii. 554/1/13.] Here we may not forget how the French, thus in their iolitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ransome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance; promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasse should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ransome.

[The French desired Henry to offer them a ransom. He said that ransoms might be required from them, but that they should have nothing save his dead body.]

As the scene closes, York[1] enters and craves a boon (ll. 129, 130):

> My Lord, most humbly on my knee I begge
> The leading of the Vaward!

Holinshed says that Henry

[*Hol.* iii. 553/1/55.] appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine, Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had desired that office, . . .

[York captain of the vaward.

Act IV. sc. iv.—That Pistol was able to win a ransom shows how utterly the French were defeated. As some warrant for the possibility of such luck as befel "this roaring diuell i'th olde play" (IV. iv. 75, 76), I quote a passage from Holinshed, who thus describes the result of

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[1] Aumerle in *Rich. II.* Lydgate tells us that York "fell on kne" to beg this command from Henry.—*Chron. Lond.*, 226.

a threatening movement made by Henry against the French rearward. (The closing words of this excerpt should be noted.)

The French rereward discomfited.

[*Hol.* iii. 554/2/30.] When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like sheepe; without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he incouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

Act IV. sc. vi.—"Enter the King and his trayne, with Prisoners." Henry says (l. 2) that "all's not done; yet keepe the French the field." By and bye an alarum is heard, and he exclaims (ll. 35-38):

> But, hearke! what new alarum is this same?
> The French haue re-inforc'd their scatter'd men:
> Then euery souldiour kill his Prisoners;
> Giue the word through!

Act IV. sc. vii.—We now learn what had happened. Fluellen enters, speaking to Gower (ll. 1-4): "Kill the poyes and the luggage! 'Tis expressely against the Law of Armes: 'tis as arrant a peece of knauery, marke you now, as can bee offert: in your Conscience now, is it not?" Gower answers: "'Tis certaine there's not a boy left aliue; and the Cowardly Rascalls that ranne from the battaile ha' done this slaughter: besides, they haue burned and carried away all that was in the Kings Tent; wherefore the King, most worthily, hath caus'd euery soldiour to cut his prisoners throat."

When the French van and centre had been overthrown, their rearward put to flight, and

[*Hol.* iii. 554/2/38.] the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horssebacke, whereof were capteins Robinet of Borneuill, Rifflart of Clamas, Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred horssemen, (which were the first that fled,) hearing that the English tents & pauilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a couetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe; and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and caried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. . . .

The kings campe robbed [, and the servants who resisted killed].

[The outcry of the lackies and boys who ran away came

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he, (doubting least his enimies should gather togither

againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue,) contrarie to his accustomed gentlenes, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner. *to Henry's ears.]* *All the prisoners slaine.*

"Alarum. Enter King Harry with Burbon and prisoners.[1] Flourish." As sc. v., Act IV., ends, Bourbon and the other French leaders rush out, hoping to retrieve the day or at least sell their lives dearly. Entering now with the prisoners taken during this renewal of the conflict, Henry speaks thus (ll. 58-68):

I was not angry since I came to France,
Vntill this instant.—Take a Trumpet, Herald;
Ride thou vnto the Horsemen on yond hill:
If they will fight with vs, bid them come downe,
Or voyde the field; they do offend our sight:
If they'l do neither, we will come to them,
And make them sker away, as swift as stones
Enforcëd from the old Assyrian slings:
Besides, wee'l cut the throats of those we haue;
And not a man of them that we shall take,
Shall taste our mercy! Go and tell them so!

The prisoners spoken of here (l. 66) are evidently those who have been captured with Bourbon, not those who entered in sc. vi., Act IV. The existence of an entry showing that a second batch of prisoners was taken disposes of Johnson's stricture on IV. vii. 66: "The King is in a very bloody disposition. He has already cut the throats of his prisoners, and threatens now to cut them again."[2] Moreover, Shakspere had authority—as the following excerpt shows—for a renewal of the battle after the prisoners previously taken were massacred.

[*Hol.* iii. 554/2/74.] When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the [*p.* 555] Englishmen disposed themselues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to inuade, and newlie set on, their enimies: with great force they assailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes; who had all that daie kept togither, but [were] now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. *A fresh onset.*

Immediately after this passage comes Holinshed's account (see next excerpt) of the means adopted to rid the field of the lingering Frenchmen, whom Shakspere made Henry threaten with the slaughter "of those" prisoners "we haue" (IV. vii. 66).

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[1] *Enter . . . prisoners*] *Enter King Harry and Burbon with prisoners.* F1.
[2] *Var. Sh.*, xvii. 440.

[*Hol.* iii. 555/1/7.] Some write, that the king, perceiuing his enimies in one part to assemble togither, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell: promising herewith, that, if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people alreadie had taken, but also so manie of them as, in this new conflict, which they thus attempted, should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

A right wise and valiant challenge of the king.

The Frenchmen, fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delaie parted out of the field.

The bearer of Henry's message to the French horsemen goes out, and Montjoy, entering, begs (ll. 74-76)

> for charitable License,
> That we may wander ore this bloody field,
> To booke our dead, and then to bury them; . . .

Henry is not sure "if the day be ours, or no" (l. 87); and, when Montjoy says, "The day is yours," asks, "What is this Castle call'd that stands hard by?" Montjoy answers: "They call it Agincourt." Henry replies (l. 93): "Then call we this the field of Agincourt." Shakspere rightly altered the date which my next quotation assigns to Montjoy's replies.[1]

[Montjoy desired leave to bury the dead. Henry asked to whom the victory belonged.]

[*Hol.* iii. 555/1/36.] In the morning, Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K., to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request; considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs? When Montioie by true and iust confession had cleered that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montioie to vnderstand the name of the castell neere adioining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, "Then shall this conflict be called "the battell of Agincourt."

The battell of Agincourt.

"Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus!" adds Henry, when he has named the battle. After telling us how the English behaved on the night of October 24 (see p. 187 above), Holinshed continues:

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[1] According to *Mons.* (iii. 346) both these replies were given on the day of the battle. He does not say that Montjoy asked leave to bury the dead. The French dead were left unburied till Henry quitted Agincourt, on October 26.—*Mons.*, iii. 357.

[*Hol.* iii. 552/2/70.] The daie following was the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1415; being then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian: a day faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French. *The battell of Agincourt, the 25 of October, 1415.*

Permission having been granted to register and bury the French dead, Montjoy departs, accompanied, as Henry directs, by some English heralds (l. 121). Holinshed relates that Henry

[*Hol.* iii. 555/1/48.] feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request; which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues; whom they tooke prisoners, and brought them to their tents. [The French heralds not allowed to go alone seeking for the slain.]

For the accomplishment of a practical joke, Henry gives Fluellen a glove, saying (ll. 161-163): "when Alanson and my selfe were downe together, I pluckt this Gloue from his Helme." Reference is here made to an encounter which Holinshed thus describes:

[*Hol.* 554/2/20.] The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome, when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand. *A valiant king.* [His encounter with Alençon.]

Act IV. sc. viii.—A herald presents to Henry a note containing "the number of the slaught'red French" (l. 79). From Exeter the King learns "what Prisoners of good sort" have been taken. I give below, in parallel columns, Shakspere's metrical roll of the French prisoners, and of those slain on either side, for comparison with Holinshed's lists.

[*Hol.* iii. 555/2/30.] There were taken prisoners: *Charles duke of Orleance, nephue to the* French *king; Iohn duke of Burbon;* the *lord Bouciqualt,* one of the marshals of France (he after died in England); with a number *of other lords, knights, and esquiers,* at the least *fifteene hundred, besides* the *common* people. There were *slaine* in all of the *French* part to the *number of ten thousand* men; whereof were *princes* and noble

Exe. *Charles Duke of Orleance, Nephew to the King;*
Iohn Duke of Burbon, and *Lord Bouchiquald:*
Of other Lords and Barons, *Knights and Squires,*
Full *fifteene hundred, besides common* men. 84
King. This Note doth tell me *of ten thousand French,*
That in the field lye *slaine:* of *Princes,* in this *number,*
And Nobles *bearing Banners,* there lye dead
One hundred twentie six: added *to these,* 88

Noble men prisoners.

The number slaine on the French part.

men *bearing baners one hundred twentie* and *six; to these, of knights, esquiers, and gentlemen,* so manie as made vp the number of *eight thousand and foure hundred* (*of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights* the night before the battell): *so* as, of the meaner sort, not past *sixteene hundred.* Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the cheefest: *Charles* lord *de la Breth, high constable of France; Iaques of Chatilon,* lord of Dampier, *admerall of France; the lord Rambures, master of the crossebowes; sir Guischard Dolphin, great master of France; Iohn duke of Alanson; Anthonie duke of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgognie; Edward duke of Bar;* the earle of Neuers, an other brother to the duke of Burgognie; with the *erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpree, Roussie, Fauconberge, Fois, and Lestrake;* beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Englishmen slaine [1]

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, *Edward duke of*[2] *Yorke; the earle of Suffolke; sir Richard Kikelie;* and *Dauie Gamme, esquier; and, of all other,* not aboue *fiue and twentie* persons, . . .[3]

Of Knights, Esquires, and gallant *Gentlemen,*
Eight thousand and foure hundred; of the which,
Fiue hundred were but yesterday *dubb'd Knights:*
So that, in these ten thousand they haue lost, 92
There are but *sixteene hundred* Mercenaries;
The rest are Princes, Barons, Lords, Knights, Squires,
And Gentlemen of bloud and qualitie.
The Names of those their Nobles that lye dead: 96
Charles Delabreth, High Constable of France;
Iaques of Chatilion, Admirall of France;
The Master of the Crosse-bowes, Lord Rambures;
Great Master of France, the braue 100
Sir Guichard Dolphin;
Iohn Duke of Alanson; Anthonie Duke of Brábant,
The *Brother to the Duke of Burgundie;*
And *Edward Duke of Barr: of* lustie *Earles,*
Grandpree and *Roussie, Fauconbridge* 104
and *Foyes,*
Beaumont and *Marle, Vaudëmont and Lestrale.*
Here was a Royall fellowship of death!
Where is the number of our English dead?—
Edward the *Duke of Yorke, the* 108
Earle of Suffolke,
Sir Richard Ketly, Dauy Gam, Esquire:
None else of name; *and, of all other* men,
But *fiue and twentie.*

The death-rolls read, and solemn acknowledgment made that the victory is due to God alone, Henry says (l. 128):

Let there be sung *Non nobis,* and *Te Deum.*

These thanksgivings are recorded by Holinshed:

[*Hol.* iii. 555/1/21.] And so, about foure of the clocke in the after noone, the king, when he saw no apperance of enimies, caused

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[1] In *Hol.* the sidenote "Englishmen slaine" is printed twice: here, and also immediately after the sidenote ending "French part."

[2] *duke of Yorke*] Hol. ed. 1. *duke Yorke* Hol. ed. 2.

[3] "as some doo report" (says *Hol.*); "but other writers of greater credit" (Grafton and Livius) raised the numbers of the slain.

the retreit to be blowen; and, gathering his armie togither, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie; causing his prelats and chapleins to sing this psalme: "In exitu Israel de "Aegypto;" and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: "*Non nobis*, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini "tuo da gloriam." Which doone, he caused *Te Deum*, with certeine anthems to be soong; giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power.

Thanks giuen to God for the victorie.

A woorthie example of a godlie prince.

Naught remains save the burial of the dead,
And then to Callice, and to England then: . . .

The resumption (on October 26 [1]) of Henry's march to Calais is thus chronicled:

[*Hol.* iii. 555/1/55.] When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, (that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine,) he, with his prisoners, in good order, returned to his towne of Calis.

[Return to Calais.]

Act V. Chorus.—The Chorus plays a historic "interim," beginning on October 29,[2] 1415, when the audience must imagine Henry at Calais (ll. 6, 7), and ending on August 1, 1417, the date of his "backe returne againe to France" [3] (ll. 39-43). Nothing is said touching his second campaign, which lasted about four years, and was brought to a close by the treaty of Troyes, in 1420.

Shakspere's figure of (ll. 11-13)

the deep-mouth'd Sea,
Which, like a mightie Whiffler 'fore the King,
Seemes to prepare his way,

was perhaps suggested by Holinshed's mention of the gale which Henry's fleet encountered on its return to England.

[*Hol.* iii. 556/1/16.] After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, . . . the sixt [16th] daie of Nouember,[4] he with all his prisoners tooke shipping, and the same daie landed at Douer, . . . In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir Iohn

Hall.

[The seas were rough.]

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[1] *Gesta*, 60.

[2] The date of Henry's arrival at Calais.—*Gesta*, 60.

[3] He landed near Touque Castle, in Normandy, on August 1, 1417.—*Gesta*, 111.

[4] Henry, "die Sabbati post sancti Martini solennia, . . . per portum Dovoriæ . . . remeavit in Angliam."—*Gesta*, 60. In 1415 S. Martin's Day (Nov. 11) fell on a Monday.

Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht.

Henry having landed, and "set on to London,"

> You may imagine him vpon Black-Heath,
> Where that his Lords desire him to haue borne
> His bruisëd Helmet, and his bendëd Sword,
> Before him, through the Citie: he forbids it,
> Being free from vain-nesse and selfe-glorious pride;
> Giuing full Trophee, Signall, and Ostént,
> Quite from himselfe, to God. But now behold,
> In the quick Forge and working-house of Thought,
> How London doth powre out her Citizens!
> The Maior and all his Brethren, in best sort,
> (Like to the Senatours of th'ántique Rome,
> With the Plebeians swarming at their heeles
> Goe forth and fetch their Conqu'ring Cæsar in: . . .

Holinshed gives the following account of Henry's reception and demeanour:

[Henry met on Blackheath by the Mayor and Aldermen of London.]

[*Hol.* iii. 556/1/28.] The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, (well mounted, and trimlie horssed, with rich collars, & great chaines,) met the king on Blackheath;[1] reioising at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solemne procession.

Titus Liuius.

The king, like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembring from whom all victories are sent, seemed little to regard such vaine pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie: in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same; neither would he suffer anie ditties to be made and soong by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogither giuen to God.

The great modestie of the king.

[He would not suffer his helmet to be carried with him.]

The last occurrence of the Interim is that (ll. 38, 39)

> The Emperour's comming[2] in behalfe of France,
> To order peace betweene them; . . .

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[1] On November 23.—*Gesta*, 61.

[2] "Emperour's comming" = "Emperour is comming": assuming "As yet . . . between them" (ll. 36-39) to be a parenthesis.

On or about May 1, 1416,[1]

Anno Reg. 4. The emperor Sigismund commeth into England.

[*Hol.* iii. 556/2/27.] the emperour Sigismund . . . came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betweene king Henrie and the French king: . . .

Act V. sc. ii.—This scene ends with Katharine of Valois's betrothal to Henry V. (ll. 376-397), on May 21, 1420. The Duke of Burgundy who speaks in this scene, and who, as appears from my next excerpt, sent "ambassadours . . . to mooue" Henry "to peace," was Philip the Good, son of John the Fearless, whom Charles VI. addresses in III. v. 42.[2] In September (?),[3] 1419, while Henry was at Rouen,

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

[*Hol.* iii. 572/1/18.] there came to him eftsoones ambassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to mooue him to peace. The king, minding not to be reputed for a destroier of the countrie, which he coueted to preserue, or for a causer of christian bloud still to be spilt in his quarell, began so to incline and giue eare vnto their sute and humble request, that at length, (after often sending to and fro,) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had beene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwike, and the bishop of Rochester had beene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agreed vpon certeine articles; so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

A truce tripartite.

Now was the French king and the queene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne; gouerned and ordered by them, which so much fauoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not, for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one iot of such articles as the same duke should seeke to preferre. And therefore what needeth manie words? a truce tripartite was accorded betweene the two kings and the duke, and their countries; and order taken that the king of England should send, in the companie of the duke of Burgognie, his ambassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne; sufficientlie authorised to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire,

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[1] According to *Chron. Lond.* (103): "the firste day of Maij, at nyght, he [Sigismund] landed at Dovorr."

[2] Philip was then (October, 1415) Count of Charolois. He is addressed by Charles VI. (III. v. 45).

[3] *Mons.*, iv. 203-207. The murder of John the Fearless, on September 10, 1419 (*Mons.*, iv. 179), caused his son to take this step.

Ambassadors from K. Henrie to the French king.

sent to the duke of Burgognie, his vncle the duke of Excester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Fanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Iohn Robsert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fiue hundred horsse; which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the queene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartilie welcomed; shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

The articles of the peace concluded betweene king Henrie and the French king.

After a few daies they fell to councell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king hir father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne, and dignitie. It was also agreed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his steed haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof: with manie other couenants and articles, as after shall appeere.

Burgundy begins an appeal for peace by reminding the sovereigns of England and France (ll. 24-28) how he has laboured to bring them

Vnto this Barre and Royall enterview, . . .

Perhaps Shakspere supposed that the same course was taken at Troyes as had been adopted at Meulan, where, on May 29, 1419,[1] Henry, Queen Isabelle, the Princess Katharine, and John Duke of Burgundy, met to hold a personal conference which, it was hoped, might lead to a peace between England and France. Henry then had his ground

[Henry's ground 'barred about.']

[*Hol.* iii. 569/2/2.] barred about and ported, wherin his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Burgundy winds up his speech by desiring to know "the *Let*" (l. 65) which hinders the return of Peace to France. Henry answers (ll. 68-71):

If, Duke of Burgonie, you would the Peace,
Whose want giues growth to th'imperfections
Which you haue cited, you must buy that Peace
With full accord to *all* our iust demands, . . .

Shakspere may have been thinking of the unsuccessful close of the conference at Meulan, when Henry,

[The 'let' to Henry's desires.]

[*Hol.* iii. 569/2/43.] mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie *let* and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: "Coosine, we will haue your kings daughter, and *all*

[1] *Rymer*, ix. 759.

"things that we demand with hir, or we will driue your king and "you out of his realme."

Charles VI. then retires to scrutinize the treaty of peace; and is attended by some members of the English Council, whom Henry thus names (ll. 83-85):

> Goe, Vnckle Exeter,
> And Brother Clarence, and you, Brother Gloucester,
> Warwick, and Huntington, goe with the King; . . .

Henry went to Troyes,

[The English peers who went with Henry to Troyes.]

[*Hol.* iii. 572/2/8.] accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Huntington, . . .[1]

A revision of the treaty, after Henry's arrival at Troyes, is noticed by Holinshed, who says that

[The treaty revised.]

[*Hol.* iii. 572/2/32.] the two kings and their councell assembled togither diuerse daies; wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinetie, according to the effect aboue mentioned.[2]

Queen Isabelle desires to have a voice in discussing the treaty; whereupon Henry asks that the Princess Katharine may remain with him:

> She is our capitall Demand, compris'd
> Within the fore-ranke of our Articles.—ll. 96, 97.

The first article of the treaty of Troyes runs thus:

[*Hol.* iii. 573/1/61.] 1 First, it is accorded betweene our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betweene vs and our most deere beloued Katharine,[3] daughter of our said father, & of our most deere

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[1] Charles (*St. Denys*, vi. 410), Isabelle, and Clarence (*Juv.*, 480), were at Troyes when Henry married Katharine. On December 30, 1419, Gloucester was appointed Warden of England because Bedford had been summoned to join Henry.—*Rymer*, ix. 830. Gloucester was to hold office during the King's absence.—*Ibid.* From what Exeter says in a letter written at Troyes, on May 23, 1420, I infer that he was present at the convention and betrothal.—*Rymer*, ix. 907, 908. On June 4, 1420, Henry resumed his campaign (*Gesta*, 142); and, in July, 1420, he had with him, at the siege of Melun, Clarence, Bedford, Exeter, Huntingdon, and Warwick.—*Gesta*, 144. *Wals.*, ii. 335.

[2] See excerpt at p. 200 above.

[3] In May, 1419, Katharine was at Meulan (p. 200 above), having been brought thither "by hir mother onelie to the intent that the king of England, beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he, to obteine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace

moother Isabell his wife, the same Charles and Isabell beene made our father and moother: therefore them as our father and moother we shall haue and worship, as it fitteth and seemeth so worthie a prince and princesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

[Filial reverence due from Henry to Katharine's parents.]

Soon after the re-entry of Charles, Isabelle, Burgundy, and the rest, Exeter points out that an article of the treaty has not yet been subscribed (ll. 364-370): "Where your Maiestie demands, '*That* the King of France, hauing any occasion to *write* for matter of Graunt,[1] *shall name* your Highnesse *in this* forme, and with this addition, *in French: Nostre trescher filz Henry, Roy d'Angleterre, Heretere de Fraunce; and* thus *in Latine: Præclarissimus Filius noster Henricus, Rex Angliæ, & Heres Franciæ.*'"

This article appears in Holinshed with the same mistranslation of *treschier*[2] as is found in Shakspere's text.

[*Hol.* iii. 574/2/69.] 25 Also *that* our said father, during his life, *shall name*, call, and *write* vs *in French in this* maner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France. And in Latine* in this maner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.*

[Henry to be styled heir of France.]

Isabelle having invoked God's blessing on the wedlock which is to bring with it the union of England and France (ll. 387-396), Henry says (ll. 398-400):

> Prepare we for our Marriage! on which day,
> My Lord of Burgundy, wee'le take your Oath,
> And all the Peeres, for suretie of our Leagues.

On reaching Troyes, Henry rested a while, and then

King Henrie commeth to Troys to the French king.

[*Hol.* iii. 572/2/26.] went to visit the French king, the queene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie ioious meeting betwixt them; (and this was on the twentith daie of Maie;)[3] and there the king of England and the ladie Katharine were affianced.

King Henrie affieth the French kings daughter.

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and louing concord."—*Hol.* iii. 569/2/11. The conferences at Meulan led to no result, "saue onlie that a certeine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katharine."—*Hol.* iii. 569/2/38.

[1] By article 23 it is stipulated that, as a rule, "*grants* of offices and gifts . . . shall be written and proceed vnder the name and seale of" Charles VI. —*Hol.* 574/2/51.

[2] *Præclarissimus*] Hol. edd. 1 and 2. *Preclarissimus* Halle (ed. 1550). *Precharissimus* Halle (edd. of 1548).

[3] May 21. In a letter written at Troyes on May 22, 1420, and addressed to the Duke of Gloucester, Warden of England, Henry says: "Upon Moneday, the xx. day of this present Moneth of May, wee arrived in this Towne of

When the terms of the treaty were finally settled,

[*Hol.* iii. 572/2/37.] the kings sware for their parts to obserue all the couenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie, and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, . . .

I close the excerpts illustrating this play with the panegyric of Henry, which Holinshed derived from Halle.

The commẽdation of king Henrie the fift, as is expressed by maist[er] *Hall* [, 112].

[*Hol.* iii. 583/1/59.] This Henrie was a king, of life without spot; a prince whome all men loued, and of none disdained; a capteine against whome fortune neuer frowned, nor mischance once spurned; whose people him so seuere a iusticer both loued and obeied, (and so humane withall,) that he left no offense vnpunished, nor freendship vnrewarded; a terrour to rebels, and suppressour of sedition; his vertues notable, his qualities most praise-worthie.

[Henry's strength, agility, and endurance.]

In strength and nimblenesse of bodie from his youth few to him comparable; for in wrestling, leaping,[1] and running, no man well able to compare. In casting of great iron barres and heauie stones he excelled commonlie all men; neuer shrinking at cold, nor slothfull for heat; and, when he most laboured, his head commonlie vncouered; no more wearie of harnesse than a light cloake; verie valiantlie abiding at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind as neuer seene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at the paine; to turne his nose from euil sauour, or to close[2] his eies from smoke or dust; no man more moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not delicate, but rather more meet for men of warre, than

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Troyes; And on the Morowe hadden a Convention betwix our Moder the Queene of France, and our Brother the Duc of Burgoigne (as Commissairs of the King of France our Fader for his Party) and Us in our own Personne, for our Partie: And th' Accorde of the . . . Pees Perpetuell was there Sworne by both the sayde Commissaires, yn name of our foresaid Fader; And semblably by Us in oure owne Name: . . . Also at the saide Convention was Mariage betrowthed betwixt Us and oure Wyf, Doghter of our forsaid Fader the King of France."—*Rymer*, ix. 906, 907. The date of the marriage is given in a private letter written at Sens by "Johan Ofort," on June 6, 1420: "And, as touchyng Tydynges, The Kyng owre Sovereyn Loord was Weddid, with greet Solempnitee, in the Cathedrale Chirche of Treys, abowte Myd day on Trinite Sunday" [June 2].—*Rymer*, ix. 910.

[1] In his wooing of Katharine, Henry says (V. ii. 142-145): "If I could winne a Lady at Leape-frogge, or by vawting into my Saddle with my Armour on my backe, (vnder the correction of bragging be it spoken,) I should quickly leape into a Wife."

[2] *to turne . . . or to close*] *not to turne . . . nor close.* Hol.

[Any honest person might speak to him at mealtimes, and he would gladly hear causes himself.]

for princes or tender stomachs. Euerie honest person was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale; where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind. High and weightie causes, as well betweene men of warre and other, he would gladlie heare; and either determined them himselfe, or else for end committed them to others.

[He slept little, but very soundly.]

He slept verie little, but that verie soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers soong at nights, or minstrels plaied, he then slept fastest; of courage inuincible, of purpose vnmutable; so wisehardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at euerie alarum he first in armor, and formost in ordering. In time of warre such was his prouidence, bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not onelie what his enimies did, but what they said and intended: of his deuises and purposes, few, before the thing was at the point to be done, should be made priuie.

[His great ability in warfare.]

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding an armie, with such a gift to incourage his people, that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prudence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enterprised any thing, before he had fullie debated and forecast all the maine chances that might happen; which doone, with all diligence and courage, he set his purpose forward. What policie he had in finding present remedies for sudden mischeeues, and what engines in sauing himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses, were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible. Wantonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite quenched in him[1]; vertues in deed in such an estate of souereigntie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so right commendable in the highest degree. So staied of mind and countenance beside, that neuer iolie or triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or misfortune. For bountifulnesse and liberalitie, no man more free, gentle, and franke, in bestowing rewards to all persons, according to their deserts: for his saieng was, that he neuer desired monie to keepe, but to giue and spend.

[Freedom from wantonness and avarice.]

[Equanimity in good or evil fortune.]

[Bountifulness.]

Although that storie properlie serues not for theme of praise or dispraise, yet what in breuitie may well be remembred, in truth

[1] *Hol.* (ed. 1) and *Halle* read: "he . . . didde continually absteyne . . . from lasciuious lyuing and blynde auarice."

would not be forgotten by sloth; were it but onlie to remaine as a spectacle for magnanimitie to haue alwaies in eie, and for incouragement to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knowen be it therefore, of person and forme was this prince rightlie representing his heroicall affects; of stature and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than grose, somewhat long necked, and blacke haired, of countenance amiable; eloquent and graue was his speech, and of great grace and power to persuade: for conclusion, a maiestie was he that both liued & died a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre[1] in honour, and mirrour[2] of magnificence; the more highlie exalted in his life, the more deepelie lamented at his death, and famous to the world alwaie.

[His person and speech.]

[A 'lode-starre' and a 'mirrour' to other princes.]

IX. HENRY VI. PART I.

IF the range of *The first Part of Henry the Sixt*[3] were measured by historic dates, not by the order in which occurrences are dramatized, it might be said that the time embraced by the action extended from Henry V.'s funeral, on November 7, 1422,[4] to Talbot's death on July 17, 1453. But the dramatist has made the latter event precede Jeanne Darc's capture in 1430; as well as the despatch of Suffolk to Tours in 1444, for the purpose of espousing Margaret and conducting her to England.

Act I. sc. i.—The funeral of Henry V. is disturbed by the entrance of a messenger who announces a series of calamities (ll. 57-61), some of which are fictitious, while others are antedated.[5] Orleans and Poitiers

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[1] In the Epilogue (*Hen. V.*, l. 6) he is called 'This Starre of England.'

[2] The Chorus of Act II. (l. 6) styles Henry "the Mirror of all Christian Kings." The original, which *Hol.* paraphrased, is "the mirror of Christendome."—*Halle*, 113.

[3] In quoting the three Parts of *Henry VI.*, I follow the text of F1 (1623).

[4] This date is given in *Fab.* (592, and *Wyrc.* (ii. 454). The F. entry is: "Enter the Funerall of King Henry the Fift, attended on by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; the Duke of Gloster, Protector; the Duke of Exeter, Warwicke, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Duke of Somerset." The corresponding personages in *Hol.* iii. 584/1 (*Halle*, 114) are: "Thomas duke of Exceter, Richard [Beauchamp] earle of Warwike, . . . the earle of Marraigne, Edmund Beaufort [afterwards Duke of Somerset], . . ."

[5] The 1st Mess. anticipates the loss of Rheims (l. 60) and Gisors (l. 61). Charles VII. received the keys of the former place in 1429 (*Waurin*, V. iv. 315); the latter was surrendered to the French in 1449 (*Stevenson*, II. ii. 622). Paris opened her gates to them in 1436. To the series of calamities Gloucester prophetically adds Rouen (l. 65), which we lost in 1449.

were not in our possession at Henry V.'s death; and Guienne—the last left of our continental dominions save Calais—was not lost till 1451. Perhaps the messenger's report is an embellishment of the succeeding excerpt:[1]

[Charles VI.'s death disposed the French to revolt.]

[*Hol.* iii. 585/2/13. *Halle*, 15.] And suerlie the death of this king Charles caused alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the English puissance, or for the loue of this king Charles, (whose authoritie they followed,) held on the English part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin; with all indeuour to driue the English nation out of the French territories. Whereto they were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, because of king Henries yoong yeares; whome (because he was a child) they esteemed not, but with one consent reuolted from their sworne fealtie: . . .

His assertion, that these reverses were caused by "want of Men and Money" (l. 69) and "Factions" (l. 71) among the English nobles, seems to embody a remark of Holinshed on the loss of Paris in 1436.

[Either the dissension of the chief English peers, or the Council's neglect to send reinforcements, caused the loss of France.]

[*Hol.* iii. 612/2/65. *Halle*, 179.] But heere is one cheefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongest the cheefe peeres of the realme of England, (as yee haue heard,) or the negligence of the kings councell, (which did not foresee dangers to come,) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Somme[2] and Marne; and, in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea, and scores; some rascals, and some not [*p.* 613] able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: . . .

A second messenger brings tidings (l. 92) that

The Dolphin Charles is crownëd King in Rheimes.

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[1] If so, the dramatist ignores what *Hol.* adds (585/2/30): "The duke of Bedford, being greatlie mooued with these sudden changes, fortified his townes both with garrisons of men, munition, and vittels; assembled also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans; and so effectuouslie exhorted them to continue faithfull to their liege and lawfull lord yoong king Henrie, that manie of the French capteins willinglie sware to king Henrie fealtie and obedience; by whose example the communaltie did the same. Thus the people quieted, and the countrie established in order, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken of but conquest." Their defeat at Verneuil—related by *Hol.*—in 1424 was nearly as disastrous to the French as Agincourt had been; and the tide of our success did not turn till we besieged Orleans in 1428-29.

[2] *Somme*] Halle. *Sone* Hol. ed. 2. *Soane* Hol. ed. 1.

This ceremony was not performed till 1429,[1] but, if the second messenger's words be construed freely, the following passage is sufficient warrant for his news:

[*Hol.* iii. 585/2/42. *Halle*, 115.] The Dolphin, which lay the same time in the citie of Poitiers, after his fathers deceasse,[2] caused himselfe to be proclamed king of France, by the name of Charles the seuenth; and, in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an haultie courage preparing war, assembled a great armie: and first the warre began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine battels.

[The Dauphin proclaimed King of France.]

The third messenger's report is noticeable as showing how historic time is dealt with in this play. The battle which he describes (ll. 110-140) took place at Patay. On June 18, 1429,[3] about six weeks after the siege of Orleans—dramatized in two subsequent scenes—had been raised, Joan, Alençon, and Dunois, followed by an army numbering

[*Hol.* iii. 601/2/17. *Halle*, 601.] betweene twentie and three and twentie thousand men,

. . . fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) neere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselues in araie, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers; so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the space of three long houres; for the Englishmen, though they were ouerpressed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

Nichol. Giles. Fiue thousad, saith Hall.

[The English had not time to form, after stakes had been planted before their archers.]

[Talbot was wounded in the back, and taken.]

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled; in which flight were slaine about twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales,[4] the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston were cheefe. . . . From this battell departed without

Great losse on y^e^ English side. The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford taken.

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[1] *Hol.* iii. 601/2/74. Charles VII. was crowned at Poitiers, in 1422; "et de ce jour [the day of Charles VI.'s death] en avant, par tous ceux tenant son parti, fut nommé roi de France, comme étoit son père en son vivant."—*Mons.*, v. 10. Charles VII. was crowned at Rheims on July 17, 1429.—*Waurin* V. iv. 317.

[2] Charles VI. died on October 21, 1422.—*Mons.*, iv. 415.

[3] *Chron. de la Pucelle*, ix. 334.

[4] Thomas Scales, Lord Scales, a character in 2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. v.

[Sir John Fastolfe retreated 'without anie stroke striken.']

anie stroke striken sir Iohn Fastolfe;[1] the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter.

Towards the close of the scene, Exeter says (ll. 162-164):

> Remember, Lords, your Oathes to Henry sworne:
> Eyther to quell the Dolphin vtterly,
> Or bring him in obedience to your yoake.

When Henry V. lay a-dying at Bois de Vincennes, he was visited by

[*Hol.* iii. 583/1/4. Abridged from *Halle*, 111.] the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, & the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, whome the king louinglie welcomed, and seemed glad of their presence.

His aduise [to his brethren and nobles,] *vpon his death bed.*

Now, when he saw them pensife for his sicknesse and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie, he, with manie graue, courteous, and pithie words, recomforted them the best he could; and therewith exhorted them to be trustie and faithfull vnto his sonne, and to see that he might be well and vertuouslie brought vp. And, as concerning the rule and gouernance of his realms, during the minoritie and yoong yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ioine togither in freendlie loue and concord, keeping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie; and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called himselfe Dolphin of Vienne, by the which anie part, either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of Normandie and Guien, may be lessened or diminished; and further, that the duke of Orleance and the other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his sonne came to lawfull age; least, returning home againe, they might kindle more fire in one daie than might be quenched in three.

[He willed them (1) to live in concord, and (2) to maintain friendship with the Duke of Burgundy; and (3) he forbade them to yield any territory to Charles the Dauphin, or (4) to release the Duke of Orleans and the other princes. He advised (1) that Gloucester be Protector of England during Henry VI.'s nonage; and (2) Bedford Regent of France, with Burgundy's help. He

He further aduised them, that if they thought it necessarie, that it should be good to haue his brother Humfreie duke of Glocester to be protector of England, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgognie, to rule and to be regent of France;[2] commanding

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[1] The dramatist was not content with making a messenger relate Fastolfe's cowardice, but must needs exhibit it in some fictitious skirmish near Rouen (III. ii. 104-109); which one might have suspected to be Patay refought, had not Sir John, alluding possibly to that disastrous battle, said, "We are like to haue the ouerthrow againe."

[2] Under the year 1422: "The duke of Bedford was deputed regent of

him with fire and sword to persecute the Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and obeisance, or else to driue and expell him out of the realme of France. . . .

[charged Bedford (3) to bring the Dauphin to obeisance, or to expel him from France.]

The noble men present promised to obserue his precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts were so pensife, and replenished with sorrow, that one could not for weeping behold an other.

[All promised compliance with these behests.]

Two more speeches call for remark. Exeter had been "ordayn'd" Henry VI.'s "speciall Gouernor" (l. 171), but my next excerpt shows that Winchester held a similar post[1] and was therefore not a "Iack out of Office" (l. 175).

[*Hol.* iii. 585/1/28. *Halle*, 115.] The custodie of this yoong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Excester, & to Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester.

[Exeter and Winchester appointed guardians of Henry VI.]

Ere leaving the stage, Winchester expresses an intention to steal the King from Eltham (ll. 176, 177). About four years after Henry V.'s funeral, Gloucester charged Winchester with this design.

[*Hol.* iii. 591/2/5. *Halle*, 131.] 2 Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Glocester, or of the kings councell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remooued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

[Winchester meant to remove the King from Eltham.]

Act I. sc. ii.—Neither Charles VII. nor René of Anjou was present at the siege of Orleans, but Dunois (the Bastard of Orleans) commanded the French garrison, and Alençon—accompanied by Joan—led the relieving force which rescued the city. The following account of a sally made by Dunois was perhaps transmuted into the fruitless attempt of Charles, Alençon, and René, to succour Orleans. (The stage direction after l. 21 is: "Here Alarum; they are beaten back by the English, with great losse.")

[*Hol.* iii. 599/1/30. *Halle*, 145.] After the siege had continued full three weekes,[2] the bastard of Orleance issued out of the gate of

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France, and the duke of Glocester was ordeined protectour of England"; . . . —*Hol.* iii. 585/1/30.

[1] According to *Gesta* (159), one of Henry's last instructions was: "Avunculum meum ducem Exoniae et avunculum meum Henricum episcopum Wintoniae unà cum comite Warwici circa regimen filii mei . . . attendentes fore volo et decerno." With this agrees *Chron. Giles* (*Hen. VI.*), 3.

[2] *Halle* (145)—*Hol.'s* authority—was mistaken. The bridge-tower was captured on October 24, 1428, and the attack was made by the English.—*Chron. de la Pucelle*, ix. 284. The siege began on October 12, 1428.—*Ibid.*, ix. 281.

[Dunois's sally repulsed.] the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they receiued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enimies, that they entered with them. ¶ The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partlie to keepe possession of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchiued, as also to inlarge the same. . . .

A bulworke at Orleance taken [by the English.]

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were slaine; and the keeping of the tower and bulworke was committed to William Gla[n]sdale * esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie.

[The bulwark and bridge-tower entrusted to William Glansdale.]

The siege of Orleans, begun by Salisbury on October 12, 1428, was raised on May 8, 1429;[1] and he was mortally wounded (Act I. sc. iv.) about four months prior to Joan's first meeting with Charles;[2] the event which is dramatized in this scene. I quote the account given of her by Holinshed:

W. P. Iehã de Tillet.

Les chronic. de Bretaigne.

Le Rosier calleth him Robert.

Ione de Arc Pusell de diẽu.

[*Hol.* iii. 600/2/2.] In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie), the first weeke of March 1428[-29], vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon, as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Robert[3] Ba[u]dricourt, capteine of Va[u]coulcur[s], (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation,[4]) was caried à yoong wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Ione Arc,[5] by name of hir father (a sorie

* Glansdale. So Fr. Glasdale may be correct. In a list of captains of Norman towns (1417) is the name of "William Glasdall Esquier."—*Gesta*, 278.

[1] The siege was raised on May 8, 1429.—*Chron. de la Pucelle*, ix. 321.

[2] Joan reached Chinon on March 6, 1429.—Continuation of Guillaume de Nangis (*Quicherat*, iv. 313). Her first audience of Charles was deferred until the third day (March 9) after her arrival.—Letter of De Boulainvilliers to Filippo Maria Visconti (*Quicherat*, v. 118; cp. iii. 4).

[3] *Robert*] *Peter* Hol.

[4] An error. Robert's son (Jean de Baudricourt) was made a marshal of France by Charles VIII.—*Anselme*, vii. 113.

[5] The earliest instance of "d'Arc" occurs in 1576.—*Nouvelles recherches sur la famille et sur le nom de Jeanne Darc*, par M. Vallet de Viriville, p. 30. M. de Viriville cites letters of ennoblement, dated December, 1429, and addressed "Puellae Joannae Darc de Dompremeyo."—*Ibid.* p. 16. In this document her father is called "Jacobum Darc."

sheepheard) Iames of Arc, and Isabell hir mother; brought vp poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell; borne at Domprin (therefore reported by *Bale*, Ione Domprin) vpon Meuse in Lorraine, within the diocesse of Thoule. Of fauour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall: an vnderstander of counsels though she were not at them; great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behauiour; the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses; humble, obedient; and fasting diuerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised vp by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then deepelie in distresse; in whome, for planting a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, (where she neuer was afore,) all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead: then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine, (where she neuer had beene and knew not,) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, (that with fiue floure delices was grauen on both sides,[1]) wherewith she fought and did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour * cap a pie & mustered as a man; before hir an ensigne all white, wherin was Iesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand.

In vita Bundvicæ.

[Joan's aspect, clairvoyant power, and character.]

[Her perilous journey to Charles's Court.]

[Her sword was found among old iron at St. Katharine's church at Fierbois.] *Grand chro* 4.

* *From head to foot* [was she clad in armour]. [Her ensign.]

Unto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought; and he, shadowing himselfe *behind*, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning, from all the companie, with a salutation, (that indeed marz all the matter,) she pickt him out alone;[2] who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre *in* secret and priuate *talke*, that of his priuie chamber was thought *verie long*,[3] and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a signe to let hir saie on. In which (among other), as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (for sooth) giuen hir to vnderstand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue

[Charles made some of his lords stand before him, but she picked him out.]

This salutation appeareth after heere. [See p. 239, below.]

[His courtiers thought that she held Charles long in talk.]

Les grand chronic.

[1] Cp. 1 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 98-101. [2] Cp. 1 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 60 67.

[3] "*Reigneir.* My Lord, me thinkes, is *very long in talke.*"—1 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 118.

of that sword shee should atchiue ; which were, how with honor and victorie shee would raise the siege at Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driue the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdome alone. Heerevpon he hartened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to doo as she bad them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated, indeed, the siege at Orleance ; by and by incouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had woone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeare togither : for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for heresie and witcherie burned ; as in particularities hereafter followeth.

[She promised to relieve Orleans, and drive the English from France.]

[Charles gave her an army, and she relieved Orleans, and caused him to be crowned at Rheims.]

Act I. sc. iii.—I preface this scene by quoting what Holinshed says about the open dissension of Gloucester and Winchester. In 1425

[*Hol.* iii. 590/2/60. *Halle,* 130.] fell a great diuision in the realme of England ; which of a sparkle was like to haue grown to a great flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester, called Henrie Beaufort, (sonne to Iohn duke of Lancaster by his third wife,) enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Glocester, protectour of the realme ; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop ; sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers : . . .

Dissention betwixt the duke of Glocester and the bishop of Winchester.

The action was partly developed from the first article in a series of five charges against Winchester, preferred by Gloucester at some time after February 18, and before March 7, 1426.[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 591/1/68. *Halle,* 130.] 1 First, whereas he, being protectour, and defendour of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richard Wooduile[2] esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the

[Richard Woodvile (by Winchester's

[1] Parliament met at Leicester on February 18, 1426.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 295/1. On March 7, 1426, Gloucester and Winchester agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of a committee of the Upper House.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 297/2. Gloucester's five articles are not in *Rot. Parl.*, but Winchester's answers to articles 4 and 5 appear there (298/1-2).

[2] Created Earl Rivers on May 24, 1466.—*Dugdale*, iii. 231/1. Father of Elizabeth Woodvile, who married Sir John Grey, and (secondly) Edward IV. Woodvile's son Anthony is Earl Rivers in *Rich. III.*

Tower) refused his desire; and kept the same Tower against him vndulie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; . . . [order) refused to admit Gloucester within the Tower.]

Winchester styles Gloucester a "most vsurping Proditor" (l. 31). Gloucester retorts (ll. 33, 34):

> Stand back, thou manifest Conspirator,
> Thou that contriued'st to murther our dead Lord; . . .

The fourth article of Gloucester's charges contains this accusation:

[*Hol.* iii. 591/2/33. *Halle*, 131.] 4 Item, my said lord of Glocester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lord, his brother, that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, (when our souereigne lord, being prince, was lodged in the palace of Westminster, in the great chamber,[1]) by the noise of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a * tapet of the said chamber; the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester; ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him [1] foorthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

* *Or hanging.* [Winchester suborned a man to murder the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V.]

[1 Caused him to be put in a sack.]

Obeying their master's command (l. 54), "Glosters men beat out the Cardinalls men, and enter in the hurly-burly the Maior of London and his Officers." The Mayor directs an officer to make "open Proclamation" against rioting, and threatens also to "call for Clubs" (ll. 71, 84). Gloucester and Winchester then retire.

After describing (ii. 595) how, on October 30, 1425, possession of London Bridge was contested by the followers of Gloucester and Winchester, Fabyan says (ii. 596):

> And lykely it was to haue ensued great Effucyon of blode shortly therupon, ne had ben the discressyon of the Mayre and his Brether, that exorted the people, by all Polytike meane, to kepe the kynges peas.

[The Mayor of London prevented bloodshed.]

Act I. sc. iv.—Lords Salisbury, and Talbot, Sir William Glansdale, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and others enter "on the Turrets" of the bridge-tower captured by the English (see p. 210 above), whence, through "a secret Grate," they can "ouer-peere the Citie" (ll. 10, 11). Talbot's narrative of his captivity and ransom (ll. 27-56) contains nothing authentic save the exchange by which he obtained his freedom. But

[1] "y^e^ grene chambre."—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 298/1.

he was not released until 1433[1] (Holinshed was wrong in saying that Talbot was ransomed "with out delaie"), and the historic date of this scene is 1428. In 1431 an English force defeated some French troops at Beauvais.[2] Many of the Frenchmen were taken.

The lord Talbot ransomed by exchange.

[*Hol.* iii. 606/2/34. *Halle*, 164.] Amongst other of the cheefest prisoners, that valiant capteine, Poton[3] de Santrails, was one; who without delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Pataie.

But Talbot's association with Salisbury, in the siege of Orleans, is unhistorical. Salisbury was dead, and the battle of Patay—which deprived Talbot of his liberty—had not been fought, when Bedford

[Talbot at the siege of Orleans.]

[*Hol.* iii. 599/2/48. *Halle*, 146.] appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege; and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot,[4] sir Iohn Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins.

The following excerpt shows that the circumstances of Salisbury's and Gargrave's deaths (ll. 1-22; 60-88) are faithfully presented:

[*Hol.* iii. 599/2/5. *Halle*, 145.] In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceiued this tooting hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

[The English captains used to view Orleans from a grated window in the bridge-tower. The besieged pointed a gun against this tooting hole (spy-hole).]

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie[5] after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Gla[n]sdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate; and, within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiuing men looking out at the window, tooke his match, (as his father had taught him; who was gone downe to dinner,) and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake and shiuered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke

[One day, when Salisbury, Gargrave and Glansdale were looking out at the window, the master-gunner's son fired, and mortally wounded Salisbury and Gargrave.]

The earle of Salisburie

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[1] *Rymer*, x. 536.
[2] *Journal*, xv. 427, 428.
[3] *Poton*] *Pouton* Hol.
[4] Talbot and the others left Jargeau for Orleans on December 29, 1428.—*Chron. de la Pucelle*, ix. 287.
[5] See p. 209, n. 2, above.

awaie one of his eies, and the side of his cheeke.[1] Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise striken, and died within two daies. [and Sir Thomas Gargrave] *slaine.*

After a messenger brings news that Charles and Joan are coming to raise the siege (ll. 100-103), and during the two remaining scenes of Act I., historic time must be supposed to have advanced from October, 1428—its position in sc. iv. ll. 1-97—to April 29-May 8, 1429. When Joan had received "a sufficient armie" (p. 212 above), she

[*Hol.* iii. 600/2/68. *Halle*, 148.] roade from Poictiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Orleance.

Heere was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had been accustomed to doo, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of the [*p.* 601] night, and in a great raine and thunder, [*Cp.* I. iv. 97] entred into the citie[2] with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessarie prouisions. [Joan enters Orleans.] The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles, so as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen: whervpon the bastard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe; who, comming within two leagues [The English assault Orleans.]

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[1] *Mons.* (v. 194) says that Salisbury "ainsi blessé, . . . véquit l'espace de huit jours." He died at Meung, "au bout de huit jours de sadite blessure."—*Ibid.* If this limit of time be accepted, we must suppose that Salisbury was mortally wounded on or about October 27, for it appears from various inquisitions *post mortem* dated in January, 1429,—which were examined by Mr. Oswald Barron,—that the Earl died on November 3, 1428. The date Nov. 3 agrees with the following record of a contemporary chronicler: "le régent de France . . . partist de Paris . . . le mercredi, veille de Saint-Martin d'yver [Nov. 10] mil quatre cent vingt-huit. Et le comte de Salcebry estoit mort la sepmaine devant."—*Journal*, xv. 379. The date Oct. 27 is not, however, reconcileable with *Mons.'s* assertion (v. 194) that Salisbury was wounded on the third day of the siege. According to the more exact *Chron. de la Pucelle* the siege began on October 12 (ix. 281, 282); the bridge-tower was taken by the English on October 24 (ix. 284, 285); and, on October 25, the French fortified their end of the bridge and planted guns to batter the tower (ix. 285, 286). After October 25 "advint un jour" on which Salisbury was mortally wounded (ix. 286). It does not necessarily follow that, because *Mons.* gave a wrong prior date,—the third day of the siege,—he was therefore mistaken in regard to the length of time during which Salisbury lingered between life and death. The beginning of the siege is vaguely dated by *Mons.* "environ le mois d'octobre."—v. 192.

[2] On April 29, 1429.—*Chron. de la Pucelle*, ix. 309.

of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be readie the next daie to receiue him.

[Orleans relieved.]

This accordinglie was accomplished: . . .

The relief of Orleans was speedily followed by the recapture of the tower at the bridge-foot. But, when the French assailed Talbot's bastile, he "issued foorth against them, and gaue them so sharpe an incounter, that they, not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the woolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie."—*Hol.* iii. 601/1/34. This may be represented by the entry (sc. v.): "Here an Alarum againe, and Talbot pursueth the Dolphin, and driueth him"; if we allow for a transposition of the French victory at the bridge-foot (denoted by "Then enter Ioane de Puzel, driuing Englishmen before her") and subsequent repulse. After Talbot's successful defence, the English vainly offered battle on open ground, and retired "in good order" from Orleans (*Hol.* iii. 601/1/22-53). Their departure is indicated by "Alarum, Retreat, Flourish"; but the preceding alarums and skirmish (ll. 26, 32) are mere stage business.

Act II. sc. i.—Talbot's recapture of Orleans is fictitious, but, on May 28, 1428,[1] Le Mans was regained under circumstances somewhat like those dramatized in this scene. We learn that "diuers of the cheefe rulers" of Le Mans agreed with Charles VII. to admit the French into their city. The enterprise proved successful, and the English

[*Hol.* iii. 598/1/70. *Halle*, 143.] withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, whereof was constable Thomas Gower esquier; whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for vrging of the enimie, prease of the number, and lacke of vittels, they could not haue indured long: wherfore they priuilie sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then laie at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot, hearing these newes, like a carefull capteine, in all hast assembled togither about seuen hundred men; & in the euening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Guierch, two miles from Mans, and there staied a while, till he had sent out Matthew * Gough,[2] as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselues.

[Suffolk withdrew to the castle, and sent a messenger to Talbot, asking for help.]

* *Or rather Goche.*

* *Goche.*

Matthew * Gough so well sped his businesse, that priuilie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen verie negligentlie vsed themselues, without taking heed

[1] My authority for this date is *Journal*, xv. 374, 375. *Chronique de la Pucelle* (ix. 272-274) contains details given in my excerpt, and not mentioned in *Journal*.

[2] Slain by Jack Cade's followers. See the entry of 2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. vii.

to their watch, as though they had beene out of all danger: which well vnderstood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, (bicause the daie approched,) with all speed possible came to the posterne gate; and, alighting from their horsses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crieng, "*saint George! Talbot!*"

[Talbot entered the castle with a relieving force, and, before the French knew of his coming, issued therefrom and fell upon them. Some of the French leaped over the walls in their shirts.]

*The French*men, being thus suddenlie taken, were sore amazed; in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp *in their shirts*, and lept *ouer the walles*.[1] Other ran naked out of the gates to saue their liues, leauing all their apparell, horsses, armour, and riches behind them: none was hurt but such as resisted.

Mans recouered.

[Others fled naked, leaving all they possessed behind them.]

The scene closes with the entry of "a Souldier, crying 'a Talbot, a Talbot!'" Charles, Joan, Alençon, René, and Dunois, "flye, leauing their Clothes behind." The soldier remarks (ll. 78-81):

> Ile be so bold to take what they haue left.
> The Cry of Talbot serues me for a Sword;
> For I haue loaden me with many Spoyles,
> Vsing no other Weapon but his Name.

Holinshed says that

[*Hol.* iii. 597/2/14. *Halle*, 141.] lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into France, obteined so manie glorious victories of his enimies, that his onelie name was & yet is dreadfull to the French nation; and much renowmed amongst all other people.

The lord Talbot, a valiant capteine.

Act II. sc. ii.—On the tomb which Salisbury is to have in Orleans shall be engraved, says Talbot, "what a terror he had beene to France" (l. 17). Salisbury's martial ability was thus extolled by Halle, whose words Holinshed copied:

[*Hol.* iii. 598/2/58. *Halle*, 144.] This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation; which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and doo all things in manner at his pleasure; in whose power (as it appeared after his

[1] Cp. the stage directions (l. 38): "Cry: '*S. George!*' 'A *Talbot!*' *The French* leape *ore the walles in their shirts.*"

Montacute earle of Salisburie, a politike and valiant man.

death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for, suerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and readie to withstand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible; so that in no one man, men put more trust; nor any singular person wan the harts so much of all men.

Act II. sc. iii.—No source for this scene has yet been discovered. The Countess of Auvergne's surprise at the mean aspect (ll. 19-24) of "the *Scourge* of France" (l. 15), with whose "Name the Mothers still their Babes" (l. 17), does not accord with Halle's description of Talbot.

[Talbot a scourge and terror to the French.]

[*Halle*, 230.] This man was to the French people a very *scorge* and a daily *terror*;[1] in so muche that as his person was fearfull and terrible to his aduersaries present, so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent; in so much that women in Fraunce, to feare their yong children, would crye, "the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth!"

[The name of Talbot employed to scare children.]

Act II. sc. iv.—No one has pointed out a source for this scene and its sequel (III. iv. 28-45; IV. i. 78-161). From the next scene we ascertain (cp. II. v. 45-50, 111-114) that Richard Plantagenet and "Somerset" must have quarrelled on January 19, 1425, the historic date of Mortimer's death.[2] John Beaufort, then Earl of Somerset, was older than Richard, who calls him "Boy" (l. 76); the former being at that time nearly twenty-one,[3] while the latter was about thirteen.[4] The subsequent action, however, shows that "Somerset" is John's brother, Edmund Beaufort, whom Richard, in 1452, openly accused of treason.[5] Edmund Beaufort was about six years older than Richard.[6] According to Halle, these nobles were foes in 1436, when Richard, who had been appointed to the chief command in France, was embarrassed

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[1] Cp. the address of the French general, summoned by Talbot to surrender Bordeaux (1 *Hen. VI.*, IV. ii. 15, 16):

> "Thou ominous and fearefull Owle of death,
> Our Nations *terror*, and their bloody *scourge!*"

[2] Esch. 3 Hen. VI. No. 32 (*Proc. Priv. Co.*, iii. 169, note).

[3] John Beaufort completed his twenty-first year on March 25, 1425.—*Inq. prob. etatis.* 4 H. VI. No. 53 (O.B.).

[4] On December 12, 1415, Richard Plantagenet was of the age of three years and upwards.—*Inq. p. m.* 3 H. V. No. 45 (O.B.).

[5] See p. 287 below.

[6] An Inq. p. m., taken at Bedford, shows that John Beaufort Duke of Somerset died on May 27, 1444.—*Inq. p. m.* 22 H. VI. 19 (O.B.). On that day—as appears from an Inq. p. m. taken at Whitechapel, Middlesex, on August 21, 1444—his heir male, Edmund Beaufort Marquis of Dorset, was of the age of thirty-eight years and upwards.—*Inq. p. m.* 22 H. VI. 19 (O.B.).

by Edmund Beaufort's opposition. Upon this matter Halle made the following comment, the paraphrase of which by Holinshed I quote :[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 612/2/22. *Halle*, 179.] The duke of Yorke, perceiuing his euill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure ; till, through malice and diuision betweene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and ofspring. [Enmity of Richard Plantagenet and Edmund Beaufort.]

Act II. sc. v.—The historical Edmund Mortimer, fifth Earl of March, was, in his youth, under the care and control of Henry Prince of Wales.[2] He was not imprisoned when Henry succeeded to the throne,—as was the dramatic Mortimer (ll. 23-25),—but served in France, and bore offices of trust.[3] On April 27, 1423,[4] he was appointed Lieutenant in Ireland, and held that post until his death on January 19, 1425. The "Nestor-like agëd" Mortimer, with "Feet, whose strength-lesse stay is numme" (ll. 6, 13), was taken from a brief obituary notice of him, under the year 1424.

[*Hol.* iii. 589/2/73. *Halle*, 128.] During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March [*p.* 590] of that name, (which long time had beene restreined from his libertie, and finallie waxed lame,[5]) deceassed without issue ; whose inheritance descended [The last Mortimer Earl of March died in prison : his heir was

[1] The passage immediately preceding this quotation is given at p. 252 below.

[2] In 1409 the "custodia et gubernatio"—*i. e.* the jailorship, as the context shows—of March was transferred from Sir John Pelham to Henry Prince of Wales.—*Rymer*, viii. 608 ; cp. viii. 639.

[3] The muster-roll of the army which went to France in 1417 shows that March was followed by 93 lances and 302 archers.—*Gesta*, App. 266. In the same year he was captain of Mantes.—*Ibid.*, 277. At Katharine's coronation (February 21, 1421) he was "knelyng on the hye deys on the ryght syde of the quene and held a cepture in hys hond of the quenys."—*Greg.*, 139. To the same effect *Fab.*, 586. During the year 1423 March's presence in the Council is often recorded.—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, iii. 21, *et passim.*

[4] *Proc. Priv. Co.*, iii. 68. His patent is dated May 9, 1423.—*Rymer*, x. 282-285. He died at Trim Castle, Co. Meath.—*Greg.*, 158. March was a dangerous possible rival of the House of Lancaster on account of his inherited title to the throne ; and we find that Henry V. did not suffer him "comitivam regiam excedere." When, therefore, March attended the Parliament of 1423-24 with a very large retinue, the Council had misgivings, and sent him into honourable banishment as Lieutenant of Ireland.—*Chron. Giles* (*Hen. VI.*), 6. He had been appointed to this post in 1423, but it appears from *Rymer* (x. 319) that ships for his transport to Ireland were not ordered until February 14, 1424.

[5] I suspect that Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, has been confounded with Sir John Mortimer, who, according to *Halle* (128) was the Earl's cousin. Sir John Mortimer had been imprisoned in the Tower, whence, about April, 1422, he escaped. Having been soon captured, he was committed to Pevensey

[Richard Plantagenet.] to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before yee haue heard) at the towne of Southampton.

Mortimer says to Richard (l. 96):

Thou art my *Heire;* the rest I wish thee gather.

Halle—who was Holinshed's authority for Mortimer's imprisonment—adds a few words touching Richard's subsequent course:

[Richard Plantagenet heir to Earl Edmund.] [*Halle*, 128.] Whiche Richard, within lesse then .xxx. yeres, as *heire* to this erle Edmond, in open parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as hereafter shall more manifestly appere.[1]

Act III. sc. i.—I have quoted above (pp. 209, 212, 213) three of the articles exhibited against Winchester by Gloucester; which, in the opening lines of this scene, the former calls "deepe premeditated Lines," and "written Pamphlets studiously deuis'd." Gloucester brands his rival with sundry vices[2] (ll. 14-20), and then makes a specific charge (ll. 21-23):

And for thy Trecherie, what's more manifest?
In that thou layd'st a Trap to take my Life,
As well at London Bridge as at the Tower.

Winchester, as we have seen (p. 209 above), had been accused in the second article of a design to remove the King from Eltham; and the third article contained the charge in ll. 21-23, arising out of the purposed abduction of Henry VI.

[*Hol.* iii. 591/2/12. *Halle*, 131.] 3 Item, that where my said

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Castle, and was afterwards sent again to the Tower.—*Exchequer Issues*, 373, 377, 384, 389. From a petition, addressed by him to the Commons of the Parliament which assembled at Westminster on Dec. 1, 1421, we learn that he was heavily ironed during his confinement in the Tower.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 160/2. Another petition—conjecturally assigned by Nicolas to the year 1421—was preferred by his wife Eleanor to the Duke of Bedford and the Council, "stating that her husband was imprisoned underground in the Tower, where he had neither light nor air, and could not long exist; praying that he might be removed to the prison above-ground, in custody, as he was on his first committal, whence he would not attempt to escape."—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, ii., pp. xxxiii., 311, 312. In February, 1424, he was charged with having asserted "that the erle of Marche shulde be kyng, by ryght of Enherytaunce, and that he hymselfe was nexte ryghtfull heyre to the sayd Crowne, after the sayde Erle of Marche; wherfore, if the sayd Erle wold nat take vpon hym the Crowne, & rule of the Lande, he sayd that he ellys wolde."—*Fab.*, ii. 593. On Feb. 26, 1424, judgment was delivered against Sir John.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 202/2. On the same day, apparently, he was beheaded.—*Chron. Auc. Ign.*, 6, 7. *Halle* records (128) the execution, but says nothing about the imprisonment, of Sir John Mortimer.

[1] See p. 255 below.

[2] Halle's character of Winchester is given in an excerpt illustrating 2 *Hen. VI.*, III. iii. (p. 269 below).

lord of Glocester, (to whome of all persons that should be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person,) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, (declared in the article next abouesaid,) and, in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cause required; my said lord of Winchester, vntrulie, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Glocester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Suthworke; and, in forebarring of the kings high waie, let draw the chaine of the stoupes there, and set vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulworks; and set men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring finall destruction to my said lord of Glocester's person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

[Winchester beset London Bridge with armed men, purposing thereby the death of Gloucester, who was going to Eltham to prevent Henry VI.'s removal.]

While Henry preaches peace to his unruly uncles, a "noyse within, 'Down with the Tawny-Coats!'", is heard; followed by a "noyse againe, 'Stones! Stones!'" The Mayor of London entering announces (ll. 78-83) that

> The Bishop and the Duke of Glosters men,
> Forbidden late to carry any Weapon,
> Haue fill'd their Pockets full of peeble *stones*,
> And, banding themselues in contráry parts,
> Doe pelt so fast at one anothers Pate,
> That many haue their giddy braynes knockt out: . . .

Fabyan says (596) that the Parliament which witnessed the reconciliation of Gloucester and Winchester

was clepyd of the Comon people the Parlyament of Battes: the cause was, for Proclamacyons were made, that men shulde leue theyr Swerdes & other wepeyns in theyr Innys,[1] the people toke great battes & stauys in theyr neckes, and so folowed theyr lordes and maisters vnto the Parlyament. And whan that wepyn was Inhybyted theym, then they toke *stonys* & plummettes of lede, & trussyd them secretely in theyr sleuys & bosomys.

[When other weapons were forbidden them, retainers at the Parliament of 1426 armed themselves with stones.]

[1] When Gloucester's and Winchester's servants "skirmish againe," the Mayor is obliged "to make open Proclamation," whereby they are forbidden "to weare, handle, or vse any Sword, Weapon, or Dagger hence-forward, vpon paine of death."—1 *Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 71, &c. Cp. p. 213 above.

The Mayor complains also that

Our Windowes are broke downe in euery Street, 84
And we, *for feare*, compell'd *to shut* our *Shops.*

In 1425, when Gloucester and Winchester were at open strife,

[The Londoners obliged to shut their shops.]

[*Hol.* iii. 590/2/69. *Halle*, 130.] the citizens of London were faine to keepe dailie and nightlie watches, *and to shut* vp their *shops, for feare* of that which was doubted to haue insued of their [Gloucester's and Winchester's] assembling of people about them.

Several columns of Holinshed are filled with the formal documents[1] pertaining to the reconciliation of Gloucester and Winchester (ll. 106-143). The quarrel was submitted to the arbitration of a committee of the Lords, which wound up the matter by a decree

[*Hol.* iii. 595/1/64. *Halle*, 137.] that the said lord of Winchester should haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Glocester: "My lord of Glocester, I haue conceiued to my great "heauinesse, that yee should haue receiued by diuerse reports "that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, "honor, and estate, in diuers maners; for the which yee haue

[Winchester's exculpation.]

"taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my "witnesse, that what reports so euer haue beene to you of me, " peraduenture of such as haue had no great affection to me, God "forgiue it them!) I neuer imagined, ne purposed anie thing that "might be hindering or preiudice to your person, honor, or estate; "and therefore I praie you, that yee be vnto me good lord from "this time foorth: for, by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor "purpose not to doo hereafter, by the grace of God." The which words so by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that

[Gloucester's answer.]

my lord of Glocester should answer and saie: "Faire vncle, sith "yee declare you such a man as yee saie, I am right glad that it "is so, and for such a man I take you." And when this was doone, it was decreed by the same arbitrators, that euerie each of

[Then they were to take each other by the hand.]

my lord of Glocester, and Winchester, should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord; the which was doone, and the parlement adiorned till after Easter.

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[1] The reconciliation of Gloucester and Winchester took place on March 12, 1426.—*Rot. Parl.*, iv. 297/1.

Gloucester and Winchester having made a truce, Henry wills that "Richard be restorëd to his Blood" (l. 159), and therefore creates him "Princely Duke of Yorke" (l. 173). Passing from the subject of Gloucester's reconciliation with Winchester, Holinshed proceeds thus:

[*Hol.* iii. 595/2/30. *Halle*, 138.] But, when the great fier of this dissention, betweene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) vtterlie quenched out, and laid vnder boord, all other controuersies betweene other lords, (taking part with the one partie or the other,) were appeased, and brought to concord; so that for ioy[1] the king caused a solemne fest to be kept on Whitsundaie; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge, (whome his father at Southhampton had put to death, as before yee haue heard,) duke of Yorke;[2] not foreseeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his seed should of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion.

[Richard Plantagenet created Duke of York.]

Having reinstated Richard Plantagenet, Henry accepts Gloucester's advice "to be Crown'd in France" (l. 180) without delay; and hears that the ships which form the royal fleet "alreadie are in readinesse" (l. 186). Gloucester and Winchester were reconciled during the session of a Parliament which met at Leicester on February 18, 1426, and Henry was crowned at Paris on December 16, 1431.[3]

All now depart except Exeter, who stays to anticipate the renewal of dissension, and the fulfilment of a "fatall Prophecie" (ll. 195-199),

> Which, in the time of Henry nam'd the Fift,
> Was in the mouth of euery sucking Babe;
> That *Henry borne at Monmouth* should winne all,
> *And Henry borne at Windsor loose all.*

The prophecy is thus recorded:

[*Hol.* iii. 581/1/68. *Halle*, 108.] This yeare [1421], at Windsore,

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[1] Henry was then about five years old. The dramatist did not much exceed his authority by making the King mediate so eloquently between Winchester and Gloucester.

[2] That Richard was not created Duke of York at the Parliament of Leicester—which met on February 18, 1426—appears from a patent dated February 26, 1425, whereby the King grants to Queen Katharine a house in London formerly belonging to Edmund Earl of March, "in manibus nostris ratione Minoris ætatis carissimi Consanguinei nostri Ducis Eborum existens, Habendum & Tenendum eidem Matri nostræ Hospitium prædictum, durante Minori ætate prædicti Ducis," . . .—*Rymer*, x. 342. Rapin suggested (*Hist. Eng.*, ed. Tindal, 1732, vol. i. p. 545, col. 1) that the mistake arose from Richard having been made a knight at Leicester, in May, 1426 (*Rymer*, x. 356, cp. x. 358).

[3] *Journal*, xv. 433, 434.

Windsore. The birth of king Henrie the sixt.

on the daie of saint Nicholas [Dec. 6], in December, the queene was deliuered of a sonne named Henrie; whose godfathers were Iohn duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Iaqueline, of Bauier, countesse of Holland, was his godmother. The king, being certified hereof, as he laie at siege before Meaux, gaue God thanks; in that it had pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne, which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But, when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie, were it that he [had been] warned by some prophesie, or had some foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh, his trustie chamberleine, these words: "My lord, I *Henrie*, "*borne at Monmouth*, shall small time reigne, & much get; *and* "*Henrie, borne at Windsore*, shall long reigne, and *all loose:* but, as "God will, so be it."

King Henrie prophesieth of his sonne.

Act III. sc. ii.—No date can be assigned to this scene. Chronology and facts are utterly scorned. Rouen was not surprised and recovered, but willingly received Charles VII. within its walls on October 19, 1449.[1] Joan, by whom the dramatic capture of Rouen is effected, was burnt there on May 30, 1431;[2] and on December 16 of the same year took place the coronation of Henry at Paris, which Talbot proposes attending (ll. 128, 129). If 1431 be accepted as the time of this scene,—the real circumstances attending our loss of the Norman capital being ignored,—Bedford's death at Rouen (ll. 110-114) is antedated, for that event happened on September 14, 1435.[3]

The fictitious capture of Rouen was, perhaps, an adaptation of a story told by Holinshed, upon Halle's (197) authority. In 1441[4]

An excellent finesse in warre [; a castle taken by means of six men disguised as peasants, and an ambush].

[*Hol.* iii. 619/2/69. *Halle*, 197.]. Sir Francis the Arragonois, hearing of that chance [the loss of Evreux], apparelled six strong fellowes, like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as cariers of corne and vittels; and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diuerse Englishmen were kept as prisoners; and he, [p. 620] with an ambush of Englishmen, laie in a vallie nigh to the fortresse.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell vnsuspected,

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[1] *Journal*, xv. 550. [2] *Procès*, ix. 186-188.

[3] *Journal*, xv. 465. Or between 2 and 3 a.m. on the 15th.—*Greg.*, 177.

[4] It appears from *Halle* (197) that not much time had elapsed between the surrender of Evreux to the French and the surprise of this castle by the English. Evreux was yielded by us on September 14, 1441.—*Journal*, xv. 518.

and streight came to the chamber of the capteine, & laieng hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made foorth, and entered the castell, slue and tooke all the Frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie: . . .

Fabyan's account of this stratagem (615) may also have been consulted. He says that Sir Francis

sette a Busshement nere vnto y^e^ sayd Castell, and in the Dawnynge of the mornynge arayed .iiii.[1] of his Sowdyours in Husbandemennes Aray, and sent theym with Sakkes fylled with dyuers Frutes to offer to sell to the Occupyers of the Castell. The whiche, whan they were comyn to the Gate, and by the langage taken for Frenshmen, anone withoute Susspicion were taken in, and seynge that fewe folkes were stirrynge, helde the Porter muet whyle one gaue the foresayd Busshment knowlege, . . . [A castle surprised by four soldiers dressed as husbandmen, carrying sacks, and speaking French.]

An incident of the betrayal of Le Mans to the French (see p. 216 above) may have suggested the means employed by Joan to apprize Charles that the gates of Rouen were open. Compare, with the closing words of my next excerpt, the stage direction after l. 25 ("Enter Pucell on the top, thrusting *out a* Torch *burning*"), and ll. 21-30. The French

[*Hol.* iii. 598/1/46. *Halle*, 142.] in the night season approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming; which perceiued by the citizens that neere to the great church were watching for the same, *a burning* cresset was shewed *out* of the steeple; which suddenlie was put out and quenched. [A signal from Le Mans.]

Talbot swears to recover Rouen or die,

> As sure as in this late betrayëd Towne,
> Great Cordelions Heart was buryëd (ll. 82, 83).

Richard I.

[*Hol.* iii. 156/1/11.] willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried; in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. *Matth. Paris.* [Richard I.'s heart buried at Rouen.]

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[1] In Act III., sc. ii., Joan enters "with *foure* Souldiers." She answers the watchman's challenge with a few words spoken in French (l. 13).

Bedford, who has been "brought in sicke in a Chayre" (l. 40), determines to "sit before the Walls of Roan" (l. 91), awaiting the issue of an attempt to regain the city, for he has "read"

> That stout Pendragon, *in* his *Litter, sick,*
> Came to the field, and vanquishëd his foes:
> Me thinkes I should reuiue the Souldiers hearts
> Because I euer found them as my selfe.—ll. 95-98.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (VIII. xxii. 154, &c.) attributes this heroic deed to Uter Pendragon, but Boece's version (152/49 b, &c.) of the story —which Holinshed followed—is that Pendragon's brother, Aurelius Ambrosius,

[Uter Pendragon's brother carried sick in a litter to battle.]

[*Hol.* ii. *H. S.* 99/1/67.] euen *sicke* as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth *in* a *litter;* with whose presence his people were so incouraged, that, incountring with the Saxons, they wan the victorie, . . .

Act III. sc. iii.—In August, 1435, representatives of England and France met at Arras to discuss terms of peace. When this negotiation failed, Burgundy, whose attachment to his English allies had long been cooling, abandoned their cause, and soon afterwards turned his arms against them.[1] September 21, 1435, is the date[2] of the instrument by which he made peace with Charles VII. Joan—who is the dramatic agent of their reconciliation—died on May 30, 1431.[3]

Joan proposes inducing Burgundy to forsake Talbot (ll. 17-20). Charles answers (ll. 21-24):

> I, marry, Sweeting, if we could doe that,
> France were no place for Henryes Warriors;
> Nor should that *Nation* boast it so with vs,
> *But* be *extirpëd* from *our* Prouinces.

Alençon adds:

> For euer should they be *expuls'd* from France, . . .

Perhaps these lines echo part of a speech which Halle—translating Polydore Vergil (485/16-24)—makes Charles address—in or about 1435—to Burgundy, whom the King complimented by saying that now there could be no question

[By Burgundy's help the English shall be expelled from France.]

[*Halle,* 177.] *but* by your helpe and aide, we shall *expell,* cleane *pull vp by the rootes,* and put out, all the Englyshe *nacion,* out of *our* realmes, territories, and dominions.

Joan's appeal to Burgundy's patriotism shakes him, and he yields when she uses the following argument as a proof that the English paid no regard to his interests (ll. 69-73).

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[1] He besieged Calais in 1436.—*Mons.*, vi. 285-310.
[2] *Mons.*, vi. 221.
[3] See p. 224 above.

Was not the Duke of Orleance thy Foe?
And was he not in England Prisoner?
But, when they heard he was thine Enemie,
They set him free without his Ransome pay'd,
In spight of Burgonie and all his friends.

My next excerpt shows that these lines are at variance with historic facts:

[*Hol.* iii. 618/2/11. *Halle*, 192.] Philip, duke of Burgognie, partlie mooued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleance (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewes his father, whome duke Iohn, father to this duke Philip, cruellie murthered in the citie of Paris; and partlie intending the aduancement of his necce, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue, (by the which aliance, he trusted, that all old rancor should ceasse,) contriued waies to haue the said duke of Orleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had beene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440;[1] paieng for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but three hundred thousand.

[Burgundy sought to release Orleans from captivity.]

[Orleans had been prisoner from 1415 to 1440.]

The cause whie he was deteined so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgognie: for, so long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Orleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance he would not ceasse to seeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families; and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But, after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the councell of the king of England deuised how to deliuer the duke of Orleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgognie.[2] Which thing the duke of Burgognie per-

[He was detained to please Burgundy.]

[To punish Burgundy for his desertion, the English proposed releasing Orleans, so Burgundy paid

[1] Orleans was released from custody on October 28, 1440, at Westminster. —*Rymer*, x. 823. He was out of England (cp. 1 *Hen. VI.*, III. iii. 70) on November 12, 1440.—*Ibid.*, 829.

[2] *Halle*, 194. I know not *Halle's* authority for attributing this design to

Orleans's ransom.] cciuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and aliance by mariage of his neece.

Act III. sc. iv.—Talbot presents himself before his sovereign, who rewards his services by creating him Earl of Shrewsbury (ll. 25, 26). The new Earl is bidden to Henry's coronation (l. 27), though that ceremony took place in 1431, and Talbot's advancement—recorded in the passage quoted below—is placed by Holinshed among the events of 1442.

Iohn lord Talbot created earle of Shrewsburie. [*Hol.* iii. 623/2/9. *Halle*, 202.] About this season, Iohn, the valiant lord Talbot, for his approued prowesse and wisdome, aswell in England as in France, both in peace & warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewesburie;[1] and with a companie of three thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better defense of the same.

Act IV. sc. i.—"Enter King, Glocester, Winchester, Yorke, Suffolke, Somerset, Warwicke, Talbot, Exeter, and Gouernor of Paris."[2] This entry should be compared with the list given by Holinshed of those present at Henry's coronation in Paris.[3]

[Names of those present when Henry was crowned at Paris.] [*Hol.* iii. 606/1/20. *Halle*, 160.] There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxenford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne, and Suffolke.

King Henrie the sixt crowned in Paris. [*Hol.* iii. 606/1/44. *Halle*, 161.] he was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester: the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should doo such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction.

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the Council. Burgundy did not discharge Orleans's ransom, but merely authorized the Duchess of Burgundy to make herself responsible for the payment of 30,000 crowns,—which formed part of the ransom,—if the Dauphin Lewis failed to become Orleans's pledge for the acquittance of that amount.—*Rymer*, x. 788.

[1] On May 20, 1442.—*Charter-roll*, 1-20 H. VI. (O. B.).

[2] *Exeter, and Gouernor of Paris.*] *and Gouernor Exeter.* F1.

[3] Gloucester was in England when Henry was crowned at Paris. He was appointed Lieutenant of England during the King's absence from the realm.—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, iv. 40. "Somerset" was Edmund Beaufort, then Earl of Mortain. Talbot was a prisoner of war in 1431 (see pp. 213, 214 above). Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, died about five years before Henry's coronation at Paris (see p. 235 below). The French Governor of Paris (ll. 3-8) is a fictitious personage.

Opinion was converted into very vigorous action when Talbot tore the Garter from the leg of "Falstaffe" (so spelt in the entry, l. 8). Holinshed merely says that, "for doubt of misdealing" at the battle of Patay (see pp. 207, 208 above), Bedford took from Sir John Fastolfe

[*Hol.* iii. 601/2/50. *Halle*, 150.] the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward, by meanes of freends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.[1] [The Garter restored to Fastolfe.]

Falstaffe had brought with him a letter from Burgundy; "plaine and bluntly" addressed "*To the King*," whom the Duke does not call "his Soueraigne" (ll. 51, 52). Gloucester reads the letter, which runs thus (ll. 55-60):

I haue, vpon especiall cause,
Mou'd with compassion of my Countries wracke,
Together with the pittifull *complaints*
Of such as your oppression feedes vpon,
Forsaken your pernitious Factiön,
And ioyn'd with Charles, the rightfull king of Franco.

Having made peace with Charles,

[*Hol.* iii. 611/2/55. *Halle*, 177.] the duke of Burgognie, to set a veile before the king of Englands eies, sent Thoison Dore his cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters; excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constreined to enter in this league with K. Charles, by the dailie outcries, *complaints*, and lamentations of his people, alledging against him that he was the onlie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the vtter impouerishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. . . . [Toison d'Or brought Henry a letter, containing Burgundy's reasons for making peace with Charles.]

. . . The superscription of this letter was thus: "*To the* high and "mightie prince, Henrie, by the grace of God, *king* of England, his "welbeloued cousine." Neither naming him king of France, nor his souereigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doo. This letter was much maruelled at of the councell, after they had throughlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted; so far foorth that diuerse of them stomaked so muche the vntruth[2] of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitor. [The superscription of the letter.] [Dismay and anger of Henry's Council.]

[1] The restoration of the Garter to Fastolfe caused "grand débat" between him and Talbot, after the latter's release from captivity in 1433.—*Mons.*, v. 230.

[2] *them stomaked so muche the vntruth*] Hol. ed. 1. *them offended so much with the vntruth* Hol. ed. 2.

When the letter has been read, Henry bids Talbot march against Burgundy "straight," and make him feel "what offence it is to flout his Friends" (l. 75). Toison d'Or was sent back to his master with the verbal message that, "what a new reconciled enimie was in respect of an old tried freend," Burgundy "might shortlie find" (*Hol.* iii. 612/1/30).

After playing the part of umpire in the strife of the Roses, Henry says (ll. 162-168):

> Cosin of Yorke, we institute your Grace
> To be our Regent in these parts of France:
> And, good my Lord of Somerset, vnite
> Your Troopes of horsemen with his Bands of foote;
> . . . . . .
> Go cheerefully together, and digest
> Your angry Choller on your Enemies.

There is some historical warrant for this speech. In 1443, John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, received military commands in France and Guienne, without prejudice to the authority of York, who was then Lieutenant-General and Governor of France and Normandy. An invasion of Normandy by the French was apprehended, and York was desired to assist Somerset.[1] I give excerpts wherein mention is made of a joint campaign conducted by York and Somerset; premising that the date (20th of Henry VI.) is too early, and that Halle—whom Holinshed followed—wrongly attributed to Edmund Beaufort (the dramatic "Somerset") operations which were carried out by Edmund's brother, John Beaufort.

[Invasion of Anjou by York and Somerset.]

[*Hol.* iii. 619/1/2. *Halle*, 194.] In the beginning of this twentith [xix.—*Halle*] yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territories of his enimies both by sundrie armies, and in seuerall places, and thervpon without delaie of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroie the countrie of Amiens; and Iohn lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe, accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerset, set forward into the duchie of Aniou. . . .

[Anjou and Maine ravaged by York and Somerset.]

The dukes of Yorke and Summerset . . . entered into Aniou and Maine, and there destroied townes, and spoiled the people, and with great preies and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, . . .

Act IV. scc. ii.-vii.—Since the historical time of the last scene ranges from 1431 to 1443, it is impossible to determine the historic

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[1] *Proc. Priv. Co.*, v. 255; 259-261. Cp. *Cont. Croyl.*, 519.

interval between sc. i., Act IV., and the scenes in which Talbot's expedition to Guienne is dramatized. The dramatic interval being of uncertain length, an audience might suppose that, after chastising Burgundy, as the King bade (see p. 230 above), Talbot rashly undertook to widen the circle of English conquest by the reduction of Bordeaux. But Bordeaux had belonged to us for nearly three centuries before it was annexed by the French in 1451.[1] The leaders of an English party asked us to return, and, their offer having been accepted, Talbot was sent to win back Guienne. Bordeaux opened its gates to him: the larger portion of the Bordelois was speedily recovered, together with Castillon in Perigord.[2] Talbot was at Bordeaux when he heard that a French army was besieging Castillon, and on July 17, 1453, he brought relief to the garrison.[3] At his approach, the French

[*Hol.* iii. 640/2/46. *Halle,* 229.] left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, diched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle, aduertised how the siege was remoued, hasted forward towards his enimies, doubting most least they would haue beene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they, fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe, yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horsse, and finallie killed him lieng on the ground; whome they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

The valiant earle of Shrewesburie and his son manfullie slaine.

Scenes ii.-iv. are imaginary. The story of young Talbot's devotion to his father—dramatized in scenes v., vi.—is thus related:

[*Hol.* iii. 640/2/61. *Halle,* 229.] It was said, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne, the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had beene present. Manie words he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life; but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of

[Talbot's son would not desert him.]

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[1] A campaign which lasted about three months closed with the surrender of Bayonne to the French in August, 1451.—*Du Clercq,* xii. 89, 112.

[2] *Du Clercq,* xiii. 5-7. *De Coussy,* xi. 2, 3.

[3] This date is confirmed by a letter written two days after the battle.—*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 2nd series, vol. iii. pp. 246, 247.

death, could either cause him to shrinke, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father.

A few lines of old Talbot's appeal to his son (Act IV., scc. v., vi.) have parallels in a speech attributed to the former by Halle (229).

> Thou neuer hadst Renowne, nor canst not lose it (v. 40).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And leaue my followers here to fight and dye?
> My Age was neuer tainted with such shame (v. 45, 46).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Flye, *to reuenge my death, if I be slaine* (v. 18).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> My Deaths Reuenge, thy Youth, and Englands Fame:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> All these are sau'd, if thou wilt flye away (vi. 39, 41).

In the quasi-historical speech, Talbot urges that he—"the terror and scourge of the French people" (cp. p. 218 above)—cannot die "without great laude," or flee "without perpetuall shame"; and he then thus counsels his son:

[Talbot advised his son to flee.]

"But because this is thy first iourney and enterprise, neither "thi flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy "glory; for as hardy a man wisely flieth as a temerarious person "folishely abidethe: therfore y^e^ fleyng of me shalbe y^e^ dishonor "not only of me & my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my "company; thy departure shal saue thy lyfe, and make the able "another tyme, *if I be slayn, to reuenge my death,* and to do honor "to thy Prince and profyt to his Realme."

Dunois would hew to pieces the bodies, and hack asunder the bones, of Talbot and young John (vii. 47). Charles's dissent from this savage proposal,

> Oh, no, forbeare! For that which we haue fled
> During the life, let vs not wrong it dead,

resembles an answer made by Lewis XI. to "certeine vndiscreet persons" who advised the defacement of Bedford's tomb at Rouen.

A worthy saieing of a wise prince.

[*Hol.* iii. 612/1/54. *Halle*, 178.] "What honour shall it be to "vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the "ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my "father nor your progenitours, with all their power, puissance, and "freends were once able to make flee one foot backward; but by "his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall

"dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and "famous duchie of Normandie? Wherefore I saie, first, God haue "his soule! and let his bodie now lie in rest; which, when he was "aliue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all."

The "silly stately stile"—as Joan calls it—of Talbot's dignities, enumerated by Sir William Lucy when asking for "the great Alcides of the field," agrees almost literally with an epitaph on Talbot in Richard Crompton's *Mansion of Magnanimitie*, 1599, sign. E 4.[1] I give the epitaph and ll. 60-71 in parallel columns.

Inscription on the tomb of Iohn first Earle of Shrewsbury.

Here lieth the right noble knight, Iohn *Talbott Earle of Shrewsbury, Washford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrige, and Vrchengfield, Lord Strange of* the *blacke Meere, Lord Verdon of Alton, Lord Crumwell of Wingfield,* Lord Louetoft of Worsop, *Lord Furniuall of Sheffield, Lord Faulconbri*[d]*ge, knight of the* most *noble order of S. George, S. Michaell, and the Golden fleece, Great Marshall to* king *Henry the sixt of his realme of France:* who died in the battell of Burdeaux in the yeare of our Lord 1453.

But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant Lord *Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury?*
Created, for his rare successe in Armes,
Great Earle of *Washford, Waterford, and Valence;*
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Vrchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdon of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingefield, Lord Furniuall of Sheffeild,
The thrice victorious *Lord* of *Falconbridge;*
Knight of the Noble Order of S. George,
Worthy *S. Michael, and the Golden Fleece;*
Great Marshall to Henry the sixt
Of all *his* Warres within the *Realme of France?*

[1] In his *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England*, ed. 1619, p. 196, Ralph Brooke says of Talbot: "This Iohn being slaine . . . his body was buried in a Toombe at Roane in Normandy, whereon this Epitaphe is written." The epitaph which these words preface is the same as that given by Crompton; with three slight exceptions. After "Earle of Shrewsbury" Brooke has "*Earle of* Weshford, Waterford and Valence." Brooke also omits "the" before "Blakmere," and "most" before "Noble Order of S. George." From Leland (*Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, 1744, vol. iv., pt. 1, p. 23, fol. 40) we learn the following particulars concerning the first interment of Talbot's body, and its subsequent removal to England: "This John [3rd Earl of Shrewsbury] had emong his Brethern one caullid Gilbert Talbot, after a Knight of Fame, the which buried the Erle his Grandfathers Bones browght out of Fraunce at Whitechirche in a fair Chapelle, wher he is also buried hymself." Leland adds (*Itin.*, vol. vii., pt. 1, p. 8, fol. 15): "Talbot Erle of Shrobbesbyri and his Sonne Lord Lisle slayne in Fraunce. This Erles Bones were browght out of Normandy to Whitchurche in Shrobbeshire." On April 9, 1874, the bones of Talbot were discovered by some workmen engaged in repairing his monument at Whitchurch. These remains were solemnly re-interred on April 17, 1874. —*Notes & Queries*, 5th S. I. 399; cp. 258. Crompton is the earliest known authority for the epitaph I have quoted in my text. He cites in a preceding

Act V. sc. i.—Letters have arrived from the Pope (Eugenius IV.) and the Emperor (Sigismund), whereby Henry is entreated (ll. 5, 6):

> To haue *a godly peace* concluded of
> Betweene the Realmes of England and of France.

In 1435, during the session of the Council of Basle,

[The Emperor and other Christian Princes desired mediation between England and France.]

[*Hol.* iii. 611/1/7. *Halle,* 174.] motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other christen kings . . . that, sith such horror of bloudshed betweene the two nations continuallie so lamentablie raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: . . .

The impiety of war between "Professors of one Faith" (l. 14) is expressed in a speech which forms my next quotation; and this speech also contains the words "a godlie peace," occurring in the lines quoted above.

The English, French, and Burgundian plenipotentiaries having met at Arras in August, 1435,[1] "the cardinall of S. Crosse," who represented Eugenius IV.,

[The Cardinal's exhortation to "a godlie peace."]

[*Hol.* iii. 611/1/40. *Halle,* 175.] declared to the three parties the innumerable mischeefes, that had followed to the whole state of the christian common-wealth by their continuall dissention and dailie discord; exhorting them, for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselues to reason, and to laie aside all rancor, malice, and displeasure; so that, in concluding *a godlie peace,*[2] they might receiue profit and quietnesse heere in this world, and of God an euerlasting reward in heauen.

Gloucester informs Henry that, "the sooner to effect and surer binde" a peace between England and France, the Earl of Armagnac

> Proffers his onely daughter to your Grace
> In marriage, with a large and sumptuous Dowrie.—ll. 19, 20.

The proffer here announced was made in 1442,[3]—not 1435, our last

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marginal note "Camden 462." The reference shows that he used the ed. of Camden's *Britannia* which was published in 1594, because no previous ed. contains any mention of Talbot at p. 462, and the next ed. did not appear till 1600. But at p. 462 of the ed. of 1594 Camden merely notices Talbot's tomb at Whitchurch, and does not even quote another epitaph on Talbot once existing at Whitchurch, and having much less resemblance to the lines in 1 *Henry VI.* than is displayed by the Rouen inscription.

[1] *Mons.*, vi. 178. *Mons.* says (vi. 161): "de par notre Saint-Père le pape, le cardinal de Saint-Croix."

[2] See p. xi. above.

[3] On May 28, 1442, Robert Roos, Knight, Master Thomas Bekyngton, and Edward Hull, Gentleman, were empowered to choose one of the daughters of the Count of Armagnac, and espouse her to Henry.—*Rymer,* xi. 7. Bekyngton and the other ambassadors embarked at Plymouth on July 10, 1442.—*Beckington's Embassy,* 10. He returned in the following year; landing at Falmouth on February 10, 1443.—*Beckington's Embassy,* 89.

historical date,—and John Count of Armagnac had, as the following excerpt shows, a very different motive for desiring an alliance with Henry.[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 623/2/57. *Halle*, 202.] In this yeare[2] died in Guien the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, in so much that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And bicause he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rouland for an Oliuer he sent solemne ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands all such castels and townes, as he or his ancestors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king; and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities, within the same duchie, from the French king; or from anie other person that against king Henrie [*p.* 624] vniustlie kept, and wrongfullie withheld[3] them.

[The Earl of Armagnac offered his daughter in marriage to Henry, with a large dower, and contingent advantages.]

This offer seemed so profitable and also honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassadours were well heard, honourablie receiued, and with rewards sent home into their countrie. After whome were sent, for the conclusion of the marriage, into Guien, sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and Iohn Grafton,[4] deane of S. Seuerines; the which (as all the chronographers agree) both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yoong ladie.

The earle of Arminacks daughter affied vnto king Henrie.

Though Winchester was a Cardinal when sc. iii., Act I., was before the audience, Exeter is surprised at finding him "install'd" in that dignity, and recollects a prophecy of Henry V. about the Bishop (ll. 32, 33):

> If once he come to be a Cardinall,
> Hee'l make his cap co*equall with* the Crowne.

Exeter died in 1426 (*Hol.* iii. 595/2/73), but Winchester was not made a Cardinal until 1427.[5] "Whyche degree," says Halle (139),

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[1] But what *Halle* says about Armagnac's proffer is inaccurate See *Beckington's Embassy*, pp. xxxvii-xli.

[2] The Countess of Cominges died in 1443.—*Anselme*, ii. 637.

[3] *withheld*] *withholden* Hol.

[4] *Grafton*] Halle. *Gralton* Hol.

[5] He received his hat on March 25, 1427.—*Chron. Lond.*, 115.

[Henry V. would not suffer Cardinals' hats to be equal with Princes'.]

Kynge Henry the fifth, knowynge the haute corage, and the ambicious mynde of the man [Winchester], prohibited hym on hys allegeaunce once either to sue for or to take; meanynge that Cardinalles Hattes shoulde not presume to bee *egall with* Princes.[1]

Holinshed copied from Halle a second series of articles containing charges against Winchester, which were preferred by Gloucester in 1440.[2] The first article was:

[Henry V. would not allow Winchester to be made a Cardinal.]

[*Hol.* iii. 620/1/62. *Halle*, 197.] 2 First, the cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, tooke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile); saieng that he had as leefe set his crowne beside him, as see him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: . . .

There is, I believe, no authority for representing Winchester as having obtained a cardinalate by bribing the Pope (ll. 51-54); but perhaps the Bishop's subsequent wealth led to the inference that a large sum must have been asked for the

The bishop of Winchester made a cardinall. W. P.

[*Hol.* iii. 596/2/1. *Halle*, 139.] habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall, with all ceremonies to it apperteining: which promotion, the late K. (right deeplie persing into the vnrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer [wont] to checke at the highest; and [having] also right well ascerteined with what intollerable pride his head should soone be swollen vnder such a hat) did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now, the king being yoong and the regent his freend, he obteined his purpose, to his great profit, and the impouerishing of the spiritualtie of this realme. For by a bull legatine [3], which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinall of Winchester.

[Winchester gathered treasure by a bull legatine.]

Act V. sc. ii.—Charles has heard that "the stout Parisians do

[1] Henry "would not that Cardinals hats shoulde in anye wise presume to bee *equall with* regall crownes."—*Hol.* ed. 1.

[2] *Arnold* (279-286) contains the earliest printed text of these articles.

[3] *legatine*] *legantine* Hol.

reuolt" (l. 2); and Alençon thereupon advises a march to Paris. Paris was lost by the English before the play began (I. i. 61), but the Fourth Act opened with Henry's coronation there. A sentence which concludes Holinshed's account of the loss of the city in 1436 may be compared with Charles's words.

[*Hol.* iii. 613/1/73. *Halle,* 180.] Thus was the citie of Paris brought into possession of Charles the French king,[1] through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who, contrarie to their oths, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English. [The Parisians revolted from the English.]

Act V. sc. iii.—The action of this scene passes in Anjou (l. 147), near the "Castle walles" of René (l. 129), assumed by editors to be those girdling Angers. May 23, 1430, is the historic date of Joan's capture. On that day she accompanied a sally from Compiégne,—then besieged by the English and Burgundians,—and was taken before she could re-enter the town.[2] Bedford was "Regent" (l. 1) at the time, but the dramatist killed him in Act III. sc. ii. York—whose prisoner she becomes in this scene—held no such post until 1436, when he received the chief command in France.[3]

Suffolk's proxy-wooing of Margaret (ll. 45-186) is, of course, fictitious, but he arranged the marriage between her and Henry. In 1444,

[*Hol.* iii. 624/1/61. *Halle,* 203.] England was vnquieted, . . . and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning sore defaced; (a mischeefe in all places much lamented;) therefore, to agree the two puissant kings, all the princes of christendome trauelled so effectuouslie by their oratours and ambassadours, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Touraine; where for the king of England appeared William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, . . . *The diet at Tours for a peace to be had betweene England and France.*

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[1] On April 13, 1436.—*Journal,* xv. 471.

[2] In a letter to Henry VI., the Duke of Burgundy announces her capture on May 23.—*Chron. Lond.,* 170.

[3] In the address of a letter from Henry, dated on May 12 (1436, wrongly placed under 1438), York is styled "oure lieutenant of oure reume of France and duchie of Normandie."—*Stevenson,* II., part 1, lxxiii. In this letter York is urged to assume his government without longer delay. The issue roll (cited in Ramsay's *York and Lancaster,* i. 484, note 5) shows that he must have sailed soon after May 24, 1436. On April 7, 1437, the indentures, by which York agreed to undertake the lieutenancy of France and Normandy, had nearly expired, but he was asked to remain at his post until a successor should be appointed.—*Proc. Priv. Co.,* v. 6, 7. The appointment of his successor, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is dated July 16, 1437.—*Rymer,* x. 674. Warwick died in office on April 30, 1439 (*Chron. Lond.,* 124); and, on July 2, 1440, York was made Lieutenant-General and Governor of France, Normandy, &c., for a term of five years ending at Michaelmas, 1445.—*Rymer,* x. 786.

Failing to agree upon the terms of a peace, the commissioners negotiated a truce.

[*Hol.* iii. 624/2/18. *Halle*, 203.] In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke, aduenturing somewhat vpon his commission, without the assent of his associats, imagined that the next waie to come to a perfect peace was to contriue a mariage betweene the French kings kinsewoman,[1] the ladie Margaret, daughter to Reiner duke of Aniou, and his souereigne lord king Henrie.

[Suffolk arranged a marriage between Margaret and Henry.]

Act V. sc. iv.—Entering fully into the spirit of the following passages, the dramatist was not satisfied to avail himself of the worst charges which they contain, but taxed his invention to make Joan deny her father (ll. 2-33). About five months after her capture, she was delivered to the English,[2] and

[*Hol.* iii. 604/2/23.] for hir pranks so vncouth and suspicious, the lord regent, by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauuois, (in whose diocesse she was taken,) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law, to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first, shamefullie reiecting hir sex abominablie in acts and apparell, to haue counterfeit mankind, and then, all damnablie faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie,[3] sentence accordinglie was pronounced against hir. Howbeit, vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thencefoorth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she tooke.

[Joan examined, found guilty of witchcraft, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.]

But herein (God helpe vs!) she fullie afore possest of the feend,

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[1] Niece to Mary of Anjou, Queen of France, who was René's sister.

[2] *Procès* (Dissertation), ix. 217, *n* 1.

[3] In 1434, Bedford, defending his conduct as Regent of France, said that the loss of territory, which befel the English after Salisbury was slain at the siege of Orleans, was "causedde in greete partye as I trowe of lak of saddde be leve and of unlieful doubte þat þei haddde of a disciple and leme of þe fende calleddde þe Pucelle þat useddde fals enchantementes and sorcerie."—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, iv. 223.

not able to hold her in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations, (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might,) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmaried as she was) to be with child.[1] For triall, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end wherof she (found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance) was therevpon[2] deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same steed where now saint Michaels church stands: hir ashes afterward without the towne wals shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogither, hir pastorall bringing vp, rude, without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits,[3] whome, in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Anne, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields[4] . . .

Polydo. 23, in H. 6.

[Having relapsed, she sought to prolong life by declaring herself to be with child.]

[After due respite, she was burnt at Rouen.]

Les grand chron.

Les grandes chronic. le 4. liure.

[Wicked spirits gave her commands while she kept her father's lambs.]

[*p.* 605, *col.* 1.] These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abhominations, and well iustifie the iudgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad [was] foulie spotted in this point, that, contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe), for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbelecuers and witches.

[Charles—a Christian King—availed himself of her sorceries.]

Christianissimus rex.

When Joan has been led out to execution, Winchester enters and greets York (l. 95)

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[1] This lie was the source of 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iv. 60-85.

[2] *was therevpon*] *was she therevpon* Hol.

[3] This sentence may have given the dramatist a hint for V. iii. 1-23, where his Joan entreats the help of certain "Fiends," whom she has summoned.

[4] Cp. I. ii. 76, &c.:

> "Loe, whilest I wayted on my tender Lambes, . . .
> Gods Mother deignëd to appeare to me,
> And, in a Vision full of Maiestie,
> Will'd me to leaue my base Vocation,
> And free my Countrey from Calamitie."

With Letters of Commission from the King;

which embody those "conditions of a friendly peace" between England and France, drawn up by Henry's order (v. i. 37-40), in response to an appeal from "the States of Christendome" (V. iv. 96-99). Charles then enters, accompanied by his lords, and says (ll. 116-119):

> Since, Lords of England, it is thus agreed
> That peacefull truce shall be proclaim'd in France,
> We come to be informëd by your selues,
> What the conditions of that league must be.

Winchester answers (ll. 123-132):

> Charles, and the rest, it is enacted thus:
> That, in regard King Henry giues consent, 124
> Of meere compassion and of lenity,
> To ease your Countrie of distressefull Warre,
> And suffer you to breath in fruitfull peace,
> You shall become true Liegemen to his Crowne: 128
> And, Charles, vpon condition thou wilt sweare
> To pay him tribute, and submit thy selfe,
> Thou shalt be plac'd as Viceroy vnder him,
> And still enioy thy Regall dignity. 132

The terms of peace here announced were, according to Halle, Holinshed's authority, offered at the conference of Arras, in 1435.

[The English terms.]

[*Hol.* iii. 611/1/55. *Halle*, 175.] The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit[1] by him of his

[The French terms.]

meere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen, on the other part, would that K. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and freelie, and that the king of England should leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betweene the riuers of Some and Loire; being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be breefe, the demands of all parts were betweene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

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[1] If "benefit" = *beneficium*, fief, the English terms were as extravagant as those dictated by Winchester to Charles (V. iv. 124-132). But *Mons.*—whom *Halle* seems to have had before him—gives the French terms alone, which were that "le roi Henri d'Angleterre se voulsît déporter et désister de lui nommer roi de France, moyennant que, par certaines conditions, lui seroient accordées les seigneuries de Guienne et Normandie; laquelle chose les Anglois ne voulurent point accorder."—vi. 180.

Act V. sc. v.—The opposite views of Suffolk and Gloucester touching Henry's marriage are here brought forward. After a truce between England and France had been arranged (see p. 238 above),

[*Hol.* iii. 624/2/45. *Halle*, 204.] the earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a finall peace might grow the sooner for that honorable mariage, which he had concluded; omitting nothing that might extoll and set foorth the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of hir kinred. [Suffolk extolled the marriage which he had made.]

But although this mariage pleased the king and diuerse of his conncell, yet Humfrie duke of Glocester protector of the realme was much against it;[1] alledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should breake that promise and contract of mariage, made by ambassadours sufficientlie thereto instructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles dooings were onelie liked and allowed. *The protector misliked this second motion of the kings mariage.* [But Suffolk's advice prevailed.]

Having urged that (l. 34)

> A poore Earles daughter is vnequall oddes

for Henry, Suffolk thus answers Gloucester's objection that Margaret's "Father is no better than an Earle":

> Yes, my Lord, her Father is a King,
> The *King of Naples and Ierusalem;* . . . 40

Holinshed says:

[*Hol.* iii. 624/2/24. *Halle*, 204.] This Reiner duke of Aniou named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Ierusalem; hauing onlie [René's kingly style.]

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[1] Gloucester might have disliked this marriage, but he expressed a formal approval of it. On June 4, 1445, the Speaker of the Commons recommended Suffolk to Henry's "good Grace," for having—besides rendering other services to the State—concluded a marriage between Henry and Margaret; wherefore the Commons "desyred the said declarations, laboures, and demenyng of my said Lord of Suff', to be enacted in thys present Parlement, to his true acquitail and discharge, and honour of hym in tyme to come; uppon the whiche request thus made to the Kyng our Soveraigne Lorde, and to the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, by the Communes, my Lorde of Gloucestr', and many other Lordys Spirituell and Temporell abovesaid, arose of their setis, and besoghtyn humbly the Kyng of the same as they wer prayed be the said Communes, to pray and to beseche his Highnesse to do"; . . .—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 73.

the name and stile of those realmes, without anie penie, profit, or foot of possession.

Suffolk's praise (ll. 70, 71) of Margaret's

> . . . valiant *courage* and vndaunted spirit,
> More then in women commonly is seene,

may be compared with Halle's description of her (p. 208; abridged in *Hol.* iii. 626/2/44):

[Character of Queen Margaret.] But on the other parte, the Quene his [Henry's] wyfe was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wytte then of haute stomacke ["a ladie of great wit, and no lesse *courage.*"—Hol.]; desirous of glory and couetous of honor; and of reason, pollicye, counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature belongyng to a man, full and flowyng: of witte and wilinesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse she was not vnexperte; but yet she had one poynt of a very woman, for, often tyme, when she was vehement & fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly, lyke a wethercocke, mutable and turnyng.

Compare also a remark upon her, copied by Holinshed from Halle (205):

[Margaret's manly courage.] [*Hol.* iii. 625/1/34.] This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie; and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

X. HENRY VI. PART II.

HISTORIC time in *The Second Part of Henry the Sixt* commences shortly before Margaret's coronation (I. i. 74) on May 30, 1445, and ends on May 22, 1455, when the battle of St. Albans [1] was fought. As this Second Part of *Henry VI.* is a recast of *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, my excerpts are really illustrations of the latter drama.

Act I. sc. i.—During the interval which divides the First and Second Parts of this play, Suffolk has escorted Margaret to England (cp. 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. v. 87-91). He now presents her to Henry, whom he thus addresses (ll. 1-9):

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[1] Called the first battle of St. Albans. A second battle was fought there on February 17, 1461.

As by your high Imperiall Maiesty
I had in charge at my depart for France,
As Procurator to your Excellence,
To marry Princes Margaret for your Grace;
So, in the Famous Ancient City Toures,
(In presence of the Kings of France, and Sicill,
The Dukes of Orleance, Calaber, Britaigne, and Alanson,
Seuen Earles, twelue Barons, & twenty reuerend Bishops,)
I haue perform'd my Taske, and was espous'd: . . .

In November, 1444,[1] Suffolk and a splendid retinue

[*Hol.* iii. 625/1/18. *Halle*, 205.] came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorablie receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquesse of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Martins. At the which mariage were present the father and mother of the bride; the French king himselfe, which was vncle to the husband; and the French queene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Orleance, of Calabre, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seauen earles, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portesmouth in the moneth of Aprill.

Anno Reg. 23. 1445

[Margaret espoused by Suffolk, Henry's 'procurator.']

[She is conveyed by Suffolk to England.]

Suffolk hands to Gloucester

the Articles of contracted peace,
Betweene our Soueraigne and the French King Charles,
For eighteene moneths concluded by consent.—ll. 40-42.

Suffolk's mission, in February, 1444,[2] was to establish peace between England and France,

[*Hol.* iii. 624/2/11. *Halle*, 203.] but, in conclusion, by reason of manie doubts which rose on both parties, no full concord could be agreed vpon; but, in hope to come to a peace, a certeine truce, as well by sea as by land, was concluded by the commissioners for eighteene moneths; which afterward againe was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord, 1449.

A truce for 18 moneths.

[1] Suffolk left England on November 5, 1444, and returned on April 11, 1445, having been absent 157 days.—Issue Roll, Easter, 23 Hen. VI., 20th July (cited in *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 192).

[2] He was appointed ambassador on February 11, 1444.—*Rymer*, xi. 60.

It is provided by the first article (ll. 46-50) that "Henry shal espouse the Lady Margaret, daughter vnto Reignier King of Naples, Sicillia, and Ierusalem; and Crowne her Queene of England, ere the thirtieth of May next ensuing." Holinshed says:

[Margaret's coronation.]

[*Hol.* iii. 625/1/58. *Halle*, 205.] Upon the thirtith of Maie next following, she was crowned queene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnitie thereto apperteining.

Another article is read by Cardinal Beaufort (ll. 57-62): "It is further agreed betweene them, That the Dutchesse [Duchies] of Aniou and Maine shall be released and deliuered ouer to the King her Father, and shee sent ouer of the King of Englands owne proper Cost and Charges, without hauing any Dowry." Suffolk's project for effecting a peace through Margaret's marriage to Henry was coldly received by the French;

[*Hol.* iii. 624/2/29. *Halle*, 204.] and one thing seemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, bicause the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Aniou, and the whole countie of Maine, apperteining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie), either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this vnprofitable mariage, condescended, that the duchie of Aniou and the countie of Maine should be deliuered to the king the brides father;[1] demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie, that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious stones.

[Suffolk yielded Anjou and Maine; and demanded no dowry for Margaret.]

Henry then (May, 1445) creates his procurator "the first Duke of Suffolke" (l. 64). Three historical years,[2] however, were yet to elapse before

Marquesse of Suffolke maule duke.

[*Hol.* iii. 627/2/34. *Halle*, 210.] the marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the queene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time inioied.

Addressing York, Henry says (ll. 66-68):

> We heere discharge your Grace from being Regent
> I'th parts of France, till terme of eighteene Moneths
> Be full expyr'd.

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[1] "Should *be released and deliuered to the kyng her father*" (Halle, 204). "Shall *be released and deliuered* ouer *to the King her Father*" (2 Hen. VI., I. i. 59, 60).

[2] He was created Duke of Suffolk on June 2, 1448.—*Pat:* 26 H. VI. p. ii. m. 14. (H.S.)

This "terme" was, perhaps, the eighteen months' truce (p. 243 above). Compare the next passage (*Hol.* iii. 625/2/29), quoted at pp. 250, 251 below.

[*Hol.* iii. 625/2/25. *Halle*, 205.] During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capteins repaired into England; both to visit their wiues, children, and freends, and also to consult what should be doone, if the truce ended. [York returned to England during the truce.]

Gloucester censures Suffolk for giving Anjou and Maine

Vnto the poore King Reignier, whose large style
Agrees not with the leannesse of his purse.—ll. 111, 112.

Suffolk,

[*Hol.* iii. 625/1/9. *Halle*, 205.] with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie costlie chariots and gorgeous horslitters, sailed into France, for the conueiance of the nominated queene into the realme of England. For King Reiner hir father, for all his long stile, had too short a pursse to send his daughter honorablie to the king hir spouse. [René's long style and short purse.]

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury,[1] cries out against the surrender of Anjou and Maine, because (l. 114)

These Counties were *the Keyes of Normandie.*

Compare Fabyan (617):

And for that Maryage to brynge aboute, to the . . . kynge of Cecyle was delyuered the Duchye of Angeou & Erledome of Mayne, whiche are called *the keyes of Normandy.*[2] [Anjou and Maine "the keys of Normandy."]

It is "a proper iest," says Gloucester,

That Suffolke should demand a whole Fifteenth
For Costs and Charges in transporting her!—ll. 132-134.

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[1] The revived Earldom of Salisbury was bestowed on Richard Neville in 1429.—*Doyle*, iii. 243. *Hol.* (641/2/71), copying *Halle* (231), says that Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury "was second son [*i. e.* son by a second marriage] to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the duke of Yorke had maried, and the said Richard was espoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleance (as before is declared), of which woman he begat Richard, Iohn [afterwards Marquess Montague], and George [afterwards Archbishop of York]. Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire bloud to lord Henrie Beauchamp, earle and after duke of Warwike, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwike." Regarding York's political alliance with the Nevilles, see pp. 283, 288 below.

[2] *Hol.* (625/1/69) verbally repeats *Halle's* similes (205) for Anjou and Maine (205): "which countries were the verie staies and backestands to the duchie of Normandie." Neither of these similes occurs in the *Contention* or *Whole Contention.*

One reason, which caused "manie" to deem Henry's marriage to Margaret "both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England," was that

An ominous mariage.

[Suffolk demanded a fifteenth.]

[*Hol.* iii. 625/1/64. *Halle*, 205.] the king had not one penie with hir; and, for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of Suffolke demanded a whole fifteenth[1] in open parlement.

Gloucester goes out, whereupon Cardinal Beaufort impugns the Protector's loyalty;

> . . . though the common people fauour him,
> Calling him "Humfrey, *the good Duke of Gloster*, . . ."[2]—ll. 158, 159.

According to Fabyan (619):

["The good Duke of Gloucester."]

This [man] for his honourable & lyberall demeanure was surnamed *y^e^ Good duke of Glouceter.*

In Holinshed Gloucester's character is thus summed up:

[Gloucester's character.]

[He was beloved of the commons.]

[*Hol.* iii. 627/2/9.] But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his indeuours to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie louing to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie; void of pride and ambition: (a vertue rare in personages of such high estate, but, where it is, most commendable).

Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham,[3] Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset, and Cardinal Beaufort now make an alliance for the purpose of driving Gloucester from power; and the Cardinal departs to inform Suffolk of their cabal (ll. 167-171). Under the years 1446-47, Holinshed, on Halle's authority, relates that, by Queen Margaret's "procurement,[4] diuerse noble men conspired against" Gloucester.

[Suffolk, Buckingham, Cardinal Beaufort, and Archbishop Kempe conspire against Gloucester.]

[*Hol.* iii. 626/2/74. *Halle*, 209.] Of the which diuerse writers [*p.* 627] affirme the marquesse of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the cheefe; not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of Yorke.

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[1] On April 9, 1446, the Commons gave Henry a fifteenth and a tenth (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 69/1); but, in specifying the purposes to which these grants were to be applied, they did not mention the "costs and charges" of bringing Margaret to England or any other expenses connected with her marriage.

[2] "called the good duke of Gloucester."—*Halle*, 209. Not in *Hol.*

[3] Created Duke of Buckingham in 1444.—*Doyle*, i. 254. His father was Edmund Earl of Stafford, slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, on July 21, 1403. See p. 146 above. Edmund Beaufort was created Duke of Somerset in 1448.—*Dugdale*, ii. 123/2.

[4] Halle's corresponding words are (209): "so that, by her permission and fauor, diuerse noble men," . . .

Buckingham and Somerset having departed, Salisbury, his son Warwick,[1]—the future "Kingmaker,"—and York, are left on the stage. In proposing that they three should form a counter-league against Suffolk, Cardinal Beaufort, Somerset, and Buckingham, Salisbury encourages Warwick by reminding him that (ll. 191-193)

> Thy deeds, thy plainnesse, and thy house-keeping,[2]
> Hath wonne the greatest fauour of the Commons,
> Excepting none but good Duke Humfrey.

At a later time of his life than the date of this scene, Warwick was

[*Hol.* iii. 678/1/33.] one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden and euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding houshold which he dailie kept in all countries where euer he soiourned or laie: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakefast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had anie acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rost as he might carrie vpon a long dagger. . . .

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 722, 723.
The earle of Warwike his housekeeping.
Fabian.

Addressing the Duke, Salisbury says (ll. 194-198):

> And, Brother Yorke, thy Acts in Ireland,
> In bringing them to ciuill Discipline,
> . . . . . .
> Haue made thee fear'd and honor'd of the people: . . .

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[1] Richard Neville, born on November 22, 1428 (*Rows Rol.*, 57), was made Earl of Warwick in 1449 (*Dugdale*, i. 304/1). What the dramatic Warwick says touching his share in the French war (I. i. 119, 120; iii. 176, 177) shows that—so far as these allusions apply—he is for a moment confounded with Richard Beauchamp, who was appointed Lieutenant-General and Governor of France, &c., on July 16, 1437 (*Rymer*, x. 674, 675); and died at Rouen on April 30, 1439 (*Chron. Lond.*, 124). But, despite this fleeting identification with Richard Beauchamp, we can hardly doubt that the "Warwicke" who takes Richard Plantagenet's part in the Temple Garden scene (1 *Hen. VI.*, II. iv.) is the same Warwick who is a character in the 2nd and 3rd Parts of *Henry VI.* ("Warwick's" assertion that he conquered Anjou and Maine is a dramatic embellishment).

[2] Warwick's other virtues are recorded by *Halle* (231, 232): "This Rycharde was not onely a man of maruelous qualities, and facundious facions, but also from his youth, by a certayn practise or naturall inclinacion, so set them forward, with witte and gentle demeanour, to all persones of high and of lowe degre, that emong all sortes of people he obteyned great loue, muche fauour, and more credence: whiche thinges daily more increased by his abundant liberalitie and plentyfull house kepynge, then by hys ryches, aucthoritie, or hygh parentage. By reason of whiche doynges he was in suche fauour and estimacion emongest the common people, that they iudged hym able to do all thinges, and that, without hym, nothing to be well done. For whiche causes his aucthoritie shortly so fast increased that whiche waie he bowed, that waye ranne the streame, and what part he auaunced, that syde gat the superioritie."

Salisbury, speaking in the historical year 1445, anticipates York's successful administration of Ireland in 1448-50.[1] Afterwards (Act III., sc. i., ll. 282-284) "a Poste" announces the rebellion which caused the government of Ireland to be conferred on York. Holinshed records that, about the year 1448,

A rebellion in Ireland [appeased by York].

[*Hol.* iii. 629/2/26. *Halle*, 213.] began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke, being sent thither to appease the same, so asswaged the furie of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separated from him and his linage; which in the sequele of this historie may more plainelie appeare.[2]

Act I. sc. ii.—We here find that Eleanor Cobham, Gloucester's second wife, looks forward to a day when she and her husband shall reign instead of Henry and Margaret. The historic Queen Margaret was not troubled by any ambitious hopes which the Duchess may have cherished; for Eleanor Cobham did penance in November, 1441, and Margaret was, as we have seen, crowned on May 30, 1445.

Act I. sc. iii.—The Queen enters with Suffolk. Peter, an "Armorers Man," presents a petition (ll. 28, 30) against his "Master, Thomas Horner, for saying, That the Duke of Yorke was rightfull Heire to the Crowne." Holinshed merely records that, in 1446,

[The armourer's servant.]

[*Hol.* iii. 626/2/19.] a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his owne.[3]

The petitioners having retired, Margaret tells Suffolk (ll. 53-57) that, when he ran a tilt at Tours in honour of her love,—doubtless a reminiscence of those "iusts" which Holinshed says (iii. 625/1/30) were held to celebrate her proxy-marriage,—she thought her husband had resembled her champion. But all King Henry's mind

> is bent to Holinesse,
> To number Aue-Maries on his Beades;
> His Champions are the Prophets and Apostles,
> His Weapons holy Sawes of sacred Writ,
> His Studie is his Tilt-yard, and his Loues
> Are brazen Images of Canónized Saints.—ll. 58-63.

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[1] According to *Halle* (213), *Hol.'s* authority, York went to Ireland in the 27th year of Henry VI. (Sept. 1, 1448—Aug. 31, 1449). A warrant,—dated February 10, 1449,—for the payment of York's salary as Lieutenant in Ireland, shows that his ten years' term of office was to begin on September 29, 1447.—*Stevenson*, I. 487, 488. He returned to England in 1450. See p. 282 below.

[2] See p. 282, n. 1, and p. 296 (below).

[3] *Stow* (635) gives these particulars: "Iohn Dauid [Davy] appeached his master William [John] Catur, an armorer dwelling in S. Dunstons parish in Fleetstreet, of treason." The year was 1447. Cp. *Exchequer Issues*, 458, 459. The dramatic servant's name is Peter Thumpe (2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 82-84). The surname of one of the sheriffs of the year (25 Hen. VI., 1446-47) was Horne.—*Fab.*, 618.

Henry is thus described by Holinshed:

[*Hol.* iii. 691/1/69.] He was plaine, vpright, farre from fraud, wholie giuen to praier, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; . . . [Henry's character.]

Halle (303) says:

The descripcion of kyng Henry the .vi.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodly, of body slender, to which proporcion al other members wer correspondent: his face beautiful, in y^e^ which continually was resydent the bountie of mynde wyth whych he was inwardly endued. He dyd abhorre of hys owne nature al the vices, as wel of the body as of the soule; and, from hys verye infancye, he was of honest conuersacion and pure integritie; no knower of euil, and a keper of all goodnes; a dispiser of al thynges whych were wonte to cause the myndes of mortall menne to slyde, or appaire. Besyde thys, pacyence was so radicate in his harte that of all the iniuries to him commytted (which were no smal nombre) he neuer asked vengeaunce nor punishement, but for that rendered to almightie God, his creator, hartie thankes, thinking that by this trouble and aduersitie his sinnes wer to him forgotten and forgeuen.

[His bodily aspect.] [Holiness.] [Patience.]

Henry and his Court enter, debating whether York or Somerset shall be appointed Regent of France; a question which gives Margaret, and the four nobles who made an alliance in Act I., sc. i., an opportunity of attacking Gloucester. Cardinal Beaufort accuses him of having "rackt" the "Commons" (l. 131); and Somerset adds (ll. 133, 134) that the Protector's "sumptuous Buildings" and "Wiues Attyre"

Haue cost a masse of publique Treasurie.

In 1446-47, according to Halle (208, 209), Gloucester's enemies

perswaded, incensed, and exhorted the Quene, to loke wel vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirmyng playnly that she should euidently perceiue that the Duke of Gloucester had not so muche aduanced & preferred the commonwealth and publique vtilitie as his awne priuate thinges & peculiar estate.

[Gloucester accused of misapplying public money.]

Buckingham thus assails Gloucester (ll. 135, 136; cp. III. i. 58, 59; 121-123):

Thy Crueltie in execution
Vpon Offendors hath exceeded Law, . . .

Under the same date (1446-47) we find that Gloucester was charged with this transgression.

The faint quarell piked to the duke of Glocester.

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/4. *Halle*, 209.] Diuerse articles were laid against him in open councell, and in especiall one:[1] That he had caused men, adiudged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land assigned. Suerlie the duke, verie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offenses in seueritie of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condign reward[2] for their wicked dooings.

[Illegal execution of criminals.]

Lastly, Margaret imputes to him (l. 138) the "sale of Offices and Townes in France."

Perhaps Gloucester has been made to change places with Cardinal Beaufort, whom, in 1440, he accused of this misconduct. A long series of criminatory articles (referred to above, p. 236) were then exhibited by Gloucester against Beaufort. In the 22nd article Henry was asked

[*Hol.* iii. 622/2/17. *Halle*, 201.] to consider the . . . lucre of the . . . cardinall, and the great deceipts that you be deceiued[3] in by the labour of him & of the archbishop [of York, John Kempe], aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without too great good giuen vnto him; wherby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue beene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiance of persons.

[Cardinal Beaufort's sale of offices.]

Making no reply to his adversaries, Gloucester withdraws a while, and, on his return, delivers his opinion in regard to the Regency (ll. 163, 164):

> I say, my Soueraigne, *Yorke* is *meet*est *man*
> To be your *Regent* in the Realme *of France*.

Suffolk—who had previously (I. iii. 36-39) sent for Horner—now seizes a chance of opposing Gloucester and thwarting York through the accusation of treason brought against the armourer. Holinshed copied from Halle (206) a passage which records that, in 1446,

Anno Reg. 24. 1446

[*Hol.* iii. 625/2/29.] a parlement[4] was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the

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[1] *in especiall one*] Halle. *in especially one* Hol.

[2] In 2 *Hen. VI.*, III. i. 128-130, Gloucester says that he never gave '*condigne* punishment' to any one, save a murderer or a highway robber.

[3] *deceiued*] Halle. *receiued* Hol.

[4] This must have been the Parliament which began on February 25, 1445 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 66/1); and was sitting on June 4, 1445, and April 9, 1446 (see p. 241, n. 1, and p. 246, n. 1, above).

French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that, if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Heerevpon monie was granted, an armie leuied, and the duke of Summerset appointed to be regent of Normandie,[1] and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

The duke of Summerset made regent of Normādie, and the duke of Yorke discharged.

From a chronicler[2] who wrote in Henry VI.'s reign, Holinshed derived the information that Suffolk aided Somerset to obtain the Regency.

[*Hol.* iii. 625/2/41.] I haue seene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons, that the duke of York was established regent of France, after the deceasse of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of fiue yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was ioifullie receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserued in time of that his gouernement: and, further, that now, when a new regent was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide vpon safegard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of *Yorke* was eftsoones (as a *man* most *meet* to supplie that roome) appointed to go ouer againe, as *regent of France*, with all his former allowances.

[York Regent of France for five years.]

The duke of Yorke appointed to yᵉ charge againe.

But the duke of Summerset, still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, (as before yee haue heard,[3]) he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other fiue yeeres, and, with helpe of William marquesse of Suffolke, obteined that grant for himselfe.

[Somerset caused York's appointment to be revoked.]

The appointmēt disappointed, and pointed to [sic] *the marquesse of Suffolke.*

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[1] On November 12, 1446, the government of France and Normandy was in commission, York being absent.—*Report on Foedera*, App. D. 523. On November 11, 1447, he is styled Lieutenant-General and Governor of France and Normandy.—*Ibid.*, 535. By December 20, 1447, Somerset had been appointed "to goo oure lieutenaunt into oure duchie of Normandie."—*Stevenson*, I. 477, 478. On January 31, 1448, he is styled "oure lievetenaunt in our reame of Fraunce, duchees of Normandie and Guyenne."—*Stevenson*, I. 479, 480. The latter appointment should be regarded as the historical parallel of Gloucester's "doome" on the dramatic second day: "Let Somerset be Regent o're the French."—2 *Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 209.

[2] John de Whethamstede (ed. Hearne, pp. 345, 346).

[3] See next page.

York says (ll. 170-175):

> . . . if I be appointed for the Place,
> My Lord of Somerset will keepe me here,
> Without Discharge, Money, or Furniture,
> Till France be wonne into the Dolphins hands:
> Last time, I danc't attendance on his will
> Till Paris was besieg'd, famisht, and lost.

Holinshed, paraphrasing Halle (179), illustrates this complaint of Edmund Beaufort's malice in 1436, when York was appointed to succeed Bedford (see p. 219 above).

[*Hol.* iii. 612/2/14. *Halle*, 179.] Although the duke of Yorke was worthie (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdeined of Edmund duke of Summerset, (being cousine to the king,) that by all meanes possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well dooing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king.

[Paris lost because Edmund Beaufort hindered York's despatch.]

Act I. sc. iv.—In this scene the Duchess of Gloucester causes a spirit to be raised, from whom she learns the future fates of Henry, Suffolk, and Somerset.[1]

Examination of the charges brought against Cardinal Beaufort by Gloucester in 1440 (see pp. 236, 250 above) was committed to Henry's

[*Hol.* iii. 622/2/58. *Halle*, 202.] councell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that, what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had beene conceiued against him. But venem will breake out, & inward grudge will soone appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season, against this noble man Humfreie duke of Glocester, a far off, which, in conclusion, came so neere, that they beereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeere.

[Covert attacks made upon Gloucester.]

For, first, this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason;[2] for that she by sorcerie and inchant-

[Eleanor Cobham accused of intending

[1] For the prophecies concerning the deaths of Suffolk and Somerset see p. 270, n. 2, and p. 289.

[2] She was arrested in the latter part of July, 1441.—*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 57, 58. *Wyrc.*, 460. The discrepancy of these authorities, and the inaccuracy of *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.* with regard to the days of the week, do not allow a more precise date to be given.

ment intended to destroie the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne. . . . [*p.* 623, *col.* 1.] At the same season were arrested, arreigned, and adiudged giltie, as aiders to the duchesse, Thomas Southwell priest, and canon of S. Stephans at Westminster, Iohn Hun priest, Roger Bolingbrooke a cunning necromancer (as it was said), and Margerie Iordeine, surnamed the witch of Eie.

[to destroy Henry by sorcery.]

[Her confederates.]

Alias Iohn Hum.[1]

The matter laid against them was, for that they (at the request of the said duchesse) had deuised an image of wax, representing the king, which by their sorcerie by little and little consumed; intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroie the kings person.

[A waxen image of Henry made to be consumed.]

There is not even an allusion in the play to the offence for which, according to Halle, the Duchess and her confederates were arraigned. But Stow (627) says that

Roger Bolingbroke was examined before the Kings Counsaile, where he confessed that he wrought the said Negromancie at the stirring and procurement of the said Dame Elianor, to knowe what should befall of hir, and to what estate she should come, . . .

[Bolingbroke employed by Dame Eleanor Cobham to reveal her future.]

Act II. sc. i.—Sir Thomas More's *dyaloge . . . Wheryn be treatyd dyuers maters as of the veneracyon & worshyp of ymagys & relyques prayng to sayntis & goynge on pylgrymage* (2nd ed.,[2] 1530, bk. I. chap. xiv. leaf 25) contains the earliest account of the sham miracle at St. Albans. The dramatic version of this story presents no important change save that the rogue is made to feign lameness as well as blindness; a variation which leads up to his being whipped off the stage. The following excerpt from More's *Dialogue* should be compared with Act II., sc. i., ll. 60-160:

. . . I remember me that I haue herde my father tell of a begger that, in kynge Henry his dayes the syxte, came wyth hys wyfe to saynt Albonys. And there was walkynge about the towne

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[1] So in *Halle* (202) and in *The Contention*. Though the name rymes to "Mum" in 2 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 88, the spelling is "Hume" throughout scenes ii. and iv., Act I. In *Fab.* (614) and *Stow* (628) the name is spelt "Hum."

[2] "Newly ouersene" by More. More's story of the sham miracle was copied by *Grafton* (i. 630) and *Foxe* (i. 679/2). *Foxe*—I know not on whose authority—says that the cheat was discovered in Henry VI.'s "young dayes," when the King was "yet vnder the gouernaunce of this Duke Humfrey his protector." *Weever* (321, 322) gives an epitaph "penciled" on the wall near Gloucester's tomb in St. Alban's Abbey; recording the Duke's detection of the man who feigned blindness.

[A beggar and his wife came to St. Albans when Henry VI. was expected there.]

beggyng a fyue or syxe dayes before the kyngys commynge thyther; saynge that he was borne blynde, and neuer saw in his lyfe. And was warned in his dreame that he shold come out of Berwyke (where he sayd he had euer dwelled) to seke saynt Albon; and that he had ben at his shryne, and had not bene holpen. And therfore he wold go seke hym at some other place; for he had herde some saye, syns he came, that saynt Albonys body sholde be at Colon: and in dede suche a contencyon hath there bene. But of trouth, as I am surely informed, he lyeth here at saynt Albonys; sauyng some relyques of hym, whiche they there shew shryned. But to tell you forth: when the kyng was comen, and the towne full, sodaynly this blynde man, at saynt albonys shryne, had his syght agayne: and a myracle solemply rongen and te deum songen; so that nothynge was talked of in all y^e^ towne but this myracle. So happened it than that duke Humfry of gloucester, a great wyse man and very well lerned, hauynge greate Ioy to se such a myracle, called y^e^ pore man vnto hym. And fyrst shewynge hym selfe Ioyouse of goddys glory, so shewed in the gettynge of his syght; and exortyng hym to mekenes, and to none ascrybyng of any parte the worssyp to hym selfe, nor to be proude of the peoples prayse, whiche wolde call hym a good and a godly man therby. At last he loked wel vpon his eyen, and asked whyther he coulde neuer se nothynge at all in all his lyfe before. And, whan as well his wyfe as hymselfe affermed fastely "no," than he loked aduysedly vpon his eyen agayn, & sayd: "I byleue you very well, for me thynketh "that ye can not se well yet." "Yes, syr," quod he, "I thanke "god and his holy marter, I can se nowe as well as any man." "Ye can," quod the duke, "what colour is my gowne?" Than anone the begger, tolde hym. "What colour," quod he, "is this "mannys gowne?" He tolde hym also; and so forth, without any styckynge, he tolde hym the names of all the colours that could be shewed hym.[1] And, whan my lord saw that, he bad[2] hym, "walke, "faytoure!" and made hym be set openly in the stockys. For, though he coulde haue sene sodenly by myracle y^e^ dyfference

[The beggar said that he was born blind, and, warned by a dream, had journeyed from Berwick to St. Albans.]

[But, not being healed, he was going to Cologne, where some believed S. Alban's body lay.]

[When King Henry arrived, the beggar could see; and people supposed that a miracle had been wrought.]

[Gloucester exhorted the beggar to be humble,

[and asked him if he could ever see anything before.]

[The beggar and his wife answered "no"; yet,

[when questioned,

[he could name all the colours shown him.]

[Then Gloucester called him a rogue, and set him in the stocks.]

[1] With "I byleue . . . shewed hym," cp. 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. i. 106-112.
[2] *bad*] ed. 1. *had* ed. 2.

bytwene dyuers colours, yet coulde he not by y^e^ syght so sodenly tell the names of all these colours, but yf he hadde knowen them before, no more than the names of all the men y^t^ he shold sodenly se. [Lf. xxv. sign. f. i.]

[For, if the beggar had been born blind, he could not have named colours, though he might have distinguished them.]

Act II. sc. ii.—At the close of sc. iv., Act I., after the Duchess of Gloucester and her confederates had been arrested, York sent Salisbury and Warwick an invitation to sup with him "to morrow Night"; that is, the night of the day on which Gloucester exposed the sham miracle. Supper ended, York desires to have his guests' opinion of his title to "Englands Crowne" (II. ii. 1-5). Warwick says (ll. 7, 8):

> Sweet Yorke, begin: and if thy clayme be good,
> The Neuills are thy Subiects to command.

The dramatic time of sc. ii., Act II., is brought into close relation with Eleanor Cobham's arrest in 1441, but Holinshed's authority Halle records (210) among the events of 1447-48 that

[*Hol.* iii. 627/2/37.] Richard, duke of Yorke, (being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe peeres and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie,) perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the queene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie;[1] and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and townes. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was readie, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselues, yer the contrarie part could them espie: for in conclusion all shortlie in mischiefe burst out, as ye may hereafter heare.

The duke of Yorke tempering about his title to the crowne.

On October 16, 1460, "a writyng,[2] conteignyng the clayme and title of the right" which York laid "unto the Corones of Englond and of Fraunce, and Lordship of Ireland," was read before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in Parliament at Westminster. This document, or a similar one, was printed by Stow in his *Annales* (679, 680); and from Stow it was transferred to the pages of Holinshed.[3] It sets forth York's pedigree. I quote in parallel columns II. ii. 10-20, and the corresponding passage in Holinshed. York thus prefaces his claim:

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[1] For passages in which Salisbury and Warwick are spoken of as York's friends, see pp. 283, 288 below.

[2] Printed in *Rot. Parl.*, v. 375.

[3] A prefatory sidenote thus describes *Hol.*'s reprint of this document: "Abr[aham] Fl[eming] ex I.S [John Stow]. pag. 700, 701, &c. in Quart."

[Edward III.'s sons.]

[*Hol.* iii. 657/2/47.] *Edward the third* had issue, *Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield*, his *second* sonne; *Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; Iohn of Gant*, fourth, *duke of Lancaster; Edmund* of *Langleie, fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstoke, sixt, duke of Glocester;* and *William of Windsor, seauenth.*

The said *Edward* prince of Wales, which *died* in the life time

[Richard II.]

of *his father*, had issue *Richard*, which succeeded *Edward the third* his grandsire; . . .

Edward the third, my Lords, had seuen Sonnes:
The first, *Edward* the Black-Prince, *Prince of Wales;*
The *second*, *William of Hatfield;* and *the third*,
Lionel Duke of Clarence: next to whom
Was *Iohn of Gaunt*, the *Duke of Lancaster;*
The *fift* was *Edmond Langley, Duke of Yorke;*
The *sixt* was *Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloster;*
William of Windsor was the *seuenth* and last.
Edward the Black-Prince *dyed* before *his Father*,
And left behinde him *Richard*, his onely [1] Sonne,
Who, after *Edward the third*'s death, raign'd as King: . .

I now quote four lines immediately following my last excerpt from York's statement of his title:

> *Till Henry* Bullingbrooke, *Duke of Lancaster*,
> The eldest *Sonne* and Heire of *Iohn of Gaunt*,
> Crown'd by the Name of Henry the fourth,
> Seiz'd on the *Realme*, depos'd the rightfull King, . . .

Though these lines contain matter of common knowledge, they may have been prompted by the ensuing fragments of a speech which, according to Halle (245, 246), York delivered from the throne to the Peers assembled at Westminster in 1460:

[Richard II. was a lawful king.]

[*Hol.* iii. 656/1/1.] Which king Richard, of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, *till Henrie* of Derbie *duke of Lancaster*

[Henry duke of Lancaster was a usurper.]

and Hereford, *sonne* to *Iohn of Gant* . . . wrongfullie vsurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this *realme* and region; taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

Salisbury interjects (l. 33):

> But *William of Hatfield dyed without* an Heire.

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[1] The corresponding passage in the 3rd (1619) ed. of *The Contention* stands thus (23): "Now Edward the blacke Prince dyed before his Father, leauing behinde him two sonnes, Edward borne at Angolesme, who died young, and Richard that was after crowned King," . . . *Hol.* (iii. 397/1/56) says: "In the nine and thirtith yeere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of Februarie [1365], in the citie of Angolesme, was borne the first sonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the seuenth yeare of his age."

In my last quotation from the pedigree printed by Holinshed the line is carried down to Richard II., who "succeeded Edward the third his grandsire." The next words are:

[*Hol.* iii. 657/2/56.] Richard died without issue; *William of Hatfield,* the second sonne of Edward the third, *died without* issue; . . . [William of Hatfield.]

The continuation of York's speech (ll. 34-38) I place beside the parallel passage in Holinshed:

[*Hol.* iii. 657/2/58.] Lionell *the third sonne* of Edward the third, *duke of Clarence, had issue Philip* his *daughter* and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto *Edmund Mortimer* [3rd] *earle of March,* and *had issue Roger* Mortimer [4th] *earle of March,* hir sonne and heire; which *Roger had issue Edmund*[1] [5th] erle of March, Roger Mortimer, *Anne, Elianor;* which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.

The third Sonne, Duke of Clarence,
from whose Line
I clayme the Crowne, *had Issue,*
Phillip, a *Daughter,*
Who marryed *Edmond Mortimer,* 36
Earle of Marche:
Edmond *had Issue, Roger Earle of*
March;
Roger had Issue, Edmond, Anne, and
Elianor.

[York's descent from Lionel duke of Clarence.]

Salisbury again interrupts York (ll. 39, 40):

This *Edmond,* in the Reigne of Bullingbrooke,
As I haue read, layd *clayme* vnto the Crowne; . . .

The speech from the throne, attributed by Halle to York (see p. 256 above), has the same misstatement.

[*Hol.* iii. 656/1/54.] *Edmund* earle of March, my most welbeloued vncle, in the time of the first vsurper, (in deed, but not by right, called king Henrie the fourth,) by his coosines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Persie, (he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales,) made his title & righteous *claime* to the destruction of both the noble persons. [Edmund 5th Earl of March claimed the crown.]

Salisbury adds (ll. 41, 42) that Edmund,

. . . but for Owen Glendour, had beene King,
Who *kept him in Captiuitie till he dyed.*

Here the inevitable confusion between Sir Edmund Mortimer and Edmund Mortimer fifth Earl of March[2] is worse confounded. These lines apparently sprang from the dramatist's vague remembrance of Halle (23), who—in a sentence immediately preceding the assertion that Glendower

[1] *had issue Edmund*] *had issue of Edmund* Hol.
[2] See p. 131, n. 1, above.

made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, . . . and toke hym prisoner, and, feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon—

[Mortimer's captivity.]

says that Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin—another prisoner to Glendower—was promised freedom conditionally upon marrying his captor's daughter:

[Lord Grey's captivity.]

But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnhonest, and periured persone, *kept hym* with his wyfe still *in captiuitee till he dyed.**

The conclusion of York's speech (ll. 43-52) and his pedigree as given by Holinshed are here displayed in parallel columns. The fifth Earl of March's

[York's mother was Anne Mortimer.]

[*Hol.* iii. 657/2/67.] And the said *Anne* coupled in matrimonie to *Richard earle of Cambridge*, the *sonne* of *Edmund* of *Langleie*, the *fift sonne* of *Edward*[3] *the third*, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; . . . To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne, daughter *to Roger* Mortimer *earle of March*, *sonne* and heire of the said *Philip*, *daughter* and heire of the said *Lionell*, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland, perteineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said Iohn of Gant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

[The issue of Lionel duke of Clarence should succeed before John of Gaunt's issue.]

eldest Sister, *Anne*,
My Mother, being Heire vnto the Crowne, 44
Marryed *Richard Earle of Cambridge*; who was *son*[1]
To *Edmond Langley*, *Edward the thirds fift Sonne*.[2]
By her I clayme the Kingdome: she was Heire
To Roger Earle of March, who was the *Sonne* 48
Of Edmond Mortimer, who marryed *Phillip*,
Sole *Daughter* vnto *Lioncl* Duke of Clarence:
So, if the Issue of the elder Sonne
Succeed before the younger, I am King. 52

Act II. sc. iii.—In the opening lines of this scene Henry passes sentence on Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester, and her confederates, Margery Jourdain, Southwell, Hume, and Bolingbroke. To the latter Henry says (ll. 5-8):

> You foure, from hence to Prison back againe;
> From thence vnto the place of Execution:
> The Witch in Smithfield shall be burnt to ashes,
> And you three shall be strangled on the Gallowes.

Holinshed gives the following account of what befel them:

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* Lord Grey of Ruthin was released on payment of a large ransom —*Ellis*, II. i. 9.

[1] *son*] Rowe. om. Fr. [2] *Sonne*] Theobald. *Sonnes Sonne* Fr.
[3] *Edward the third*] *Henrie the third* Hol.

[*Hol.* iii. 623/1/20. *Halle*, 202.] Margerie Iordeine was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Bolingbrooke was drawne to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; taking vpon his death that there was neuer anie such thing by them imagined. Iohn Hun had his pardon,[1] and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution: . . . [Fate of the Duchess of Gloucester's confederates.]

Henry then addresses the Duchess of Gloucester (ll. 9-13):

> You, Madame, for you are more Nobly borne,
> Despoylëd of your Honor in your Life,
> Shall, after three[2] dayes open Penance done,
> Liue in your Countrey here in Banishment,
> With Sir Iohn Stanly, in the Ile of Man.

The Duchess of Gloucester

[*Hol.* iii. 623/1/1. *Halle*, 202.] was examined in saint Stephans chappell before the bishop of Canturburie, and there by examination conuict, and iudged to doo open penance in three open places within the citie of London. . . . and after that adiudged to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of Man, vnder the keeping of sir Thomas Stanlie[3] knight. [The Duchess of Gloucester's sentence.]

Gloucester is about to withdraw, overwhelmed with sorrow for his wife's disgrace, when Henry speaks (ll. 22-24):

> Stay, Humfrey Duke of Gloster: ere thou goe,
> Giue vp thy Staffe! Henry will to himselfe
> Protector be; . . .

This dismissal of Gloucester from the office of Protector is a dramatic representation of a political change effected in 1446-47 by Margaret,[4] who,

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[1] This fact—which is recorded by *Halle* (202), *Fab.* (615), and *Stow* (628)—may account for the dramatic Hume having been represented as a traitor *Fab.* (614) says that Hume was the duchess's chaplain.

[2] *two*] Contention. *Fab.* says nothing about the Duchess's penance. *Stow* gives the dates of the *three* days on which it was performed. See p. 261 below.

[3] *Iohn Stanley* Halle (202). *Thomas Stanley* Fab. (614), Stow (628). In 1446 it was ordered that letters under Henry's privy seal should be directed to Sir Thomas Stanley, authorizing him to convey Eleanor Cobham to the Isle of Man.—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, vi. 51. In 1443 she was removed from Chester Castle to Kenilworth Castle.—*Rymer*, xi. 45.

[4] In 1441, according to *Fab.* (614), "began Murder [murmur] and Grudge to breke at large, that before hadde ben kept in mewe, atwene parsones nere aboute the kynge, and his vncle the famous Humfrey duke of Glouceter and Protectour of the lande; agayne whom dyuers Coniecturis were attempted a farre, whiche after were sette nere to hym, so that they left nat tyll they hadde brought hym vnto his confucion." In the next paragraph *Fab.* narrates the treason of Eleanor Cobham and her accomplices.

Henry was crowned at Westminster on November 6, 1429 (*Rot. Parl.*, iv.

[Margaret could not abide Henry's submissiveness to Gloucester.]

[*Hol.* iii. 626/2/51. *Halle*, 208, 209.] disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Glocester should doo all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband, being of most perfect age, like a yoong *pupill*,[1] to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse vsed in declaring their vntruth (as partlie ye haue heard), and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father; aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphanes.

[Gloucester's enemies worked upon her impatience.]

The queene taketh vpon hir the gouernement, and dischargeth the duke of Glocester.

What needeth manie words? The queene, persuaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Glocester from all rule and gouernance, . . .

Soon after Gloucester's exit, Horner and Peter present themselves in the manner described by the following stage direction: "Enter at one Doore the Armorer and his Neighbors, drinking to him so much that hee is drunke; . . . and at the other Doore his Man, . . . and Prentices drinking to him."

As Holinshed's account of this judicial combat (*Hol.* iii. 626/2/21) is not a mere paraphrase of Halle,—the dramatist's chief authority,—and differs in some respects from what we find in the play, I quote Halle (207, 208):

[The armourer's friends brought him malmsey and aqua vitæ;]

At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master brought hym Malmesey and Aqua vite, to comforte hym with all; but it was the cause of his and their discomforte. For he poured in so muche that, when he came into the place in Smithfielde, where he should

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337/1), and Gloucester resigned the Protectorate on November 15, 1429.—*Ibid.* But Henry was nearly 16 when, on November 13, 1437, he assumed the responsibility of government by appointing the members of a privy council for the transaction of ordinary business; reserving to himself the power of deciding weighty questions and also those matters which might cause the disagreement of half or two-thirds of his council. — *Proc. Priv. Co.*, vi. 312-314.

[1] Cp. Margaret's words (2 *Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 49, 50):

> "What, shall King Henry be a *Pupill* still
> Vnder the surly Glosters Gouernance?"

Cp. also 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 28, 29.

fyght, bothe his wytte and strength fayled hym: and so he, beyng a tall and a hardye personage, ouerladed with hote drynkes, was vanqueshed of his seruaunte, beyng but a cowarde and a wretche;[1] whose [the armourer's] body was drawen to Tyborne, & there hanged and behedded.

[and made him so drunk that he, though a valiant man, was vanquished by his cowardly accuser.]

Act II. sc. iv.—Gloucester watches "the comming of" his "punisht Duchesse" (l. 7). The historic dates of her "three dayes open Penance" (II. iii. 11) were November 13, 15, and 17, 1441.[2] I quote the stage direction of 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iv. 16: "Enter the Duchesse in a white Sheet, and *a Taper* burning *in her hand*, with the Sherife and Officers."[3] None of the particulars given in this stage direction are mentioned by Halle or Fabyan. In the second edition of Holinshed the following detail of her penance is recorded (*Hol.* iii. 623/1/5):

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Polychronicon saith she was inioined to go through Cheapside with *a taper in hir hand.*

[The Duchess carried a taper.]

Stow says (628):

On Monday the 13. of Nouember, she came from Westminster, by water, and landed at the Temple bridge, from whence, with a taper of waxe of two pound in hir hande, she went through Fleetestreete, hoodlesse (saue a kerchefe) to Pauls, where she offered hir taper at the high altar. . . . On Fryday she landed at Queene Hiue, and so went through Cheape to S. Michaels in Cornehill, in forme aforesaid: at all which times the Maior, sherifes, and crafts of London, receiued hir and accompanied hir. This being done she was committed to the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley, . . . hauing

[The Duchess of Gloucester bore a taper through Fleet Street.]

[On each day of her penance she was accompanied by the Mayor, Sheriffs and crafts of London.]

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[1] As to Peter's cowardice and Horner's knowledge of fence,—not mentioned by *Hol.*,—see 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 56-58; 77-79. *Hol.* (626/2/28) says that the armourer "was slaine without guilt," and that "the false servant . . . liued not long vnpunished; for being conuict of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was, at Tiburne." In 2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 96, Horner confesses treason, and Henry promises to reward Peter, whom Horner "thought to haue murther'd wrongfully" (II. iii. 107, 108).

[2] *Stow*, 628. *Greg.*, 184. *Chron. Lond.*, 129. According to one of *Stow's* authorities (*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 59, 60) the days of penance were November 9, 15, and 17.

[3] The stage direction in *The Contention* (27) runs as follows: "Enter Dame Elnor Cobham bare-foote, and a white sheete about her, with a waxe candle in her hand, and verses written on her backe and pind on, and accompanied with the Sheriffes of London, and Sir Iohn Standly, and Officers, with billes and holbards." In the Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester—a poem which Wright believed to be of contemporary date—she is made to say: "I went bare fote on my fette."—*Pol. Poems*, ii. 207, and 205 note 2.

[She had a pension assigned her, and was committed to Sir Thomas Stanley's ward.]

yeerely 100. markes assigned for hir finding,[1] . . . whose pride, false couetise,[2] and lecherie, were cause of hir confusion.

The Duchess blames Gloucester for not resenting her disgrace (ll. 23-25; 42-47); and he prays her "sort" her "heart to patience" (l. 68). After recording the fates of the Duchess's confederates (p. 259 above), Holinshed says (iii. 623/1/27):

[Gloucester's patience.]

The duke of Glocester bare all these things patientlie, and said little (*Halle*, 202).

Act III. sc. i.—Henry wonders why Gloucester comes not to the Parliament assembled at Bury St. Edmunds[3] (ll. 1-3). Margaret asks (ll. 4-8):

> Can you not see? or will ye not obserue
> The strangenesse of his alter'd Countenance?
> With what a Maiestie he beares himselfe,
> How insolent of late he is become,
> How prowd, how peremptorie, and vnlike himselfe?

What Hardyng says (400) about Gloucester's changed demeanour after Eleanor Cobham's trial may possibly be the source of these lines:

[Gloucester resigned the Protectorate.]

> Then was the kyng come vnto mannes age,
> Wherfore the lordes wolde no protector,
> Wherfore the duke loste his great auauntage
> And was no more then after defensour;
> But then he fell into a greate errour,
> Moued by his wyfe Elianor Cobham
> To truste her so, men thought he was to blame.

[Eleanor Cobham's condemnation made Gloucester cold towards Henry.]

> He waxed then straunge eche day vnto y^e^ kyng,
> For cause she was foriudged for sossery,
> For enchaun[t]mentees, that she was in workyng
> Agayne the churche, and the kyng cursedly,
> By helpe of one mayster Roger Oonly:
> And into Wales he went of frowardnesse
> And to the kyng had greate heuynesse.

While Margaret and her allies are striving to lessen Henry's esteem for Gloucester, Somerset—lately appointed Regent of France[4]—enters and announces that "all is lost" (l. 85).

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[1] Stanley assures her that she shall be treated "Like to a Duchesse, and Duke Humfreyes Lady" (2 *Hen. VI.*, II. iv. 98).

[2] *fals couetise*] Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI., 60. *false, couetise* Stow.

[3] Opened on February 10, 1447.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 128/1.

[4] A dramatic interval of about two months has elapsed since his appointment in Act I., sc. iii.—*T-A.*, 307-310.

Suffolk's truce, negotiated in 1444, was renewed[1] from time to time until it was broken on our side by the treacherous seizure of Fougères in March, 1449.[2] A subsequent fifteen months' war[3] made the French masters of Normandy; the reconquest of which was achieved at the surrender of Cherbourg on August 12, 1450.[4] When a year later Bordeaux and a few other places in Guienne were added to Charles VII.'s dominions (see p. 231 above), no foreign territory was left us save Calais and the Channel Islands.[5] Somerset's share in the war ended with his surrender of Caen on July 1, 1450.[6] Thence he departed to Calais,[7] and returned to England in October, 1450.[8]

The Regent's blunt announcement causes York to murmur, aside (ll. 87-90):

> Cold Newes for me; for I had hope of France,
> As firmely as I hope for fertile England.
> Thus are my Blossomes blasted in the Bud,
> And Caterpillers eate my Leaues away; . . .

Holinshed paraphrased Halle's assertion (216) that Somersct's surrender of Caen

The irreconciliable hate betweene the two dukes [caused by the surrender of Caen].

[*Hol.* iii. 630/2/18] kindled so great a rancor in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerset, vntill he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion.

Gloucester now enters the Parliament to which he was summoned in a preceding scene (II. iv. 70, 71), and is immediately arrested by Suffolk for high treason (ll. 95-97). According to Halle (209), Holinshed's authority, Gloucester's exclusion from power in 1446 (see p. 260 above) was virtually a sentence of death.

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/15.] But, to auoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openlie executed, his enimies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yer he should haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parlement was summoned to be kept at Berrie; whither resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke

1447

A parlement at saint Edmundesburie.

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[1] The renewals are set forth in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xi.

[2] *De Coussy*, x. 133.

[3] Reckoning from the surprise of Pont de-l'Arche by the French, on May 16, 1449.—*De Coussy*, x. 141; *Du Clercq*, xii. 10.

[4] *Du Clercq*, xii. 81.

[5] These islands formed part of the Duchy of Normandy.

[6] *Du Clercq*, xii. 73.

[7] *De Coussy*, x. 283, 284.

[8] *Wyrc.*, 473. Somerset's return to England in October was wrongly placed by *Wyrc.* under the year 1449, but the context shows that the year should be 1450.

of Glocester, which on the second daie of the session[1] was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, (accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others,) arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the cheefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people.

[Gloucester arrested.]

As Suffolk has specified no charge which might warrant the arrest, Gloucester asks, "wherein am I guiltie?" York answers (ll. 104-106):

> 'Tis thought, my Lord, that you tooke Bribes of France,
> And, being Protector, stay'd the Souldiers pay;
> By meanes whereof his Highnesse hath lost France.

This accusation resembles one of the "Articles proponed by the commons against the Duke of Suffolke," on February 7, 1450.[2]

[Suffolk took rewards from Charles VII. to stay armies going to France.]

[*Hol.* iii. 631/2/58. *Halle*, 218.] 9 Item, when armies haue beene prepared, and souldiers readie waged, to passe ouer the sea, to deale with the kings enimies: the said duke, corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restreined & staied the said armies to passe anie further.

In a speech condemning his accusers' malice, Gloucester reveals the hidden motive which prompted one of them (ll. 158-160):

> . . . dogged Yorke, that reaches at the Moone,
> Whose ouer-weening Arme I haue pluckt back,
> By false accuse doth leuell at my Life: . . .

The following reflection upon the consequences of Gloucester's death may have suggested these lines:

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/68. *Halle*, 210.] Oft times it hapneth that a man, in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire: so the queene, in casting how to keepe hir husband in honor, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared; which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decaie of the house of Lancaster, which of likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for

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[1] February 11 was the second day of the session (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 129/9); but according to *Greg.* (188) Gloucester was arrested on February 18. In a contemporaneously written memorandum of the Parliament of Bury, Gloucester's arrest is dated February 18 (*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 116).

[2] This is *Hol.'s* title. The charges are given in *Rot. Parl.*, v. 177-179, where the article which I quote from *Hol.* is the 25th. My authority for the date of Suffolk's impeachment is *Rot. Parl.*, v. 177/1.

then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set foorth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of many other noble men beside. [If Gloucester had lived York durst not have claimed the crown.]

Gloucester closes his speech with a recognition that his fate is sealed (ll. 168-171):

> I shall not want false Witnesse to condemne me,
> Nor store of Treasons to augment my guilt;
> The ancient Prouerbe will be well effected:
> "A Staffe is quickly found to beat a Dogge."

We have seen (p. 250 above) that "diuerse articles were laid against him in open councell." Defence was useless, for

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/11. *Halle*, 209.] although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him obiected; yet, because his death was determined, his wisedome and innocencie nothing auailed. [Gloucester's innocency nothing availed.]

A "Poste" from Ireland enters, bringing news "that Rebels there are vp" (ll. 282, 283). The task of subduing them is assigned to York, who thus obtains the armed force which he needs to serve his ambition (ll. 341-347). The dramatist sent York to Ireland, as Lieutenant, before the opening of the *Second Part of Henry the Sixth*, since in Act I., sc. i., Salisbury applies to an imaginary former term of office praise which belongs to the historic administration of 1448-50; undertaken by York in this scene. (See p. 248 above.)

All now go out save York, who thereupon unfolds his policy (ll. 348-359; 374, 375):

> Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mightie Band, 348
> I will stirre vp in England some black Storme
> Shall blowe ten thousand Soules to Heauen or Hell:
> And this fell Tempest shall not cease to rage,
> Vntill the Golden Circuit on my Head, 352
> Like to the glorious Sunnes transparant Beames,
> Do calme the furie of this mad-bred Flawe.
> And, for a minister of my intent,
> I haue seduc'd a head-strong Kentishman, 356
> Iohn Cade of Ashford,
> To make Commotion, as full well he can,
> Vnder the title of Iohn Mortimer. . . .
> By this I shall perceiue the Commons minde, 374
> How they affect the House and Clayme of Yorke.

Cade's rebellion broke out at the end of May, 1450.[1] Its origin is thus described:

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[1] Septima in Pentecoste [*septimana Pentecostes* Hearne conj.] incepit communis insurreccio in Kancia."—*Wyrc.*, 469. In 1450 Whit Sunday fell on May 24.

[*Hol.* iii. 632/1/63. *Halle*, 220.] Those that fauoured the duke of Yorke, and wished the crowne vpon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yoong man, of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intised to take vpon him the name of Iohn Mortimer, coosine to the duke of Yorke; (although his name was Iohn Cade, or, of some, Iohn Mend-all, an Irishman, as *Polychronicon* saith;) and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which fauoured the house of the earle of March would be assistant to him. [Cp. p. 282, n. 2, below.]

Iacke Cades rebellion in Kent. [To gain adherents, he called himself Mortimer.]

Act III. sc. ii.—"Enter two or three running ouer the Stage, from the Murther of Duke Humfrey." Afterwards (l. 121): "Noyse within. Enter Warwicke, [Salisbury], and many Commons." Warwick informs Henry that, the murder of Gloucester by means of Suffolk and Cardinal Beaufort having been reported, the Commons demand to "heare the order" of Duke Humphrey's death. Gloucester's body is therefore exhibited on the stage, and Warwick points out these signs of murder (ll. 168-170):

> But see, his face is blacke and full of blood,
> His eye-balles further out than when he liued,
> Staring full gastly, like a *strangled* man; . . .

Gloucester's sudden death gave rise to sinister conjectures:

The duke of Glocester suddenlie murthered.

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/29.] The duke, the night after he was thus committed to prison [p. 264 above], being the foure and twentith of Februarie,[1] was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons,[2] as though he had died of a palsie, or of an imposteme.

Edw. Hall. [209.]

But all indifferent persons (as saith *Hall*) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be *strangled*, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his funda-

[1] February 23.—*Greg.*, 188. *Wyrc.*, 464. From the memorandum of the Bury Parliament (*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 117) it appears that Gloucester "deyde sone appon iij on the belle at aftrenone" of February 23. *Hol.* probably followed *Stow* (635) in giving February 24 as the date of Gloucester's death. *Halle* (209), the dramatist's chief authority, says that Gloucester "the night after his emprysonment was found dedde in his bed." Hence I conjecture that between scenes i. and ii., Act III., there is not a dramatic interval of one clear day from midnight to midnight. See *T-A.*, 310.

[2] "And on the Fryday [February 24, 1447] next folewyng [Gloucester's death], the lordes spirituelle and temporelle, also knyȝtes of the parlement, and whosoeuer wolde come, saugh hym [Gloucester] dede."—Memorandum of the Bury Parliament (*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 117).

ment, other write that he was smouldered[1] betweene two feather-beds; and some haue affirmed that he died of verie greefe, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. [Some judged him to be *strangled*, others write that he was smothered.]

Subsequently an attempt to enter the Upper House is made by the Commons who had remained "within." Salisbury keeps them back, and becomes their spokesman (ll. 243-253):

> Dread Lord, the Commons send you word by me,
> Vnlesse Lord Suffolke straight be done to death, 244
> Or banishëd faire Englands Territories,
> They will by violence teare him from your Pallace,
> And torture him with grieuous lingring death.
> They say, by him the good Duke Humfrey dy'de; 248
> They say, in him they feare your Highnesse death;
> And meere instínct of Loue and Loyaltie
> (Free from a stubborne opposite intent,
> As being thought to contradict your liking) 252
> Makes them thus forward in his Banishment.

The excerpts I quote seem tame beside such a message as this; enforced by a threat from the impatient Commons that they "will all breake in." There are no materials for judging whether Suffolk was innocent or guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, but hatred and mistrust of him were widely spread. In 1449-50 people

[*Hol.* iii. 631/1/16. *Halle*, 217.] began to make exclamation against the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the deliuerie of Aniou and Maine, the cheefe procuror of the duke of Glocester's death, the verie occasion of the losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the kings treasure,[2] the remoouer of good and vertuous councellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious persons, and of such as by their dooings shewed themselues apparant aduersaries to the common-wealth. *The commõs exclame against y^e duke of Suffolke.*

The queene hereat, doubting not onelie the duke's destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the parlement, before begun at the Blackfriers,[3] to be adiourned to Leicester; thinking there, by force and rigor of law, to suppresse and subdue all the malice and *The parlemẽt adiourned frõ London to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster.*

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[1] *The Contention* (35) has the following stage-direction before Suffolk's first speech (2 *Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 6): "Then the Curtaines being drawne, Duke Humphrey is discouered in his bed, and two men lying on his brest and smothering him in his bed. And then enter the Duke of Suffolke to them."

[2] In 2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. i. 73, 74, the "Lieutenant" thus addresses Suffolk:

> "Now will I dam vp this thy yawning mouth,
> For swallowing the Treasure of the Realme:" . . .

[3] Parliament met at Westminster on November 6, 1449, and was adjourned to meet at Black Friars on the following day.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 171/1.

euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a full appearance. In the which session the commons of the nether house put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treason, misprision, and euill demeanor, against the duke of Suffolke: . . .

Edw. Hall.

I have cited above (p. 264) one of the "Articles proponed by the commons against the Duke of Suffolke." The most important of these articles accuse him of treasonable dealings with the French, but in none of them is Gloucester even mentioned.[1] Under the year 1447 Fabyan relates (619) that

[Suffolk suspected of being Gloucester's murderer.]

the Grudge and Murmour of y^e^ people ceasid nat agayne the Marquys of Suffolke, for the deth of the good Duke of Glouceter, of whose murdre he was specially susspected.

Henry directs Salisbury to tell the Commons that, if they had not urged this matter,

> Yet did I purpose as they doe entreat;

and, addressing Suffolk, says (ll. 295-297):

> If after three dayes space thou here bee'st found,
> On any ground that I am Ruler of,
> The World shall not be Ransome for thy Life.

According to Halle (219), Holinshed's authority,

[*Hol.* iii. 632/1/23.] the parlement was adiourned to Leicester,[2] whither came the king and queene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke, as cheefe councellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons, as assented to the release of Aniou, and deliuerance of Maine, might be dulie punished. . . . When the king perceiued that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie

[The Commons desired the punishment of those who yielded Anjou and Maine.]

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[1] But in 1451 the Commons assembled at Westminster, after praying Henry to attaint Suffolk (then dead) for the treasons of which the Duke had been accused by the Commons in 1450, ended their petition thus: "Youre grete Wysdome, rightwisnesse, and high discretion considering, that the seid William de la Pole hath nought only don and commytted the forseid Treasons and mischevous dedes, but was the cause and laborer of the arrest, emprisonyng, and fynall destruction of the most noble vaillant true Prince, youre right Obeissant Uncle the Duke of Gloucestre, whom God pardon," . . .—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 226.

[2] The Parliament which met first at Westminster on November 6, 1449 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 171/1) was adjourned to Leicester for April 29, 1450 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 172/11). But Suffolk was banished on March 17, 1450 (see next note).

by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie, (being treasuror of England,) and other the dukes adherents, from their offices and roomes; and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of fiue yeares:[1] meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

[Suffolk banished by Henry for five years.]

Act III. sc. iii.—Cardinal Beaufort was "at point of death" in the last scene (III. ii. 369). He is now visited by Henry, Salisbury, and Warwick. The dying man does not know his sovereign, and exclaims (ll. 2-4):

> If thou beest death, Ile giue thee Englands Treasure,
> Enough to purchase such another Island,
> So thou wilt let me liue, and feele no paine!

I quote Halle's summing up (210, 211) of Cardinal Beaufort's life, which contains a death-bed speech whence these lines were derived. On April 11, 1447,[2]

Henry Beaufford, byshop of Wynchester, and called the ryche Cardynall, departed out of this worlde, and was buried at Wynchester. This manne was sonne to Ihon of Gaunte duke of Lancaster; discended on an honorable lignage, but borne in Baste; more noble of bloud then notable in learnyng; haut in stomacke, and hygh in countenaunce; ryche aboue measure of all men, & to fewe liberal; disdaynfull to his kynne and dreadfull to his louers; preferrynge money before frendshippe; many thinges begynning and nothing perfourmyng. His couetise[3] insaciable, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forget God, his Prynce, and hymself, in his latter daies. For doctor Ihon Baker, his pryuie counsailer and hys chapellayn, wrote that he, lyeng on his death bed, said these wordes: "Why should I dye, hauing so muche "ryches [that], if the whole Realme would saue my lyfe, I am able "either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it? Fye! wyll "not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng? When my

[Beaufort was called "the rich cardinal."]

[His lineage and character.]

[Dr. Baker's report of Beaufort's last words.

["Will not Death be hired, nor will money do nothing?

[1] On March 17, 1450, Suffolk was banished for a term of five years, beginning on May 1 next ensuing.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 182/2, 183/1.

[2] *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 63. *Wyrc.*, 464. On April 15, 1447, permission to elect Beaufort's successor in the See of Winchester was granted. *Rymer*, xi. 162, 163. *Halle* (210) wrongly placed Beaufort's death in 1448.

[3] *couetise*] *couetous* Halle.

When Gloucester died, I thought myself the equal of kings."]

"nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the whole; "but when I sawe myne other nephew of Gloucester disceased, "then I thought my selfe able to be equale with kinges, and so "thought to encrease my treasure in hoope to haue worne a tryple "Croune. But I se nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am "deceyued: praiyng you all to pray for me." Of the gettyng of thys mannes goodes, both by power legatine[1] or spiritual bryberie, I wil not speake: but the kepynge of them for his ambicious purpose, aspyryng to ascend to the papisticall sea, was bothe great losse to his naturall Prynce, and natyue countrey; for his hidden riches might haue wel holpen the kyng, and his secrete treasure might haue releued the commonaltie, when money was scante, and importunate charges were dayly imminent.

[Hoping to obtain the Papacy, Beaufort hoarded riches which would have relieved the wants of the common-wealth.]

Act IV. sc. i.—"Alarum. Fight at Sea. Ordnance goes off." Suffolk enters as a prisoner, and is beheaded ere the scene closes. The historic date of the latter event was May 2, 1450.[2] Henry had resolved, when Suffolk's term of banishment expired, "to reuoke him home againe" (p. 269 above).

Hol. iii. 632/1/45. *Halle*, 219.] But Gods iustice would not that so vngratious a person should so escape; for, when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe ouer into France, he was incountered with a ship of warre, apperteining to the duke of Excester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower.[3] The capteine of that barke with small fight entered

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[1] *legatine*] *legantye* Halle.

[2] *Wyrc.*, 469. On April 30, 1450, Suffolk was intercepted and obliged to transfer himself to the Nicholas of the Tower. There he remained until May 2, when "he was drawyn ought of the grete shippe yn to the bote," and beheaded "by oon of the lewdeste of the shippe."—*Paston*, i. 124, 125.

[3] Suffolk's ransom is assigned by the Lieutenant to one Walter Whitmore (*Water Whickmore*, Contention, 43). The Duke starts when he hears this name, and says (ll. 33-35):

> "Thy name affrights me, in whose sound is death.
> A cunning man did calculate my birth,
> And told me that by Water I should dye": . . .

(Cp. the Spirit's prediction in 2 *Hen. VI.*, I. iv. 36.) It appears that a prophecy of Suffolk's death really met with a like unforeseen fulfilment. On May 5, 1450, William Lomner wrote thus to John Paston: "Also he [Suffolk] asked the name of the sheppe, and whanne he knew it, he remembred Stacy that seid, if he myght eschape the daunger of the Towr, he should be saffe; and thanne his herte faylyd hym, for he thowghte he was desseyvyd," . . . —*Paston*, i. 125. John Stacy, called "Astronomus," was also "magnus Necromanticus." He was associated with Thomas Burdet, a valet of George Duke of Clarence, and was executed in 1477.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 561. Suffolk was

into the dukes ship, and, perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer road, and there, on the one side of a cock bote, caused his head to be striken off, and left his bodie with the head lieng there on the sands. Which corps, being there found by a chapleine of his, was conueied to Wingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried.

The wretched death of the duke of Suffolke.

Act IV. sc. ii.—The dramatic version of the Kentishmen's rising in 1450 contains some gleanings from Holinshed's account of the villeins' revolt in 1381. A proposal to kill all the lawyers (ll. 83, 84) was not, so far as we know, made at the former date, but in 1381, when the rebels had gained strength, they

[*Hol.* iii. 430/1/65.] began to shew proofe of those things which they had before conceiued in their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices, and iurors, as they might catch, and laie hands vpon, without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience: alledging that the land could neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till all those sorts of people were dispatched out of the waie

Lawiers, iustices & iurors brought to blockham feast by the rebels.

Wat Tyler demanded from Richard II.

[*Hol.* iii. 432/1/56.] a commission to put to death all lawiers, escheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doo with the law; for his meaning was that, hauing made all those awaie that vnderstood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people.

The rebels would haue all law abolished.

Some of Cade's men bring forward "the Clarke of Chattam," [1] who has been taken "setting of boyes Copies" (l. 95). Cade sentences him to be hung "with his Pen and Inke-horne [2] about his necke." Holinshed says that in 1381 the rebels obliged

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committed to the Tower on January 28, 1450 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 177/1); before which time he had asked "of on that was an astronomer, what sholde falle of him, and how he sholde ende his lif; and whanne the said astronomer hadde labourid therfore in his said craft, he ansuerde to the duke and said that he sholde die a shameful deth, and counselid him alwey to be war of the tour; wherfor be instaunce of lordis that were his frendis, he was sone delyuerid out of the said tour of Londoun."—*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 69.

[1] *Chattam*] Q1. *Chartam* F1. Chartham is 2½ miles S.W. of Canterbury. —*Bartholomew.* A "parishe Clearke" of "Chetham" figures in a legend of our Lady of Chatham, told in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (repr. 1826, p. 324).

[2] *Pen and Inke-horne*] F1. *penny-inckhorne* Q1. Cp. "penner *and* inke-horne" in excerpt from *Hol.* In 1381 the rebels, "if they found any to haue pen and inke, they pulled off his hoode, and all with one voice of crying, 'Hale him out, and cut off his head.'"—*Stow*, 453.

[Grammar-teaching forbidden.] *Anno Reg.* 5. [It was dangerous to bear a pen-case and inkhorn.]

[*Hol.* iii. 436/1/9.] teachers of children in grammar schooles[1] to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art. . . . it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side: for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life.

Cade thus animates his followers to encounter the Staffords (ll. 193, 194):

> Now shew your selues men, 'tis for Liberty!
> We will not leaue one Lord, one Gentleman: . . .

In June, 1381, John Ball exhorted the people assembled at Blackheath

[*Hol.* iii. 437/1/73.] to consider that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might (if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that, after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof such euill weeds as choke and destroie the good corne, they might destroie first the great lords[2] of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, questmoongers, and all other whom they vndertooke to be against the commons; for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselues in time to come, if, dispatching out of the waie the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

[Great lords and lawyers should be destroyed that equality might be secured.]

Act IV. sc. iii.—"Alarums to the fight, wherein both the Staffords are slaine. Enter Cade and the rest." The historic date of this fight

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[1] Cade to Lord Say (2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. vii. 35-37): "Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the Realme, in erecting a Grammar Schoole."

[2] Ball was wont to say: "A, good people, matters go not wel to passe in England in these dayes, nor shall not do vntill euery thing be common, and that there be no Villeynes nor gentlemen, . . . We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eue."—*Grafton*, i. 417. 418. His theme when preaching at Blackheath was:

> "When Adam delu'd, and Eue span
> Who was then a gentleman?"—*Hol.*, iii. 437/1/63.

Cp. John Holland's assertion (2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. ii. 9, 10): "Well, I say it was neuer merrie world in England since Gentlemen came vp." Cp. also Cade's retort to Sir Humphrey Stafford (IV. ii. 142): "And Adam was a Gardiner."

was June 18, 1450.[1] Cade declined an engagement with a large force which had been collected to oppose him, and retired from Blackheath.[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 634/1/51. *Halle*, 220.] The queene (that bare rule), being of his retrait aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceiued, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. *The Staffords slaine at Senocke by Iack Cade.*

Cade's words—"This Monument of the victory will I beare"[3] (l. 12)—are explained by the ensuing quotation:

[*Hol.* iii. 634/1/69. *Halle*, 220.] Iacke Cade, vpon victorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfreies brigandine set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London: diuerse idle and vagarant persons, out of Sussex, Surreie and other places, still increasing his number. [Cade apparelled himself in Sir H. Stafford's brigandine.]

Just before the Kentishmen set forth on their march to London, Dick Butcher says (ll. 17, 18): "If we meane to thriue, and do good, breake open the Gaoles, and let out the Prisoners" In July, 1450, after his repulse from London Bridge (see p. 280 below), Cade,

[*Hol.* iii. 635/1/41. *Halle*, 222.] for making him more friends, brake vp the gailes of the kings Bench and Marshalsie;[4] and so were manie mates set at libertie verie meet for his matters in hand. [Cade broke open the gaols.]

Act IV. sc. iv.—As this scene opens the King enters "with a Supplication"; and soon afterwards Buckingham asks (ll. 7, 8): "What answer makes your Grace to the Rebells Supplication?"[5] Early in June, 1450, Cade—who was then encamped on Blackheath—

[*Hol.* iii. 632/2/73. *Halle*, 220.] sent vnto the king an humble supplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, [*p.* 633] but against such of his councellours, as were louers of [Cade's supplication.]

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[1] The date of Sir Humphrey Stafford's death given in the Inquisition *post mortem*, 28 Hen. VI., No. 7. (*Paston*, I. p. lii. note 3.)

[2] *Wyrc.*, 470. *Greg.*, 191.

[3] *This . . . beare*] 2 Hen. VI. om. Contention.

[4] In 1381 also the rebels "brake vp the prisons of the Marshalsea, & the Kings bench, set the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their companie."—*Hol.* 430/2/53. "They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroied the books, and set prisoners at libertie."—*Hol.* iii. 431/2/43.

[5] *Enter the King reading of a Letter*] Contention. From it he learns that the Staffords have been slain, and that the rebels are marching to London. The question, "What . . . Supplication," is not in *Contention*.

themselues, and oppressors of the poore commonaltie; flatterers of the king, and enimies to his honor; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiects; parciall to their freends, and extreame to their enimies; thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferencie dooing nothing.

A messenger announces that Cade is master of Southwark (l. 27). Buckingham counsels Henry's retirement "to Killingworth," until a power can be raised for putting down the rebels (ll. 39, 40). As the scene closes the King goes out to take horse and away thither. The historical order of events was as follows: disregarding the rebels' supplication, Henry marched against them. Cade retreated, and, on the day of Henry's arrival at Blackheath, the Staffords—who had advanced in pursuit of the rebels—were overthrown. (June 18, see pp. 272, 273 above.) The King then returned to London, and subsequently went to Kenilworth. His army broke up.[1] On or about June 29,[2] Cade

[Ambassadors from Henry sent to Cade.]

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/2. *Halle*, 220.] came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe; to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfreie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his greefes and requests.

[Cade demanded a personal conference with Henry.]

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The K., vpon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, begining asmuch to doubt his owne meniall seruants, as his vnknowen subiects, (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-wealth,) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine, being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robberie; by which colour of well meaning he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

[Henry retired to Kenilworth, leaving Lord Scales to defend the Tower.]

[Cade entered Southwark, and lodged at the White Hart.]

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[1] *Fab.*, 622, 623. *Wyrc.*, 470.

[2] "the xxix. daye of Iuny."—*Fab.*, 623. "after seint Petres day."—*Chron. Lond.*, 136.

Act IV. sc. v.—"Enter Lord Scales vpon the Tower, walking. Then enters two or three Citizens below." Lord Scales asks (l. 1): "How now! Is Iacke Cade slaine?" The 1st Citizen answers: "No, my Lord, nor likely to be slaine; for they haue wonne the Bridge,[1] killing all those that withstand them: the L. Maior craues ayd of your Honor from the Tower to defend the City from the Rebels." Lord Scales replies:

> Such ayd as I can spare you shall command; . . . 7
> But get you to Smithfield, and gather head, 10
> And thither will I send you Matthew Goffe; . . .

The 1st Citizen cannot be supposed to speak of the fight for the possession of London Bridge, on July 5, 1450 (see p. 280 below). No resistance was offered to Cade when he crossed London Bridge and entered the City on July 2 or 3.[2] But his robbery of two householders —one of whom was an alderman—alarmed the wealthier Londoners, and on July 4[3]

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/62. *Halle*, 221.] the maior and other the magistrates of London perceiuing themselues neither to be sure of goods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous caitife and his wicked companie. And, to be the better able so to doo, they made the lord Scales, and that renowmed capteine Matthew * Gough, priuie both of their intent and enterprise; beseeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, . . .

[The mayor, having resolved to keep Cade out of the city, asked Lord Scales's help.]

* *Or rather Goche.*

[Lord Scales promised his aid, and appointed Matthew Gough to assist the Londoners.]

Act IV. sc. vi.—Cade enters with "the rest." He "strikes his

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[1] In IV. iv. 49, this news is brought to Henry by a second messenger, who adds:

> "The Rascall people, thirsting after prey,
> Ioyne with the Traitor"; . . .

Cade committed two robberies in London. At the first "were present many poore men of the Cytie, whiche at suche tymes been euer redy in all places to do harme, where suche Riottes been done."—*Fab.*, 624. As a consequence of these robberies, "the porayll and nedy people drewe vnto hym, & were parteners of y^t^ Ille."—*Ibid.*

[2] According to *Greg.* (191) Cade entered the City on "Fryday [July 3] a gayn evyn." *Fab.* says (623, 624) that Cade entered on July 2, in the "afternoone, aboute .v. of y^e^ Clok."

[3] The citizens' resolve to exclude Cade, and the Mayor's communication with Lord Scales, are recorded by *Fab.* (625) after the account of Cade's second robbery, on July 4, and before July 5, when London Bridge was defended against him.

staffe on London stone" ; and cries : "*Now is Mortimer Lord of this City !*" On July 2 or 3, Cade

[Cade at London Stone.]

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/25. *Halle*, 221.] entred into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & strooke his sword on London stone ; saieng : "*Now is Mortimer lord of this citie !*"

Seated on London Stone, Cade declares (ll. 5-7) that "henceforward it shall be Treason for any that calles me other then Lord Mortimer." Whereupon a soldier enters "running," and crying, "Iacke Cade ! Iacke Cade !" Cade says : "Knocke him downe there !" The soldier is killed ; and one of the rebels (*Smith* mod. edd.) observes : "If this Fellow be wise, hee'l neuer call yee Iacke Cade more : I thinke he hath a very faire warning." The incident was probably suggested by a tradition that Cade put to death some

[Cade killed those who knew that he was not a Mortimer.]

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/59. *Halle*, 221.] of his old acquaintance, lest they should bewraie his base linage, disparaging him for his vsurped surname of Mortimer.

Fabyan gives precise details (624) :

[Bayly was beheaded lest he should reveal Cade's base lineage.]

And the same tyme [July 4][1] was there also behedyd an other man, called Baylly ; the cause of whose dethe was this, as I haue herde some men reporte. This [*Then* ed. 1516] Baylly was of the famylyer & olde acquayntaunce of Iak Cade, wherfore, so soon as he espyed hym commynge to hym warde, he cast in his mynde that he wolde dyscouer his lyuynge & olde maners, and shewe of his vyle kynne and lynage.

Act IV. sc. vii.—"Alarums. Mathew Goffe is slain, and all the rest. Then enter Iacke Cade, with his Company." The dramatic locality of this scene is Smithfield (cp. IV. vi. 13-15). But the historical conflict in which Matthew Gough fell was waged on London Bridge. The citizens, having determined to resist Cade (see p. 275 above),

[*Hol.* iii. 635/ᵛ/1. *Halle*, 221.] tooke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approch. The rebels, who neuer soundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betweene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

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[1] The date of Lord Say's decapitation (see p. 278, n. 3 below) was also that on which Bayly was beheaded, according to *Wyrc.* (471), *Greg.* (192), and *Fab.* (624).

Matthew * Gough, perceiuing the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue doone, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of ieopardie rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue back the citizens from the stoops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. . . . Yet the capteins, not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but, in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie; and slue Iohn Sutton alderman, and Robert[1] Heisand, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew * Gough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

** Or rather Goche.*

The skirmish betweene the citizens and the rebels vpon London bridge.

Matthew Goche, famous for his acts abroad, now slaine on Lōdō bridge.

After Matthew Gough's defeat, Cade says (ll. 1-3): "So, sirs: now go some and pull down the Sauoy; others to th'Innes of Court; downe with them all!" Here is a dramatic postdating of what happened in the villeins' revolt. On June 13, 1381,[2] they went to John of Gaunt's

[*Hol.* iii. 431/1/18.] house of the Sauoie, to the which, in beautie and statelinesse of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable; which, in despite of the duke, (whom they called traitor,) they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured vtterlie to destroie it. . . .

The Sauoie, the duke of Lancasters house, burnt by the rebels.

Now after that these wicked people had thus destroied the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch, they went to the temple; and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

Addressing Cade, Dick Butcher says (ll. 4; 7, 8): "I haue a suite vnto your Lordship. . . . *that the Lawes of England* may *come* out *of* your *mouth.*" Cade answers: "I haue thought vpon it, it shall bee so. Away, *burne all* the *Records* of the Realme! my mouth shall be the Parliament of England." On June 14, 1381, Wat Tyler, it is alleged,[3] boasted,

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[1] Roger (*Fab.*, 625). [2] *Wals.*, i. 456. [3] *Wals.*, i. 463, 464.

[The laws of England from Wat Tyler's mouth.]

[*Hol.* iii. 432/1/63.] putting his hands to his lips, *that* within foure daies all *the lawes of England* should *come* foorth *of* his *mouth.*

To illustrate Cade's order I quote an assertion that, in 1381,

The next way to extinguish light.

[All records burnt.]

[*Hol.* iii. 430/1/73.] the common vplandish people, . . . purposed to *burne* and destroie *all records,* euidences, court-rolles, and other muniments, that, the remembrance of ancient matters being remooued out of mind, their landlords might not haue whereby to chalenge anie right at their hands.

Touching this policy, Holinshed asks if they could

[Records destroyed and remembrancers slain.]

[*Hol.* iii. 436/1/11.] haue a more mischeefous meaning, than to burne and destroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murther and dispatch out of the waie all such as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records?[1]

A messenger announces the capture of Lord Say (ll. 23-25); "which sold the Townes in France" (l. 23). The Commons in the Parliament of 1450 charged with being principal parties to the cession of Anjou and Maine

[Lord Say a party to the cession of Anjou and Maine.]

[*Hol.* iii. 632/1/31.] the duke of Suffolke, with William[2] bishop of Salisburie, and sir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others.

The same messenger also speaks of Lord Say as having "made vs pay one and twenty *Fifteenes,* and one shilling to the pound, the last Subsidie." Cade induced the Kentishmen to rebel by pointing out that,

[*Hol.* iii. 632/2/14. *Halle,* 220.] if either by force or policie they might get the king and queene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourablie vsed, and take such order for the

[Abolition of Fifteens.]

punishing and reforming of the misdemeanours of their bad councellours, that neither *fifteens* should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of.

Lord Say's murder is thus related: on July 4,[3] 1450, Cade

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/31. *Halle,* 221.] caused sir Iames Fines, lord

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[1] "at Westminster . . . they brake open the eschequer, and destroied the ancient bookes and other records there, dooing what they could to suppresse law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right."—*Hol.* iii. 431/2/47.

[2] *William*] *Iohn* Hol.

[3] The inscription on Lord Say's gravestone recorded that he died on July 4, 1450.—Register of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in the Church of the Grey Friars, London (Nichols's *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,* v. 279).

Saie, and treasuror of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arreigned; who, being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peeres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine, perceiuing his dilatorie plee, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie *borne before* him *thorough the streets.*

The lord Saie beheaded at the stãdard in Cheap.

Cade bids the executioners strike off Lord Say's "head presently; and then breake into his Sonne in Lawes house, Sir Iames Cromer, and strike off his head, and bring them both vppon two poles hither." On the re-entry of "one with the heads," Cade gives a further order (ll. 138-140; 143-145): "Let them kisse one another, for they lou'd well when they were aliue. . . . with these *borne before* vs, in steed of Maces, will we ride *through the streets,* & at euery Corner haue them kisse." Cade afterwards

[*Hol.* iii. 634/2/42. *Halle,* 221.] went to Mile end, and there apprehended sir Iames Cromer, then shiriffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie; causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole; and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie street to kisse togither, to the great detestation of all the beholders.

[Sir James Cromer beheaded.]

[The heads of Lord Say and Sir James Cromer made to kiss.]

Act IV. sc. viii.—The Entry runs thus: "Alarum, and Retreat. Enter againe Cade, and all his rabblement." Cade cries: "Vp Fish-streete! downe Saint Magnes corner! Kill and knocke downe! throw them into Thames!"[1] These orders are succeeded by "a parley," which announces the entrance of Buckingham and old Clifford. Their offer of pardon makes the Kentishmen waver; and, in recalling his followers to obedience, Cade asks (ll. 23-26): "Hath my sword therefore broke through London gates, that you should leaue me at the White-heart (*sic*) in Southwarke?"[2] Comparison with the next excerpt might warrant a supposition that, when this scene opens, the Londoners

[1] In defending London Bridge "many a man was drowned and slayne."—*Fab.*, 625. "many a man was slayne and caste in Temys, harnys, body, and alle."—*Greg.*, 193. According to *Fab.* (625) the battle was confined to a space not much exceeding the northern end of the central draw-bridge and the "Bulwerke at the Brydgefote" (the stoops in Southwark, I presume). That the rebels penetrated to St. Magnus's corner rests on *Halle's* authority (222).

[2] These lines (*Hath . . . Southwarke?*) and the preceding quotation (*Alarum . . . Thames!*) are not in the *Contention.* Cade "lodged at the white hart." See p. 274 above.

are being "beaten backe to Saint Magnus corner"; but that they have rallied, and driven the rebels "to the stoops in Southwarke," before Cade complains of being left at the White Hart. As however no interval occurs during which the rebels could have been repulsed, Mr. Daniel's stricture (*T-A.*, 312) that—the combatants "seem to be on both sides of the river at one time"—is unanswerable. Waiving this difficulty we may assume that ll. 1-3 dramatize the battle which, beginning at 10 o'clock in the evening of Sunday, July 5, 1450,[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 635/1/32. *Halle*, 222.] indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for somtime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Magnus corner: and suddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the stoops in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London.

[The battle sways from St. Magnus's corner to the stoops in Southwark.]

A staie by assent.

Buckingham thus discharges the commission entrusted to him and old Clifford (ll. 7-10):

> Know, Cade, we come Ambassadors from the King
> Vnto the Commons, whom thou hast misled;
> And heere pronounce free pardon to them all,
> That will forsake thee, and go home in peace.

Holinshed took from Halle (222) the ensuing account of the rebels' dispersal.

[*Hol.* iii. 635/1/45.] The archbishop of Canturburie,[2] being chancellor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haliwell. These two prelats, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke; bringing with them, vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendors, and caused the same to be openlie published.

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[1] On the "evyn" of July 5 "Londyn dyd a rysse and cam owte uppon hem [the Kentishmen] at x [of] the belle, beyng that tyme hyr captaynys the goode olde lorde Schalys and Mathewe Goughe. And from that tyme unto the morowe viij of belle they were ever fyghtynge uppon London Brygge."—*Greg.*, 193. *Wyrc.* (471), *Fab.* (625), and *Chron. Lond.* (136), agree that the conflict began on the night of July 5.

[2] John Kempe, then Archbishop of York, was Chancellor in July, 1450. He received the Great Seal on January 31, 1450 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 172/1), and retained it till his death in March, 1454 (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 240/2). The Bishop of Winchester was William of Waynflete.

The poore people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receiue it, that, without bidding farewell to their capteine, they withdrew themselues the same night euerie man towards his home. *Proclamatiõ of pardon dispersed the rebels.*

Deserted, and fearing treachery from his former adherents, Cade runs away. Buckingham exclaims (ll. 68-70):

> What, is he fled? Go some, and follow him;
> And he that brings his head vnto the King,
> Shall haue a thousand Crownes for his reward!

After relating the dispersal of the rebels,—"euerie man towards his home,"—Holinshed continues:

[*Hol.* iii. 635/1/59.] But Iacke Cade, despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he, disguised in strange attire, priuilie fled into the wood countrie beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capteine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that, whosoeuer could take the foresaid capteine aliue or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. *Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 661, 662, in Quart.* [Cade's flight.] [1000 marks offered for him.]

Act IV. sc. ix.—"Multitudes" of the rebels enter "with Halters about their Neckes." Old Clifford tells Henry that they yield;

> And humbly thus, with halters on their neckes,
> Expect your Highnesse doome, of life or death. 12

Henry ends a gentle speech to them by saying (ll. 20, 21):

> And so, with thankes and pardon to you all,
> I do dismisse you to your seuerall Countries.

It was not until after Cade's death—dramatized in the next scene—that

[*Hol.* iii. 635/2/71. *Halle*, 222.] the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offendors;[1] and, if he had not mingled his iustice with mercy, more than fiue hundred by rigor of law had beene iustlie put to [*p.* 636] execution. Yet [Henry sat in judgment upon the rebels.]

[1] On August 17, 1450, the Archbishop of York and the Duke of Buckingham went to Rochester to try the Kentish rebels.—*Paston*, i. 139.

[Most of them were pardoned.]

he, punishing onelie the stubborne heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioising of all his subiects.

A messenger enters, and, addressing Henry, says (ll. 23-30):

> Please it your Grace to be aduértisëd,
> The Duke of Yorke is newly come from Ireland,
> And, with a puissant and a mighty power
> Of Gallow-glasses and stout Kernes,[1]
> Is marching hitherward in proud array;
> And still proclaimeth, as he comes along,
> His Armes are onely to remoue from thee
> The Duke of Somerset, whom he tearmes a Traitor.

York did not take up arms for the purpose here announced until some time had elapsed after his return from Ireland. I give the following excerpt as an illustration of the messenger's news; premising that, by "this yeare," the year 1451 is meant. The date of York's return was September, 1450.[2]

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[1] In 2 *Hen. VI.*, Act V. opens with this stage direction: "Enter Yorke, and his Army of Irish, with Drum and Colours." *The Contention* has: "Enter the Duke of Yorke with Drum and souldiers"; preceding l. 1, spoken by York: "In Armes from Ireland comes Yorke amaine." The messenger's speech (IV. ix. 23 30) is not in *Contention*. When, in October, 1459, a temporary Lancastrian success caused York's flight to Ireland, "he was with all ioy and honour gladlie receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had beene his liege subiects, and he their lord and prince naturallie borne."—*Hol.* iii. 650/2/23. This passage may have been the source of York's "Army of Irish"; composed of "Gallow-glasses" and "Kernes." Cp. also the excerpt at p. 248 above, where his beneficial government of Ireland is recorded.

[2] In the beginning of September ("in Principio mensis Septembris"), 1450, Henry received news of York's sudden arrival in Wales.—*Wyrc.*, 473. *Chron. Lond.* has a notice of the Kentish rebellion and Cade's death, which is succeeded by the following passage (136, 137): "And after, in the same yere, Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke came out of Irland unto Westm', with roial people, lowely bisechyng the kyng that justice and execucion of his lawes myght be hadde upon alle such persones about him and in al his realme, frome the highest degree unto the lowist, as were long tyme noisid and detectid of high treason ageinst his persone and the wele of his realme, offring hymself therto, and his service at the kings comaundement, to spend bothe his body and goodes: and yet it might not be perfourmed." The attainder of York by the Lancastrian Parliament which met at Coventry in November 1459 contains this article: "First, he [York] beyng in Irland, by youre graunte youre Lieutenaunt there, at which tyme John Cade, otherwise called Jakke Cade youre grete Traitour, made a grete insurrection ayenst youre Highnes in youre Shire of Kent, to what entent, and for whome it was after confessed by some of hem his adherentes whan they shuld dye, that is to sey, to have exalted the seid Duc, ayenst all reason, lawe and trouth, to the estate that God and nature hath ordeyned you and youre succession to be born to. And within short tyme after, he comme oute of Ireland with grete bobaunce and inordinate people, to youre Paleis of Westmynster unto youre presence," . . .—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 346/1. Moreover, we learn from *Rot. Parl.*, v. 211/2 that, on September 22, 1450,

[*Hol.* iii. 637/1/50. *Halle*, 225.] The duke of Yorke, pretending (as yee haue heard) a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland vnto London, in the parlement time,[1] there to consult with his speciall freends: as Iohn duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard, his sonne, (which after was earle of Warwike,) Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, & Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise taken, it was thought expedient to keepe their cheefe purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an armie of men, vnder a pretext to remooue diuerse councellors about the king, and to reuenge the manifest iniuries doone to the common-wealth by the same rulers. Of the which, as principall, the duke of Summerset was namelie accused, both for that he was greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Normandie; and for that it was well knowne, that he would be altogither against the duke of Yorke in his chalenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne; . . .

The duke of Yorke maketh claime to the crowne. [He came from Ireland to consult his friends.]

[It was resolved that York should raise an army, under pretext of removing divers counsellors about the King, chief among whom was Somerset.]

Act IV. sc. x.—Cade climbs into a garden belonging to "*Alexander Iden*, an *Esquire of Kent*" (l. 46); whom he challenges to mortal combat, and by whom he is slain. Iden resolves to bear Cade's head "in triumph to the King," leaving the "trunke for Crowes to feed vpon" (ll. 89, 90).

Cade was slain before July 15, 1450.[2] Halle's account[3] (222) is that, when the Kentishmen withdrew to their homes, Cade,

desperate of succors, whiche by the frendes of the duke of Yorke

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William Tresham, being then at Sywell, Northamptonshire, was "purposyng by the writyng direct unto hym of the right high and myghty Prince, the Duke of York, to ride on the morowe for to mete and speke with the seid Duke"; . . .

[1] Parliament was opened at Westminster on November 6, 1450.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 210/1. York returned before this date. See foregoing note.

[2] The date of an order to pay Iden 1000 marks for Cade's head.—*Rymer*, xi. 275. Cade was slain on July 12 (*Greg.*, 194), or on July 13 (*Three Chronicles, S. E. C.*, 68). In *Rot. Parl.* (v. 224/2) the latest date assigned to his movements is July 11.

[3] On comparing the excerpt in my text with *Hol.'s* account—derived from *Stow* (647)—the reader will observe that the latter is less like the dramatic version. After a reward had been offered for Cade, "a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Eden, awaited so his time, that he tooke the said Cade in a garden in Sussex: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield [Heathfield, Sussex], and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places to be set vp in the shire of Kent."—*Hol.* iii. 635/2/64.

[Cade betook himself in disguise to Sussex.]

[A thousand marks offered for his apprehension.]

[He was found in a garden, and slain by Alexander Iden.]

The miserable ende of Iacke Cade.

wer to him promised, and seing his company thus without hys knowledge sodainly depart, mistrustyng the sequele of y^e^ matter, departed secretly, in habite disguysed, into Sussex: but all hys metamorphosis or transfiguracion little preuailed. For, after a Proclamacion made that whosoeuer could apprehende the saied Iac Cade should haue for his pain a M. markes, many sought for hym, but few espied hym, til one *Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent,* found hym in a garden, and there in hys defence manfully slewe the caitife Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on London bridge.

Act V. sc. i.—Buckingham and Somerset were present when Henry learnt that York was in arms for the purpose of removing Somerset from the royal counsels. Hoping to disappoint York's enmity, the King said (IV. iv. 36-40):

> I pray thee, Buckingham,[1] go and meete him,
> And aske him what's the reason of these Armes.
> Tell him Ile send Duke Edmund to the Tower;—
> And, Somerset, we will commit thee thither,
> Vntill his Army be dismist from him.

Buckingham now enters, and, in return to York's question (V. i. 16),

> Art thou a Messenger, or come of pleasure?

answers:

> A Messenger from Henry, our dread Liege,
> To know the reason of these Armes in peace; . . .

York explains:

> The cause why I haue brought this Armie hither,
> Is to remoue proud Somerset from the King, 36
> Seditious to his Grace and to the State. . . .

Buckingham replies:

> The King hath yeelded vnto thy demand: 40
> The Duke of Somerset is in the Tower. . . .

York responds:

> Then, Buckingham, I do dismisse my Powres. . . . 44
> And let my Soueraigne, vertuous Henry, 48
> Command my eldest sonne, nay, all my sonnes,
> As pledges of my Fealtie and Loue;
> Ile send them all as willing as I liue:

[1] In May, 1455, "the king, when first he heard of the duke of Yorks approch [to St. Albans], sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderstand what he meant by his comming thus in maner of warre."—*Hol.* iii. 643/1/34.

Lands, Goods, Horse, Armor, any thing I haue, 52
Is his to vse, so Somerset may die.

Though many months had elapsed since York's return from Ireland in September, 1450, Somerset's control of the state was undiminished. York therefore determined to effect a change by force, and soon after February 3, 1452,[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 637/2/5. *Halle,* 225.] he assembled a great hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause of this his gathering of people was for the publike wealth of the realme. The king, much astonied at the matter, by aduise of his councell raised a great power, and marched forward toward the duke. But he, being thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which by espials he vnderstood that the king held, and made streight toward London; and, hauing knowledge that he might not be suffered to passe through the citie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he had both freends & well-willers, and there on Burnt heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his armie with all diligence vnto Blackeheath, and there pight his tents.

Whethāsted.

The duke of Yorke raiseth a power, for recouerie of his right to the crowne.

[York embattled near Dartford, Henry at Blackheath.]

Whilest both these armies laie thus imbattelled, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Elie, Richard Wooduile, lord Riuers, and Richard Andrew, the keeper of his priuie seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the requests of the duke and his companie seemed consonant to reason. The duke, hearing the message of the bishops, answered: that his comming was neither to damnifie the king in honour, nor in person, neither yet anie good man; but his intent was, to remooue from him

Whethamsted.

[Henry sent an embassy to ask the cause of York's appearance in arms.]

The dukes answer to the kings mesage.

[1] A letter from York, addressed to the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commons of Shrewsbury, and written at Ludlow Castle on February 3, 1452, contains these words: "I signify unto you that . . . I, after long sufferance and delays, [though it be] not my will or intent to displease my sovereign Lord, seeing that the said Duke [of Somerset] ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends"; . . .—*Ellis,* I. i. 12, 13.

certeine cuill disposed persons of his councell, bloud-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Amongst these, he cheeflie named Edmund duke of Summerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answer such articles as against him in open parlement should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onelie to dissolue his armie, but also offered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the kings presence, and to doo him true and faithfull seruice, according to his loiall and bounden dutie.

[York offered to disband his army if Somerset were committed to ward.]

Henry apparently accepted this condition, and

[*Hol.* iii. 639/1/23. *Halle*, 226.] it was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and pacifieng of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summerset was committed to ward, as some say; or else commanded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house for a time.

[Somerset committed to ward.]

Satisfied with the result he had obtained,

[*Hol.* iii. 639/1/46. *Halle*, 226.] the duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolued his armie, [and] brake vp his campe, . . .

[York's army dissolved.]

His embassy having been successful, Buckingham says (ll. 54, 55):

> Yorke, I commend this kinde submissiön:
> We twaine will go into his Highnesse Tent.

Henry then enters and receives York's excuse, but shortly afterwards Somerset comes forward with Queen Margaret. Her responsibility for Somerset's liberation in 1455 is asserted by Fabyan (628), from whom we learn that

[Somerset released by the Queen.]

all contrary the Kynges promyse, by meanys of the Quene,[1] which than bare y^e^ cure & charge of the Lande, the Duke of somerset

[1] In December, 1453, Somerset was "sent to the Tower of London"; Henry being then in a state of mental imbecility. "But, when the king was amended againe [Christmas, 1454.—*Paston*, i. 315], and resumed to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the queenes procurement, the duke of Summerset was set at libertie; by which doing great enuie and displeasure grew."—*Hol.* iii. 642/1/19, 41. *Halle*, 232. (Comparison of *Rot. Parl.*, v. 248/2, *Rymer*, xi. 361, 362, and *Wyrc.*, 477, shows that Somerset was sent to the Tower in 1453, not in 1454; the date under which this proceeding is recorded by *Halle* and *Hol.*) Somerset was in the Tower for more than a year and ten weeks prior to Feb. 7, 1455.—*Rymer*, xi. 362.

was set at large, . . . and had as great rule about the Kyng as he before dayes had; . . .

Enraged at this treachery, York unbosoms himself (l. 87, &c.):

> How now! is Somerset at libertie? . . .
> False King! why hast thou broken faith with me,
> Knowing how hardly I can brooke abuse? . . . 92
> Heere is a hand to hold a Sceptre vp
> And with the same to acte controlling Lawes:
> Giue place! by heauen thou shalt rule no more 104
> O're him whom heauen created for thy Ruler!

Somerset exclaims (ll. 106, 107):

> O monstrous Traitor! I arrest thee, Yorke,
> Of Capitall Treason 'gainst the King and Crowne: . . .

The historical authority has not been far overstepped here. After York "brake vp his campe," he

The duke of Yorke accuseth the duke of Sūmerset.

A mutual charge between ye two dukes, Yorke and Summerset, of hie treason.

[*Hol.* iii. 639/1/47. *Halle*, 226.] came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summerset going at large and set at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accused of treason, briberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summerset not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason; affirming, that he with his fautors and complices had consulted togither, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme.

Threatened with arrest by Somerset, York turns to an attendant and says (ll. 111-113):

> Sirrah, call in my sonne[s] to be my bale:
> I know, ere they will haue me go to Ward,
> They'l pawne their swords for[1] my infranchisement.

The message quickly brings Edward and Richard Plantagenet to their father's assistance. The historical Richard was unborn at the date (March 1)[2] of this part of sc. i., Act V.; but there is warrant for Edward's intervention on York's behalf. York found himself a prisoner when his army was disbanded, and, even if his life were not imperilled, he ran some risk of a long and close detention. He was obliged to return with Henry to London, where the government held debate as to what should he done with their formidable captive.[3]

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[1] *for*] F2. *of* F1.

[2] Richard was born on October 2, 1452.—*Wyrc.*, 477. Edward was born in April, 1442.—*Wyrc.*, 462.

[3] *Fab.*, 627. *Chron. Lond.*, 138.

1452

[A rumour that Edward Earl of March was coming with an army to London.]

[*Hol.* iii. 639/2/17. *Halle*, 227.] Whilest the councell treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumor sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings sore appalled the queene and the whole councell.

York therefore was set free, after taking an oath of allegiance to Henry.[1]

In the play York has a more commanding position. His part is taken by his "two braue Beares," Salisbury and Warwick, whom he calls for when Margaret's summons brings the Cliffords to Henry's aid. A sketch of York's policy in the year 1454 records his leaning toward the Nevilles:

The duke of Yorke seeks the destructiõ of the duke of Summerset.

[*Hol.* iii. 641/2/56. *Halle*, 231.] The duke of Yorke (aboue all things) first sought means how to stir vp the malice of the people against the duke of Summerset; imagining that, he being made awaie, his purpose should the sooner take effect. He also practised to bring the king into the hatred of the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the gouernment of a realme, wanting both wit and stomach sufficient to supplie such a roome. Manie of the high estates, not liking the world, and disalowing the dooings both of the king and his councell, were faine inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well vnderstanding, chiefelie sought the fauour of the two Neuils; both named Richard, one earle of Salisburie, the other earle of Warwike, the first being the father, and the second the sonne.

He banded himselfe with the Neuils.

When the Nevilles enter (l. 147), old Clifford tauntingly asks York, "Are these thy Beares?" In an altercation with Clifford, Warwick exclaims (ll. 202, 203):

> Now, by my Fathers badge, old Neuils Crest,
> The rampant Beare chain'd to the ragged staffe, . . .

Warwick assumed, but did not inherit, the badge of the bear and ragged staff. He acquired a claim to it through his marriage with Anne de Beauchamp, sister of Henry de Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick (see p. 245, n. 1 above).

Act V. scc. ii., iii.—The first battle of St. Albans—fought on May

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[1] The oath is recited in the Act of Attainder passed against York by a Parliament which met at Coventry on November 20, 1459.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 346/2.

22, 1455 [1]—is dramatized in scenes ii. and iii., Act V. As at Dartford in 1452, so at St. Albans in 1455, the Dukes of York and Somerset met to try the fortune of war; but at St. Albans their rivalry ended with the defeat and death of Edmund Beaufort. These scenes contain no historic matter save the bare fact that Somerset and Thomas Lord Clifford [2] (old Clifford) are killed. The former falls by the sword of the dramatic Richard, who thus taunts the slain man (ll. 66-69):

> So, lye thou there;
> For vnderneath an Ale-house' paltry signe,
> The Castle in S. Albons, Somerset
> Hath made the Wizard famous in his death.

Halle, speaking of the Lancastrian losses at St. Albans, reported a story (233) which I quote from Holinshed:

The duke of Summerset slaine.

[*Hol.* iii. 643/2/9. *Halle*, 233.] For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Edmund duke of Summerset, who (as hath beene reported) was warned long before to auoid all castels:[3] . . .

XI. HENRY VI. PART III.

BETWEEN *The third Part of Henry the Sixt*,—a recast of *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*,—and the Second part, there is a dramatic interval sufficient for a rapid march from St. Albans to London, after the battle at the former place. But the historic time of the Third Part begins on October 24, 1460,—when York was declared heir apparent,—and closes with the death of Henry VI. on May 21, 1471.

Act I. sc. i.—The Yorkists enter and boast of their victory. "Lord

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[1] *Paston*, i. 327. A full account of the battle follows.

[2] Among those slain at St. Albans, *Stow* (661) specifies "the olde Lord Clifforde." ("olde" first appears in the ed. of 1592, p. 651.) Lord Clifford is not, I believe, called "old" in any other chronicle printed before the date of this play; and he is not thus distinguished from his son in the *Contention*. In 2 *Hen. VI.* we find "*old Clifford*" (Entry, IV. viii. 5), and "*Old Clif.*" is prefixed to several speeches in V. i. His son is "young Clifford" in the *Contention* and 2 *Hen. VI.* The son's name does not appear in a contemporary list (*Paston*, i. 332, 333) of the chief persons present at the battle of St. Albans, and I do not know of any book or MS. which records that he was there.

[3] "Thys sayde Edmond duke of Somerset had herde a fantastyk prophecy that he shuld dy vndre a castelle; wherefore in as meche as in him was, he lete the kyng that he sholde nat come in the castelle of Wyndsore, dredyng the seyde prophecy; but at Seynt Albonys ther was an hostry hauyng the sygne of a castelle, and before that hostry he was slayne."—*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 72.

Clifford[1] and Lord Stafford" charged the Yorkists' "maine Battailes Front," and were slain by "common Souldiers." Buckingham was "either slaine or wounded dangerous" by Edward; and Warwick's brother, John Neville, afterwards Marquess Montague,[2] shows "the Earle of Wiltshires blood" (ll. 7-15). These particulars are dramatic additions to a simple record that, on the battle-field of St. Albans,

[The slain at St. Albans.]

Thomas lord Clifford, saith Whethamsted.

[*Hol.* iii. 643/2/12. *Halle*, 233.] laie Henrie, the second of that name, earle of Northumberland; Humfrie earle of Stafford, sonne to the duke of Buckingham; Thomas[3] lord Clifford; . . .

[Fugitives from St. Albans.]

Humfreie, duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and Iames Butler, earle of Ormond and Wilshire, . . . seeing fortune thus against them, left the king alone, and with a number fled awaie.

Henry's flight after the battle of St. Albans (ll. 1-3) is fictitious. He remained in the town, and there accepted the excuses of York, who, on the following day, escorted him to London.[4] Parliament met at Westminster on July 9, 1455, and, after passing an Act of indemnity for York and his associates, was adjourned until November 12. On November 19, 1455, York was appointed Protector, Henry having during the adjournment again become imbecile. Early in the year 1456 the King recovered, and on February 25 York's Protectorate was cancelled.[5] On March 25, 1458, in pursuance of an award made by Henry, York, Salisbury and Warwick were formally reconciled to the sons of those nobles who had been slain at St. Albans.[6] Some months later the peace was broken by an affray from which Warwick barely escaped unharmed.[7] On July 10, 1460, the Yorkists' victory at Northampton left Henry their prisoner. He was conveyed to London, and a

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[1] In 2 *Hen. VI.*, V. ii. 28, he is slain by York.

[2] On May 23, 1461, summoned to Parliament as Baron de Montague.—*Doyle*, ii. 512. (1460 is the year according to *Dugdale*, i. 307/2.) Created Marquess Montague in 1470 (*Dugdale*, i. 308/1).

[3] *Thomas*] *Iohn* Hol.

[4] *Paston*, i. 330, 331, 333.

[5] Parliament opened on July 9.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 278/1. Act of indemnity.—*Ibid.*, 281, 282. Prorogation of Parliament to November 12, 1455.—*Ibid.* 283/1-2. In a letter written on October 28, 1455, James Gresham tells John Paston that "summe men ar a ferd that he [the King] is seek ageyn."—*Paston*, i. 352. By a commission dated November 11, York was authorized to hold the Parliament adjourned to the following day; because, "propter certas justas & rationabiles causas," Henry could not be present in person.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 284/2. For York's appointment as Protector see *Rot. Parl.*, v. 288/1; for his discharge from that office see *Rot. Parl.*, v. 321/2.

[6] Henry's award, dated March 24, is given in *Wheth.*, 422 *sqq.* The agreement was celebrated, on March 25, 1458, by a procession of the King, Queen, and nobility at St. Paul's.—*Fab.*, 633.

[7] According to *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 78, this affray happened on November 9, 1458, but *Fab.* (633) dates it "aboute the feest of Candelmasse," 1459. July 4, 1459, is the date assigned by the Lancastrian Parliament of Coventry to the Yorkists' first act of rebellion.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 349.

Parliament assembled at Westminster on October 7, 1460.[1] Here we rejoin the course of the drama.

York is seated on the throne when Henry enters with the Lancastrian nobles. Turning to them the King exclaims (ll. 50, 51):

> My Lords, looke where the sturdie Rebell sits,
> Euen in the Chayre of State!

York is said to have made this, or a similar, public demonstration of his right, soon after the assembly of Parliament in October, 1460.[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 655/1/73.] Maister *Edward Hall* in his chronicle [245] maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke vttered, sitting in *the regall seat*,[3] there in the chamber of the peeres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after: the which we haue thought good also to set downe; though *Iohn Whethamsted*, the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie words, which the duke should vtter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter.[4] But for the oration (as maister *Hall* hath written thereof) we find as followeth: ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peeres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate, (which is the

[York in "the regall seat."]

Edw. Hall in Hen. 6. fol. clxxvij, &c.

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[1] *Fab.*, 636. *Rot. Parl.*, v. 373/1.

[2] The "writyng" which set forth York's title was read before the Peers on October 16, 1460.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 375/1.

[3] Warwick says (I. i. 25, 26):

> "This is the Pallace of the fearefull King,
> And this *the Regall Seat:* possesse it, York"; . . .

"the regall seat" is *Hol.'s* phrase, not *Halle's*. York, answering Warwick (l. 29), says: "hither we haue broken in by force." In October, 1460, York "went to the most principall lodging that the king had within all his palace [of Westminster], breaking vp the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein," . . .—*Hol.* iii. 655/1/63 (from *Wheth.*, 485). *Halle* has not this passage.

[4] The passage referred to (*Wheth.*, 484) is thus translated in *Hol.* iii. 655/1/37, &c.: "At his [York's] comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and, passing foorth directlie through the great hall, staied not till he came to the chamber where the king and lords vsed to sit in the parlement time, . . . and, being there entred, stept vp vnto the throne roiall, and there, laieng his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right, (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good pretie while,) and, after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preassing togither, and marking what countenance they made."

[York sat down in the throne, and declared his title.]

kings peculiar seat,) and, in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as temporall (after a pause made), he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth. [See excerpts from York's speech at pp. 256-258 above.]

Northumberland and Clifford wish to "assayle *the Family of Yorke*"[1] (l. 65), but Henry demurs:

Ah, know you not the Citie fauours them, . . .

This partiality was of service to York in (?) 1456, when Queen Margaret perceived that

[The Londoners favoured York.]

[*Hol.* iii. 645/2/66. *Halle*, 236.] she could attempt nothing against him neere to London;[2] because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king hir husband, or hir selfe: . . .

Henry fails in an attempt to prove his title to the crown,[3] and, alarmed by the sudden appearance of Yorkist soldiers, proposes a compromise, which is accepted (ll. 170-175):

Henry. My Lord of Warwick, heare me but one word:
Let me for this my life time reigne as King.
Plant. Confirme the Crowne to me and to mine Heires, 172
And thou shalt reigne in quiet while thou liu'st.
Henry. I am content: Richard Plantagenet,
Enioy the Kingdome after my decease.

On October 16, 1460, York's claim to the crown was, as we have seen (p. 255 above), brought before Parliament.

The determination of the parlement cõcerning the intailing of [the] *crowne.*

[*Hol.* iii. 657/1/69. *Halle*, 249.] After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongest the peeres, prelats, and commons; vpon the vigill of All saints,[4] it was condescended: for so much as king Henrie had beene taken as king by the space

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[1] "Thomas Thorpe, second Baron of thexchequer, greate frende to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemie to *the Famylie of Yorke*."—*Halle*, 245.

[2] After the second battle of St. Albans (p. 301 below) Margaret retired to the north of England; "hauing little trust in Essex, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London."—*Hol.* iii. 661, col. 1, l. 40. *Halle*, 253. As to the Yorkist feeling in Kent, see p. 296 below.

[3] Previously Henry said to York (l. 105): "Thy [*My* F1] Father was, as thou art, Duke of Yorke." York's father was Richard Earl of Cambridge, younger son of Edmund of Langley. The Earl of Cambridge was executed during the lifetime of his elder brother Edward Duke of York.

[4] Henry accepted the Peers' arbitrament on October 25.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 377/2. On October 31 York came to the Upper House, and there, in the presence of Henry and the Peers, took an oath of fidelity to the King.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 379. See next page.

of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he should inioy the name and title of king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And, if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the next heire of his linage. [Henry to be King during life, and York to be his heir.]

Henry makes a stipulation (ll. 194-200):

> I here entayle
> The Crowne to thee and to thine Heires for euer;
> Conditionally, that heere thou take an Oath
> To cease this Ciuill Warre; and, whil'st I liue,
> To honor me as thy King and Soueraigne,
> And neyther by Treason nor Hostilitie
> To seeke to put me downe, and reigne thy selfe.

The agreement[1] by which York was declared heir apparent to the crown contained the following provision:

[*Hol.* iii. 658/1/33.] Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promit and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth:

The oth of Richard duke of Yorke.

"In the name of God, Amen: I, Richard duke of Yorke, promise "and sweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, "that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie or indirectlie, "in priuie or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be "doone, consented, procured, or stirred, anie thing that may sound "to the abridgement of the naturall life of king Henrie the sixt, or "to the hurt or diminishing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by "violence, or anie other waie, against his freedome or libertie:" . . .

When all except Henry and Exeter have left the stage, Queen Margaret enters with her son Edward Prince of Wales. She upbraids Henry with his cowardice, and points out its uselessness (ll. 238-241):

> Warwick is Chancelor, and the Lord of Callice;
> Sterne Falconbridge commands the Narrow Seas;
> The Duke is made Protector of the Realme;
> And yet shalt thou be safe?

Halle (233) and Holinshed (iii. 644/2/17) record that, in the Parliament which met soon after the first battle of St. Albans,

[1] The articles of agreement between Henry and York (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 378, 379), containing this oath, are not in *Halle*. They were taken by *Hol.* from *Stow* (679-683).

Warwick's father—Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury—was appointed Chancellor, while Warwick himself received the Captaincy of Calais.[1] "Falconbridge" is perhaps a Lancastrian Vice-Admiral of later date;

[The bastard Falconbridge

[*Halle*, 301.] one Thomas Neuel, bastard sonne to William[2] lord Fauconbridg[e], the valyant capitayne; a man of no lesse corage then audacitie. . . . This bastard was before this tyme [1471]

[made Vice-admiral of the sea.]

appoynted by the erle of Warwycke to be Vyce-admirall of the sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage betwene Douer and Caleys, that none which either fauoured kinge Edward or his frendes should escape vntaken and vndrouned.[3]

Holinshed, on Halle's authority (249), relates the proclamation of York's third protectorship.[4]

The duke of Yorke proclamed heire apparant & protectour of the realme.

[*Hol.* iii. 659/1/30.] And vpon the saturdaie [November 8, 1460] next insuing [All Saints' Day], Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclamed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme.

Margaret tells Henry that the "Northerne Lords" will follow her colours; and she and her son are about to go—for "our Army is ready"—when the King says (l. 259):

> Gentle Sonne Edward, thou wilt stay with[5] me?
> *Queene.* I, to be murther'd by his Enemies. 260
> *Prince.* When I returne with victorie from[6] the field,
> Ile see your Grace: till then, Ile follow her.

My next excerpt shows that, though York had been declared heir apparent, his position was not secure:

[Margaret came not with her son to Henry, but assembled an army.]

[*Hol.* iii. 659/1/44. *Halle*, 249.] The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she, as woont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by

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[1] In the corresponding lines of *T. T.*, Warwick's appointments as Chancellor and "Lord" of Calais are not mentioned. Salisbury's Chancellorship preceded the battle of St. Albans. He received the seals on April 1 (April 2, the date given in my authority, fell on a Tuesday), 1454, and surrendered them on March 7, 1455.—*Proc. Priv. Co.*, vi. 355-359. Warwick was made Captain of Calais on August 4, 1455.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 309/2.

[2] *William*] *Thomas* Halle.

[3] This appointment must have been made in 1470, after Warwick had broken with Edward IV.

[4] It appears from *Wyrc.* (484) that York became heir apparent and "Regens" by virtue of the same agreement. According to *Chron. Rich. II.*—*Hen. VI.* (106) and *Chron. Lond.* (141) York was made Protector in 1460.

[5] *with*] (Qq) F2. om. F1.

[6] *from*] (Qq) F2. *to* F1.

the dukes of Excester and Summerset, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie; intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands.

Act I. sc. ii.—When York heard that a Lancastrian army was gathering in the North, he

[*Hol.* iii. 659/1/52. *Halle*, 250.] assigned the duke of Norffolke, and erle of Warwike, his trustie freends, to be about the king,[1] while he, with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a conuenient number, departed out of London the second daie of December,[2] northward; and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmasse eeuen,[3] & there began to make muster of his tenants and freends.

[York at Sandal Castle.]

The scene opens at Sandal Castle. Richard argues (ll. 22-27) that Henry, being an usurper, could not lawfully impose an oath upon York. York is convinced and resolves to "be King or dye." Holinshed—in a passage derived from Whethamstede (491)—says that many deemed York's miserable end

[*Hol.* iii. 659/2/58.] a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiance vnto his souereigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, bicause he obteined a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him; whereby the same oth was adiudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduisedlie, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie.

[The Pope set aside York's oath.]

A purchase of Gods cursse with ye popes blessing.

York then takes steps to warn his friends of his intended revolt (ll. 40-42):

> You, Edward, shall vnto my Lord Cobham,
> With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise:
> In them I trust; . . .

Edward Brooke, Lord Cobham, was one of York's "speciall freends" (see p. 283 above). When—about three weeks before the battle of Northampton—a Yorkist army, commanded by the Earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick,[4] was passing

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[1] "Warwicke, Cobham, and the rest," were left by York, "Protectors of the King."—3 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 56, 57.

[2] *Halle*, 250. December 9.—*Greg.*, 210. "a lytelle before Crystynmas."—*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 107.

[3] *Halle*, 250. December 21.—*Wyrc.*, 484.

[4] They landed at Sandwich on June 26, 1460.—*Ellis*, III. i. 91 compared with 85-88. The battle of Northampton was fought on July 10, 1460.

Whetham-sted 1460

[*Hol.* iii. 653/2/71. *Halle*, 243.] through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, Iohn Gilford, William Pech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; . . .

The Yorkist leaders were encouraged to land in Kent, because

Abr. Flem.

[*Hol.* iii. 653/2/43.] the people of that countrie and other parts were altogither bent in their fauor; and no lesse addicted to doo them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen[1] seemed to be at their receiuing of the said duke of Yorke, and his yoonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland; whom they so highlie honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarrell. . . .

[The Kentishmen were Yorkists.]

Abr. Fl. ex I[ohn] *S*[tow]. *pag.* 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent . . . sent priuilie messengers to Calis to the foresaid erles; beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Wherevpon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their deeds would accord with their words:[2] so that anon the people of Kent, and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number.

A messenger enters hastily and addresses York (ll. 49-52):

> The Queene with all the Northerne Earles and Lords
> Intend here to besiege you in your Castle:
> She is hard by with twentie thousand men;
> And therefore fortifie your Hold, my Lord.

Hearing of York's arrival at Sandal Castle, Margaret

[*Hol.* iii. 659/1/61. *Halle*, 250.] determined to cope with him yer his succour were come.

[Margaret's army came before Sandal, and offered battle to York.]

Now she,[3] hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerset, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Ros, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eighteene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and bad base to the duke, euen before his castell gates.

York now welcomes his uncles,—Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer,—and adds (l. 64):

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[1] See p. 282, n. 1 above. "Irishmen . . . quarrell." Not in *Halle*, or in *Hol.* ed. 1.

[2] *words*] Stow. *woods*] Hol.

[3] Queen Margaret was not present at the battle of Wakefield. After the battle she came from Scotland to York.—*Wyrc.*, 485.

The Armie of the Queene meane to besiege vs.
Iohn. Shee shall not neede; wee'le meete her in the field.
Yorke. What, with fiue thousand men? . . .
Fiue men to twentie! though the oddes be great,
I doubt not, Vnckle, of our Victorie.
Many a Battaile haue I wonne in France,
When as the Enemie hath beene tenne to one:
Why should I not now haue the like successe?

Words as confident as these were, we learn from Halle (250), uttered by York when Margaret's army appeared before Sandal Castle. The Duke,

hauyng with hym not fully fiue thousande persones, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies; and all though sir Dauy Halle, his old seruant and chief counsailer, auysed him to kepe hys Castle, and to defende the same with his smal numbre, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsailed, but in a great fury saied: "a, Dauy, Dauy! hast thou "loued me so long, and now wouldest haue me dishonored? Thou "neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, "when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce, came to besiege "me, but, lyke a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I "issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euer (I "thanke God) and to my honor. . . . wouldest thou that I, for "dread of a scolding woman,[1] . . . should incarcerate my self, and "shut my gates?"

[York determined to meet his enemies in the field, though Sir Davy Halle advised him to defend the castle.]

[York had never avoided a battle with the French, and would not shut his gates "for dread of a scolding woman."]

Act I. sc. iii.—Rutland and his Tutor enter, fleeing from Clifford. They are overtaken and separated, the Tutor crying out (ll. 8, 9), as he is dragged off by soldiers,

Ah, Clifford, murther not this innocent Child,
Least thou be hated both of God and Man!

Rutland pleads for mercy, but Clifford is obdurate (l. 47):

Thy Father slew my Father; therefore, dye!

Halle relates (251) that, while the battle of Wakefield

was in fighting, a prieste called sir Robbert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland, (.ii. sonne to the aboue

[Aspall, young Rutland's schoolmaster,

[1] Richard thus encourages his father to accept Margaret's challenge (3 *Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 68): "A Woman's generall; what should we feare?"

named duke of Yorke, sca[r]ce of the age of .xii. yeres,[1] a faire gentleman and a maydenlike person,) perceiuyng that f[l]ight was more sauegard than tariyng bothe for hym and his master, secretly conueyd therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne; but, or he coulde entre into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and, by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentelman, dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees, implorying mercy and desiryng grace, both with holding vp his handes and making dolorous countinance, for his speache was gone for feare. "Saue him," sayde his Chappelein, "for he is a princes sonne, and "peraduenture may do you good hereafter." With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: "by Gods blode! thy father "slew myne, and so will I do the and all thy kyn!" and, with that woord, stacke the erle to the hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon[2] (which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste) is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before hym. Yet this cruel Clifforde, & deadly bloudsupper, [was] not content with this homicyde or chyldkyllyng,[3] . . .

[secretly conveyed the Earl from the battle-field.]

[Clifford followed and overtook them.]

[Rutland implored mercy,

[and his entreaties were supported by Aspall.]

[Clifford said to Rutland: "Thy father slew mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kin."]

[Clifford a child-killer.]

Act I. sc. iv.—York enters and tells his defeat (ll. 1-4):

> The Army of the Queene hath got the field:
> My Vnckles both are slaine in rescuing me;
> And all my followers to the eager foe
> Turne backe, and flye, . . .

The Lancastrian victory of Wakefield was won on December 30, 1460.[4] Though York

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[1] Edmund Earl of Rutland, York's third son, was born in May, 1443, and was therefore more than seventeen years of age at this date.—*Wyrc.*, 462. After the battle he fled, but was overtaken and slain by Clifford on the bridge at Wakefield.—*Wyrc.*, 485. Rutland was "one the beste dysposyd lorde in thys londe."—*Greg.*, 210.

[2] Rutland compares Clifford to "the pent-vp Lyon . . . insulting o're his Prey."—3 *Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 12, &c.

[3] In 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. ii. 112, Richard calls Clifford "that cruell Child-killer." (After "chyld-kyllyng," Clifford's unworthy treatment of York's dead body is related. See next page.)

[4] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 466/2. *Wyrc.* (485) gives December 29, and *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.* (107), December 31, as the date of the battle.

[*Hol.* iii. 659/2/10. *Halle*, 250.] fought manfullie, yet was he within half an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie freends, his two bastard vncles, sir Iohn and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Dauie Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Neuill, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yoong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts: whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next,[1] as after shall appeare.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred southerne men, saith Whethamsted.

Being unable to escape, York becomes Queen Margaret's prisoner, and is subjected by her to indignities. Addressing Clifford and Northumberland, she says (ll. 67; 94, 95):

> Come, make him stand vpon this Mole-hill here, . . .
> A Crowne for Yorke! and, Lords, bow lowe to him!
> Hold you his hands, whilest I doe set it on.

Of this matter Holinshed gave two versions, both of which I quote. The former is an abridgment of Halle (251); the latter—whence we learn that York "was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill"—is, in part, a translation from Whethamstede (489). According to Halle, Clifford, not satisfied with Rutland's murder,

[*Hol.* iii. 659/2/37. *Halle*, 251.] came to the place where the dead corpse of the duke of Yorke laie, caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a crowne of paper,[2] fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioising was shewed: but they laughed then that shortlie after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so neere at hand. ¶ Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill; on whose head they put a garland in steed of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and, hauing so crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Iewes did vnto Christ) in scorne, saieng to him: "Haile, king without rule! haile, king without

[York's head struck off, crowned with paper, and presented to Margaret.]

Whethamsted.

[The Lancastrians made York stand upon a molehill; and, crowning him with bulrushes, they knelt before him and derided him.]

[1] At the battle of Towton.

[2] Richard afterwards reproached Margaret for crowning his father's "Warlike Brows with Paper."—*Rich. III.*, I. iii. 175. The Qq. and F. have no stage direction against 3 *Hen. VI.*, I. iv. 95. *Wyrc.* (485) says that the dead bodies of York and his friends were decapitated, and their heads were placed in different parts of the city of York. The Duke's head was crowned with paper (*carta*), in contempt. All this was done at the lords' instance.

"heritage! haile, duke and prince without people or possessions!" And at length, hauing thus scorned him with these and diuerse other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as yee haue heard) they presented to the queene.

York is at last slain by the hands of Clifford and Margaret, whereupon the Queen cries (ll. 179-180):

Off with his Head, and set it on Yorke Gates;
So Yorke may ouer-looke the Towne of Yorke!

The following excerpt illustrates these lines:

The prisoners beheaded.

[*Hol.* iii. 659/2/65. *Halle*, 251.] After this victorie by the queene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded; whose heads (togither with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage.

Act II. sc. i.—"A March. Enter Edward, Richard, and their power." The brothers are talking of their father—of whose fate they are ignorant—until Richard says (ll. 21, 22):

See how the Morning opes her golden Gates,
And takes her farwell of the glorious Sunne! . . .
Ed. Dazle mine eyes, or doe I see three Sunnes?
Rich. Three glorious Sunnes, each one a perfect Sunne;
Not seperated with the racking Clouds,
But seuer'd in a pale cleare-shining Skye.
See, see! they ioyne, embrace, and seeme to kisse,
As if they vow'd some League inuiolable:
Now are they but one Lampe, one Light, one Sunne.
In this the Heauen figures some euent.

Edward answers (ll. 39, 40):

What ere it bodes, hence-forward will I beare
Vpon my Targuet three faire shining Sunnes.

After collecting an army on the borders of Wales, Edward had begun his march thence when

The battell of Mortimers crosse.

[*Hol.* iii. 660/1/14. *Halle*, 251.] newes was brought to him, that Iasper earle of Penbroke, halfe brother to king Henrie, and Iames Butler, earle of Ormund and Wilshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he, herewith quickned, retired backe and met with his enimies in a faire plaine neere to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east,[1] on Candle

[1] "The field of the battle of Mortimer's Cross is in the parish of Kingsland, five miles north-west by west from Leominster, close to the fifth mile-stone of the turn-pike road, leading from Leominster to Wigmore and Knighton," . . . Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle*, 1857, p. 74.

masse daie[1] [Feb. 2, 1461] in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like three sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogither in one. Upon which sight he tooke such courage, that he, fiercelie setting on his enimies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance.

The cognisãce of [the] *bright sunne.*

The arrival of a messenger, who brings news to Edward of York's death, is soon followed by the entry of Warwick with an army. From Warwick Edward hears of the Yorkist defeat at the second battle of St. Albans, fought on February 17, 1461.[2] As the combined forces of Edward and Warwick reached London on February 26, 1461,[3] their meeting—dramatized in this scene—must have taken place on some historic day between these dates. After Warwick's defeat at St. Albans, the Lancastrians purposed marching to London, but they retired to the north of England when

[*Hol.* iii. 661/1/33. *Halle*, 252.] true report came not onelie to the queene, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Penbroke and Wilshire, had met with the earle of Warwike (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotsold; and that they with both their powers were co*m*ming toward London.

[Meeting of Edward and Warwick.]

Warwick gives an account of what happened after he had received tidings of the conflict at Wakefield (ll. 111-121):

I, then in London, keeper of the King,
Muster'd my Soldiers, gathered flockes of Friends,
And, verie well appointed, as I thought,[4]
Marcht toward S. Albons to intercept the Queene,
Bearing the King in my behalfe along;
For by my Scouts I was aduértisëd,
That she was comming with a full intent
To dash our late decree in Parliament,
Touching King Henries Oath, and your Succession.
Short Tale to make, we at S. Albons met,
Our Battailes ioyn'd, and both sides fiercely fought: . . .

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[1] According to *Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.* (110) the three suns were seen about 10 a.m., on February 2, 1461; and the battle of Mortimer's Cross was fought on the following day. In *Greg.* (211) and *Three Chronicles* (*S. E. C.*, 77) the battle and the appearance of three suns are dated February 2.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 476/2.

[3] *Greg.*, 215. *Fab.*, 639. *Three Chronicles* (*S. E. C.*, 77). February 27.—*Three Chronicles* (*B. L. C.*, 172). February 28.—*Chron. Rich. II.—Hen. VI.*, 110. Edward and Warwick met at Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire.—*Wyrc.*, 488.

[4] 113. *And . . . thought*] T. T. Not in 3 Hen. VI.

But the Lancastrians prevailed ;

So that we fled ; the King vnto the Queene (l. 137) ; . . .

Halle relates (252) that, after the battle of Wakefield, Queen Margaret

[Margaret marched southward, intending to annul the Yorkist settlement of the crown.]

[The Yorkist lords

[gathered an army, and marched to St. Albans, accompanied by Henry.]

[Defeated by Margaret, they forsook Henry and fled.]

still came forwarde with her Northren people, entendyng to subuerte and defaict all conclusions and agrementes enacted and assented to in the last Parliament. And so after her long iorney she came to the town of sainct Albons ; wherof the duke of Northfolke, the erle of Warwycke, and other, (whom the duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence,) beyng aduertised, by the assent of y^e^ kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward towarde saincte Albons, hauyng the kyng in their company, as the head and chefetayn of the warre ; and so, not myndyng to differre the tyme any farther, vpon shrouetuesday, early in the mornyng, set vpon their enemyes. Fortune that day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, & the duke and the erle were discomfited, and fled, leauing the king . . .

The Yorkist soldiers might (Warwick conjectures) have been dispirited by

the coldnesse of the King, 122
Who look'd full gently on his warlike Queene, . . .

Holinshed says that, when the soldiers, who had charge of Henry, fled from the field, the Yorkist

[*Hol.* iii. 660/2/14.] nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, . . . withdrew . . . , leauing the king . . .

[Henry had good will to the Lancastrians.]

Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas Hoo, a man well languaged, and well seene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them, (whome he knew to be his verie freends, and had assembled themselues togither for his seruice,) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords. . . .

[Henry advised to join the northern (Lancastrian) lords.]

[The Lancastrian lords conveyed Henry to Clifford's tent], and

brought the queene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he ioifullie receiued, imbracing and kissing them in most louing wise; and yeelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his deerelie beloued and onelie sonne againe into his possession. [Meeting of Henry, Margaret, and Prince Edward.]

Warwick tells Edward (ll. 145-147) that George—afterwards Duke of Clarence—

was lately sent
From your kinde Aunt, Dutchesse of Burgundie,
With ayde of Souldiers to this needfull Warre.

Isabella of Portugal, a grand-daughter of John of Gaunt,[1] and consequently a distant cousin of Edward, was Duchess of Burgundy in 1461. A passage derived by Holinshed from Halle (253) shows that George was not in England during the historic time of sc. i., Act II.

[*Hol.* iii. 661/1/45.] The duches of Yorke, seeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succeed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Utrecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued; and so remained there, till their brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. [Edward's brothers, George and Richard, were received at Utrecht by the Duke of Burgundy.]

Act II. sc. ii.—Henry, at Margaret's bidding, knights Prince Edward (l. 61). The Prince was knighted on an earlier historic date than that which must be assigned to this scene. After the second battle of St. Albans Queen Margaret

[*Hol.* iii. 660/2/64. *Halle*, 252.] caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward, knight; with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on hir side against his part. *Prince Edward made knight.*

A messenger now warns the Lancastrians that Edward and Warwick "are at hand" (l. 72). In the preceding scene Warwick said that the Lancastrians had gone to London, and he therefore proposed marching thither to give them battle (II. i. 174-185). But before sc. i. ended he learnt from a messenger sent by Norfolk that

The Queene is comming with a puissant Hoast; . . .

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[1] Daughter of John I., King of Portugal. Her mother Philippa was the daughter of Blanch of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's first wife. The dramatist may have been thinking of Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, who assisted the adventurer known as Perkin Warbeck, for the real or ostensible reason that he was her nephew, Richard Duke of York.

Scene ii. is laid at the gates of York (ll. 1-4, cp. I. iv. 179). We may suppose perhaps that Margaret, being refused an entrance into London, turned northwards, and, on her march to York, passed near the Duke of Norfolk's position; which was "some six miles off" the place where Warwick met Edward (II. i. 144). Advised by Norfolk of the Queen's change of plan, Edward and Warwick followed her, and in scene ii. they reach York. The historic facts are that the Lancastrians withdrew to the north, after the second battle of St. Albans, but Edward and Warwick made for London, where Edward was elected King. Soon after his election Edward marched northwards and won the battle of Towton, which established him on the throne.[1]

No sooner has the near approach of Edward and Warwick been announced than Clifford breaks forth (ll. 73, 74):

> I would your Highnesse would depart the field!
> The Queene hath best successe when you are absent.[2]

Holinshed took from Halle (252) a remark that Queen Margaret was

Edw. Hall [, 252]. [Henry's presence brought defeat.]

[*Hol.* iii. 660/2/60.] fortunate in hir two battels [Wakefield and 2nd St. Albans], but vnfortunate was the king in all his enterprises: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part.

The wrangle which succeeds the entry of Edward, Richard, and Warwick admits of little illustration from historical sources. A spirited utterance of the Prince invites Richard's comment (ll. 133, 134):

> Who euer got thee, there thy Mother stands;
> For, well I vvot, thou hast thy Mothers tongue;

and Edward suggests that her "Husband may be Menelaus" (l. 147).

When Prince Edward was born, Queen Margaret

[A rumour that Prince Edward was not King Henry's son.]

[*Hol.* iii. 641/1/54. *Halle*, 230.] susteined not a little slander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion that the king was not able to get a child; and therefore sticked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the queenes dishonour; much part perchance vntrulie.[3]

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[1] *Greg.*, 214-216.

[2] While watching the battle of Towton, Henry says (3 *Hen. VI.*, II. v. 16-18):

> "For Margaret my Queene, and Clifford too,
> Haue chid me from the Battell; swearing both
> They prosper best of all when I am thence."

[3] *much . . . vntrulie.*] Hol. *which here nede not to be rehersed.*] Halle, 231. "the common people" said that Prince Edward "was not the naturall sone of Kynge Henrye, but chaungyd in the cradell."—*Fab.*, 628. Another slanderous rumour circulated "that he that was called Prince was nat hir [? his, *i. e.* Henry's] sone, but a bastard goten in avoutry."—*Chron. R. II.—Hen. VI.*, 79.

Act II. sc. iii.—The action of this and the remaining scenes of Act II. cover the two days' fighting which ended at Towton on March 29, 1461.[1] A preliminary skirmish at Ferrybridge, where Clifford discomfited the Yorkists, has been magnified into the serious reverse lamented by Edward and George, when this scene opens (ll. 6-13). Richard enters and cries to Warwick (ll. 14-16):

> Ah, Warwicke! why hast thou withdrawn thy selfe?
> Thy Brothers[2] blood the thirsty earth hath drunk,
> Broach'd with the Steely point of Cliffords Launce; . . .

Warwick responds:

> Then let the earth be drunken with our blood:
> Ile kill my Horse, because I will not flye!

In the conflict at Ferrybridge was slain

[*Hol.* iii. 664/1/60. *Halle*, 255.] the bastard of Salisburie, brother to the earle of Warwike, a valiant yoong gentleman, and of great audacitie. [A bastard brother of Warwick slain.]

When the earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward, saieng: "Sir, I praie God haue mercie of "their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost "their liues! And bicause I see no succors of the world but in "God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redeemer." With that he alighted downe, and slue his horse with his sword, saieng: "Let him flee that will, for suerlie I will tarrie with him "that will tarrie with me": and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a vow to the promise. *The earle of Warwike* [slew his own horse].

As Warwick and the three brothers are going forth to renew the battle, George says (ll. 49-53):

> Yet let vs altogether to our Troopes,
> And giue them leaue to flye that will not stay;
> And call them Pillars that will stand to vs;
> And, if we thriue, promise them such rewards
> As Victors weare at the Olympian Games:[3] . . .

After the slaughter of the horse,

[*Hol.* iii. 664/1/74. *Halle*, 255.] King Edward, perceiuing the

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[1] The date from *Rot. Parl.*, v. 477/2. The fighting began early on March 28, when Clifford took Ferrybridge from the Yorkists.—*Greg.*, 216; cp. *Halle*, 254, 255.

[2] In the corresponding lines of *T. T.*, Richard announces the death of Warwick's father, the Earl of Salisbury. Salisbury was put to death after the battle of Wakefield.—*Wyrc.*, 485.

[3] In *T. T.* George advises that they should "hiely promise to remunerate" those who stood by them.

A proclamation [licensing soldiers to depart, but promising rewards to those who stayed.]

courage of his trustie friend the earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight should depart: and, to all those that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards; with addition, that anie souldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards, either in or before the fight should seeme to flee or turne his backe, then he that could kill him should haue a great reward and double wages.

Act II. sc. v.—Viewed from afar the battle appears to King Henry (ll. 5-12)

like a Mighty Sea
Forc'd by the Tide to combat with the Winde; . . .
Sometime the Flood preuailes, and than the Winde; . . .
Yet neither Conqueror nor Conquerëd:[1] . . . 12

The long struggle at Towton is spoken of by Halle (256) in terms not unlike these:

[Ebb and flow of battle at Towton.]

This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte continued .x. houres in doubtful victorie, the one parte some tyme flowyng, and sometime ebbyng, . . .

There enter (ll. 54, 79) "a Sonne that hath kill'd his Father, . . . and a Father that hath kill'd his Sonne;" in both cases unwittingly. Each then recognizes his foeman's face, and laments the cruel chance of civil war.

Halle says of Towton (256):

[Family and social ties broken at Towton.]

This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenaunt agaynst his lord, . . .

At the close of this scene Margaret, Prince Edward, and Exeter[2] rush in from the field where the Lancastrians have been defeated. The Queen cries to Henry (l. 128):

Mount you, my Lord! towards Barwicke post amaine!

When the battle of Towton was decided,

King Henrie withdraweth to Berwike, & from thence into Scotland

[*Hol.* iii. 665/1/41. *Halle*, 256.] King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecouerable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwike; and, leauing the duke

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[1] Not in *T. T.*

[2] "the dukes of Summerset [Henry Beaufort] and Excester [Henry Holland] fled from the field and saued themselues."—*Hol.* iii. 665/1/31 (*Halle*, 256).

of Summerset there, went into Scotland, and, comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his councell, aid and comfort.

Act II. sc. vi.—"Enter Clifford wounded, with an arrow in his necke,"[1] is the opening stage direction of this scene in *The True Tragedie*. On March 28, 1461,[2] Clifford blocked the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge. After the proclamation made by Edward (see p. 306 above), a Yorkist force passed the Aire

[*Hol.* iii. 664/2/12. *Halle*, 255.] at Castelford, three miles from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie. But they, being therof aduertised, departed in great hast toward king Henries armie; yet they met with some that they looked not for, & were so trapt yer they were aware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie, without an head) was striken into the throte, and immediatlie rendred his spirit;[3] . . . *The lord Clifford slain.*

By order of Warwick,—who enters subsequently (l. 30) with Edward, George, and Richard,—Clifford's head is to be fixed where the head of Edward's father "stands" (l. 86). Edward reached York on March 30,[4]

[*Hol.* iii. 665/1/36. *Halle*, 256.] and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his freends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Deuonshire, and three other, to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. [The head of Edward's father removed from York gate.]

Clifford's head being provided for, Warwick says to Edward (ll. 87, 88):

> And now to London with *Triumphant* march,
> There to be *crownëd* Englands Royall *King*: . . .

Edward assents, and thus addresses his brothers (ll. 103, 104):

> Richard, I will create thee Duke of Gloucester,
> And George, of Clarence: . . .

In June[5] 1461 Edward

[*Hol.* iii. 665/2/9. *Halle*, 257, 258.] returned, after the maner and fashion of a *triumphant* conquerour, with great pompe vnto

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[1] *A lowd alarum. Enter Clifford Wounded.*] 3 *Hen. VI.*
[2] *Greg.*, 216. *Halle*, 254, 255 (*Hol.* iii. 664/1/37).
[3] On Palm Sunday (March 29), 1461.—*Inq. p. m.* 4 E. IV. No. 52 (O. B.).
[4] *Paston*, ii. 5.
[5] On June 27 Edward rode from the Tower to Westminster.—*Three Chronicles* (*B. L. C.*), p. 174.

London; where, according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees; and the nine & twentith daie of Iune[1] was at Westminster with solemnitie *crowned* and annointed *king*. . . .

[Edward crowned.]

[George created Duke of Clarence, Richard, Duke of Gloucester.]

Also, after this, he created his two yoonger brethren dukes; that is to saie, lord George, duke of Clarence, lord Richard, duke of Glocester; . . .

Richard is rather loth to accept this title (l. 107):

For Glosters Dukedome is too ominous.

Holinshed derived from Halle (209) the following remark on Humphrey Duke of Gloucester's death:

Dukes of Glocester vnfortunate.

[*Hol.* iii. 627/1/52.] Some thinke that the name and title of Glocester hath beene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue beene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie; as Thomas[2] Spenser, Thomas of Woodstoke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also, duke of Glocester, in ciuill warre slaine.

Act III. sc. i.—After l. 12 (3 *Hen. VI.*) the stage direction in *The True Tragedie* is: "Enter king Henrie *disguisde*."[3] Henry begins a soliloquy by saying:

From Scotland am I stolne euen of pure loue,
To greet mine owne Land with my wishfull sight.[4]

He is overheard by two keepers, one of whom whispers to the other (l. 23):

This is the quondam King; let's seize vpon him.

Henry asks the Second Keeper (l. 74):

Where did you dwell when I was K. of England?
Hum. [*Sec. Keep.*]. Heere in this Country, where we now remaine.
King. I was annointed King at nine monthes old; 76
My Father and my Grandfather were Kings,
And you were sworne true Subiects vnto me:
And tell me, then, haue you not broke your Oathes?

"Not long before" Henry's death,

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[1] Edward was crowned on June 28, 1461.—*Greg.*, 218. Another contemporary chronicle (Cottonian MS., Vitellius, A. xvi.)—cited in *Paston*, ii. 18, note—gives June 28 as the date of Edward's coronation.

[2] *Thomas*] *Hugh* Hol.

[3] *Enter the King with a Prayer booke.*] 3 *Hen. VI.*

[4] *To . . . sight.*] 3 Hen. VI. *And thus* disguisde *to greete my native land.*—T. T.

[*Hol.* iii. 691/2/33. *Stow*, 706.] being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie, he replied: "My "father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his "reigne; and his father, my grandsire, was also king of England; "and I euen a child in my cradell was proclamed and crowned "king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares "well-neere; all the states dooing homage vnto me, as to my "antecessors." [Henry VI.'s title.]

The keepers arrest him; and, in the next scene, we find that he has been brought to the "Pallace Gate" of King Edward, who, on receiving this news, bids the messenger (III. ii. 120)

> See that he be conuey'd vnto the Tower: . .

About four historical years after the battle of Towton,—probably in July, 1465,[1]—Henry,

[*Hol.* iii. 667/1/26. *Halle*, 261.] whether he was past all feare; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in *disguised* at[t]ire boldlie entred into England.

He was no sooner entred, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king; whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. *King Henrie taken.*

Act III. sc. ii.—Edward and his brothers enter, accompanied by Lady Grey, whose business the King thus explains to Richard (ll. 1-7):

> Brother of Gloster, at S. Albons field
> This Ladyes Husband, Sir Richard Grey, was slaine,
> His Land then seiz'd on by the Conqueror:
> Her suit is now to repossesse those Lands;
> Which wee in Iustice cannot well deny,
> Because, in Quarrell of the House of Yorke,
> The worthy Gentleman did lose his Life.

In the next historical drama (*Rich. III.*, I. iii. 127, 128), she is reminded by Richard that, when he was a zealous servant of Edward, she and her

> Husband Grey
> Were factious for the House of Lancaster; . . .

And he demands:

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[1] Henry was arrested about June 29, 1465.—*Three Chron.* (*B. L. C.*), 180, 181. He was brought to the Tower on July 24.—*Greg.*, 232, 233.

Was not your Husband,
In Margarets Battaile, at Saint Albons, slaine?

The truth of these taunts appears from the following excerpt. In 1464[1] (?)

Dame Elizabeth Greie [was widow of Sir John Grey, who was slain at the 2nd battle of St. Albans.]

[*Hol.* iii. 726/1/20. *Halle*, 365.] there came to make a sute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his queene, at that time a widow, borne of noble bloud[2] by hir mother, duches of Bedford yer she maried the lord Wooduile, hir father.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with queene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the sixt, was maried vnto one Iohn Greie, an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on Barnet heath by saint Albons, against king Edward. But litle while inioied he that knighthood: for he was at the same field slaine. . . . this poore ladie made humble sute vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen her in iointure.

[She asked Edward to restore her jointure.]

Further to illustrate this scene I quote passages describing the circumstances and result of Lady Grey's petition to Edward. We are told that

[*Hol.* iii. 668/1/1. *Halle*, 264.] the king, being on hunting in the forrest of Wichwood besides Stonistratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then soiourned, wife to sir Richard Wooduile lord Riuers; on whome was then attendant a daughter of hirs, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir Iohn Graie knight, slaine at the last battell of saint Albons, . . .

The ladie Elizabeth Graie [had a suit to Edward].

This widow, hauing a sute to the king for such lands as hir husband had giuen hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir sute, but more hir person; for she was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and fauour,

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[1] After "manie a meeting" and "much wooing" (*Hol.* iii. 726/1/46), Edward was privately married to Lady Grey on May 1, 1464.—*Greg.*, 226. *Warkw.*, 3.

[2] In 3 *Hen. VI.*, IV. i. 69, 70, the Queen, addressing Clarence, Gloucester, and Montagu, says:

"Doe me but right, and you must all confesse
That I was not ignoble of Descent"; . . .

that, with hir sober demeanour, sweete looks, and comelie smiling, (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull,) besides hir pleasant toong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that, after she had denied him to be his paramour, (with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be deuised,) he finallie resolued with himselfe to marrie hir; not asking counsell of anie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; . . .

[Edward fell in love with her, and, as she refused to be his paramour, he resolved to make her his wife.]

Other passages supplied fuller material for the dialogue between Edward and Lady Grey (ll. 36-98): compare especially the words "as she wist . . . be his concubine" with ll. 97, 98:

> I know I am *too* meane *to be* your Queene,
> And yet *too good to be* your *Concubine*.

I resume my quotations at the point where it is related that Edward heard the personal suit of Lady Grey:

[*Hol.* iii. 726/1/36. *Halle*, 365, 366.] Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauour, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise: he not onelie pitied hir, but also waxed inamoured of hir. And, taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuouslie denied him.

[Edward took Lady Grey aside, and made illicit love to her.]

But that did she so wiselie, and with so good maner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And, finallie, after manie a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espied[1] the kings affection toward hir so greatlie increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldlie saie hir mind; as to him whose hart she perceiued more feruentlie set, than to fall off for a word. And, in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that, as she wist hir selfe *too* simple *to be* his wife, so thought she hir selfe *too good to be* his *concubine*. The king, much maruelling at hir constancie, (as he that had not been woont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said naie,) so much esteemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the steed of possession and riches: and

A wise answer of a chast and continent ladie.

[1] *espied*] Halle. *espieng* Hol.

thus, taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie her.

[When their marriage was settled, Edward asked his friends' advice about it.]

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betweene them twaine insured hir; then asked he counsell of his other freends, and that in such maner, as they might then perceiue it booted not greatlie to say naie.

Edward's final argument (ll. 102-104)—

> Thou art *a Widow, and* thou hast some *Children;*
> And, *by Gods* Mother, *I*, being but *a Batchelor*,
> *Haue* other-*some*—

was, it is said, his answer to an objection of his mother (Cecily Duchess of York) that he disparaged himself by marrying a widow instead of a maid:

[Lady Grey has children and so have I.]

[*Hol.* iii. 726/2/68. *Halle*, 367.] That she is *a widow, and* hath alreadie *children; by Gods* blessed ladie, *I* am *a bacheler*, and *haue some* too, and so ech of vs hath a proofe that neither of vs is like to be barren.

Act III. sc. iii.—Since the close of scene vi., Act II., Queen Margaret and Prince Edward have repaired to France. In scene iii., Act III., they are welcomed by Lewis XI., from whom Margaret craves help towards her husband's restoration. So much of this scene as precedes Warwick's entrance (ll. 1-42) may be historically dated about a year after the battle of Towton;[1] when Henry, being

Queene Margaret with hir sonne goeth into France.

[*Hol.* iii. 665/1/58. *Halle*, 257.] somwhat setled in the relme of Scotland, . . . sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Reiner hir father; trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to recouer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

[Margaret obtained Lewis's favour for the Lancastrians.]

The queene, being in France, did obteine of the yoong French king, then Lewes the eleuenth, that all hir husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France: prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie accesse or repaire into that countrie.

In Act II., sc. vi., ll. 89, 90, Warwick proposed going to France

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[1] On April 16, 1462, Margaret arrived in Brittany. After visiting René at Angers, she betook herself to Lewis with the view of obtaining his assistance. —*Wyrc.*, 493.

after Edward's coronation (June 28, 1461), for the purpose of arranging a marriage between his new sovereign and Lady Bona. Entering now, Warwick offers Lewis "a League of Amitie"; to be confirmed

> With Nuptiall Knot, if thou vouchsafe to graunt
> That vertuous Lady Bona, thy faire Sister,
> To Englands King in lawfull Marriage.—ll. 55-57.

Holinshed derived from Halle (263, 264) the following account of this negotiation. In 1464, when Edward had brought England

[*Hol.* iii. 667/2/51.] into a good & quiet estate, it was thought meet by him and those of his councell, that a marriage were prouided for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Warwike sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then queene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Warwike sent into France about a marriage [between Edward and Bona, Lewis XI.'s sister-in-law].

The earle of Warwike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourablie receiued, and right courteouslie interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister queene Carlot obteined both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was cleerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same.

Margaret warns Lewis not to ally himself with an usurper; and Warwick, on the other hand, asserts her son to be no more a prince than she is a queen. Whereupon Oxford remarks (ll. 81, 82):

> Then Warwicke disanulls great Iohn of Gaunt,
> Which did subdue the greatest part of Spaine; . . .

Warwick might well have exposed this misrepresentation. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, claimed Castile in right of his second wife Constance, elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel. The Duke, however, failed to dethrone John I., son of Pedro's bastard brother Henry II.; and obtained but a few transient successes by his invasion of Spanish territory.[1]

In the *Third Part of Henry VI.* Oxford wonders how Warwick can

[1] Mr. Daniel suggests that popular belief may have magnified these successes; as, on April 11, 1601, Henslowe paid earnest for a play entitled "the conqueste of spayne by John a Gant."—*Henslowe's Diary* (Old Sh. Soc.), p. 185. The facts concerning John of Gaunt's Spanish expedition might have been ascertained from Grafton or Holinshed, but the dramatist was not bound to regard historical authority.

speak against King Henry after "thirtie and six yeeres" of obedience (ll. 95-97). But in *The True Tragedie* Oxford assumes that Warwick has been obedient during Henry's "thirtie and eight" regnal years: a term ending on August 31, 1460. Warwick was attainted by the Lancastrian Parliament which met at Coventry on November 20, 1459; and his allegiance was merely formal after the attempt made on his life some eight or ten months previously.[1] In the interval between the battles of Northampton and St. Albans (July 10, 1460—February 17, 1461) he acted with the supposed sanction of Henry VI., who was then under Yorkist control.

Warwick bids Oxford "leaue Henry, and call Edward King." Oxford indignantly replies (101-107):

> Call him my King by whose iniurious doome
> My elder Brother, the Lord Aubrey Vêre,
> Was done to death? and more then so, my Father,
> Euen in the downe-fall of his mellow'd yeeres,
> When Nature brought him to the doore of Death?
> No, Warwicke, no; while Life vpholds this Arme,
> This Arme vpholds the House of Lancaster!

In February, 1462,[2]

[John Earl of Oxford rebelled because his father and elder brother were executed.]

[*Hol.* iii. 665/2/20. *Halle*, 258.] the earle of Oxford far striken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Awbreie Veer, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their councellours, attainted, and put to execution; which caused Iohn earle of Oxford euer after to rebell.[3]

Having requested Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, and Oxford to stand aside, Lewis demands of Warwick (ll. 114, 115):

> Is Edward your true King? for I were loth
> To linke with him that were not lawfull chosen.

In *The True Tragedie* Lewis asks:

> Is Edward lawfull king or no? for I were loath
> To linke with him that is not lawful heir.

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[1] I take the date of the Coventry Parliament from *Rot. Parl.*, v. 345/1. For the date of the attempt on Warwick's life see p. 290, n. 7, above.

[2] *Wyrc.*, 492. *Fab.*, 652.

[3] John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford (the merchant Philipson in *Anne of Geierstein*), did not rebel until 1470. In 1464 he addressed to Parliament a petition wherein he called himself Edward's "true Liegeman"; and styled Henry IV. the "late Erle of Derby," who "toke uppon hym to reigne by Usurpation as Kyng of Englond."—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 549/1, 2. Oxford was arrested on suspicion of treason in November, 1468, but was released.—*Fab.*, 657. About April, 1470, he followed Warwick and Clarence to France, whence he returned in September, 1470, as an avowed supporter of Henry. —*Fab.*, 658.

Although Edward claimed the throne as heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, his title was strengthened by the people's direct vote. Parliament was not sitting when, soon after the second battle of St. Albans, Edward summoned a great council of lords spiritual and temporal, who determined that Henry had forfeited the crown;

The earle of March elected king [by a council of the lords spiritual and temporal].

[*Hol.* iii. 661/2/2. *Halle*, 253, 254.] and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said councell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

The lord Faucon-bridge [asked the people assembled in St. John's Field whether they would have Henry or Edward to be their King].

On which daie, the people of the earles part being in their muster in S. Iohns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled to behold their order, the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the sixt; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered: "Naie, naie!" Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeie the erle of March, as their onlie king and souereigne lord? To which question they answered: "Yea, yea!" crieng, "King Edward!" with manie great showts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

[The lords informed Edward that they had chosen him to be their King, with the commons' assent.]

The lords were shortlie aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankelie and freelie had giuen. Whervpon, incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Bainards castell; making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. . . .

Anno Reg. 1.

[*Hol.* iii. 663/1/64. *Halle*, 254.] After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard), the morow next insuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered; and, after *Te Deum* soong, with great solemnitie he was conueied to Westminster, and there set in the hall with the scepter roiall in his hand: whereto people in great numbers assembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies; the first, as sonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the same; the second,

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

His title declared.

by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Wherevpon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the said erle as their prince and souereigne lord; which all with one voice cried: "Yea, yea!"

[The commons again assent to Edward's election.]

Finally Lewis assents to the proposed marriage. But this agreement is soon of no worth, for a "Poste" enters with letters from which Lewis and Warwick learn that Edward has wedded Lady Grey. Lewis is deeply angered, and Warwick renounces allegiance to Edward (ll. 134-194). My next excerpt shows how Edward's breach of faith was taken:

[Lewis was displeased with Edward's marriage.]

[*Hol.* iii. 668/1/50. *Halle,* 265.] The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he shortlie (to appease the greefe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bona) married the said ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

The earle of Warwike offended with the kings mariage.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his trustie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind; for that he tooke it his credence thereby was greatlie minished, and his honour much stained, namelie, in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to mooue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill vsed, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quaile on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wise, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a sleeuelesse errand.

All men for the most part agree, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceiued an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before fauoured.

The discredit brought upon his embassy makes Warwick speak of another wrong, which he had condoned (l. 188):

Did I let passe th'abuse done to my Neece?

We have seen that Edward's marriage was generally believed to have alienated Warwick.

[Edward tried to violate Warwick's daughter or niece.]

[*Hol.* iii. 668/1/73. *Halle,* 265.] Other affirme other causes, and one speciallie: for that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie;

(whether he would haue defloured his daughter[1] or his neece, the certeintie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed;) for, suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward; . . .

The Post is made the bearer of threatening messages to Edward from Lewis, Margaret, and Warwick. Lewis then says to Warwick (ll. 234-239):

> Thou and Oxford, with fiue thousand men,
> Shall crosse the Seas, and bid false Edward battaile;
> And, as occasion serues, this Noble Queen
> And Prince shall follow with a fresh Supply.
> Yet, ere thou go, but answer me one doubt,
> What Pledge haue we of thy firme Loyalty?

Warwick replies:

> This shall assure my constant Loyalty,
> That if our Queene and this young Prince agree,
> Ile ioyne mine eldest daughter and my Ioy
> To him forthwith in holy Wedlocke bands.

Queen Margaret and Prince Edward assent. Lewis adds:

> Why stay we now? These soldiers shalbe leuied;
> And thou, Lord Bourbon, our High Admirall,
> Shall waft them ouer with our Royall Fleete.

Historical time is annihilated in these speeches. Warwick did not devote himself to Henry VI.'s restoration until 1470. The King-maker withdrew to France after the failure—in March, 1470—of a rebellion which he had prompted;[2] and was graciously received by Lewis at Amboise.

[*Hol.* iii. 674/2/55. *Halle*, 281.] When queene Margaret, that soiourned with duke Reiner hir father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence shee came to Ambois to see him, with hir onelie sonne prince Edward. [Margaret and Prince Edward went to meet Warwick.]

With hir also came Iasper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, which, after diuerse imprisonments latelie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemblie. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by *The earles of Penbroke & Oxford* [came with Margaret].

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[1] *Polyd. Verg.* merely tells us (514/14) that Edward was said "tentasse . . . nescio quid in domo comitis, quod ab honestate omnino abesset"; and this information is followed by a remark on the King's lascivious nature. The other particulars are given by Halle. In Lord Lytton's *Last of the Barons* (bk. VIII., chap. vii.) the affront is offered to Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter.

[2] *Warkw.*, 8, 9. Confession of Sir Robert Welles (*Excerpta Historica*, 282-284). Edward's proclamation of Clarence and Warwick as rebels and traitors is dated March 31.—*Warkw.*, 59. *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 233.

A league. meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter[1] to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which mariage, the duke [of Clarence] and the earles tooke a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the sixt, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne: and that the queene and the prince [*p.* 675] should depute and appoint the duke and the earle [of Warwick] to be gouernors & conseruators of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to estate. . . .

Edward prince of Wales maried [to Warwick's second daughter].

[The Lords swore to make Henry or his son King of England.]

The French king lent both ships, men, and monie vnto queene Margaret, and to hir partakers; and appointed the bastard of Burbon,[2] admerall of France, with a great nauie, to defend them against the nauie of the duke of Burgognie; which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to incounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the English fleet.

[Bourbon, Admiral of France, ordered to convoy the Lancastrians.]

Act IV. sc. i.—Edward and his newly-wedded Queen enter. By his invitation Clarence, Gloucester, and Montagu tell him freely what they think of his marriage. Montagu regrets the abandonment of an alliance with France; but Hastings would have England trust to God and the "fence impregnable" of her seas,

> And with their helpes onely defend our selues;
> In them and in our selues our safetie lyes.

Clarence sarcastically comments (ll. 47, 48):

> For this one speech, Lord Hastings well deserues
> To haue the Heire of the Lord Hungerford.
> *King.* I, what of that? it was my will and graunt;
> And, for this once, my Will shall stand for Law.
> *Rich.* And yet me thinks your Grace hath not done well,
> To giue the Heire and Daughter of Lord Scales
> Vnto the Brother of your louing Bride;
> Shee better would haue fitted me or Clarence:
> But in your Bride you burie Brotherhood.
> *Clar.* Or else you would not haue bestow'd the Heire
> Of the Lord Bonuill on your new Wiues Sonne,
> And leaue your Brothers to goe speede elsewhere.

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[1] In 3 *H. VI.* (III. iii. 242) and *T. T.* the marriage of Prince Edward and Warwick's "eldest daughter" is arranged. Isabel, the elder of Warwick's two daughters, married Clarence.

[2] "Lord Bourbon, our High Admirall."—3 *H. VI.* (III. iii. 252) and *T. T.*

Holinshed, on Halle's authority (271), relates that, in 1468,

[*Hol.* iii. 671/2/48.] the earle of Warwike, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and therevpon, feeling his minde by such talke as he of purpose ministred, vnderstood how he was bent, and so wan him to his purpose: . . . [Warwick works on Clarence's disaffection to Edward.]

Holinshed did not copy or paraphrase the subjoined passage in Halle (271), containing Clarence's answer to Warwick's murmurs at Edward's ingratitude.

The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but y^e^ duke in a greate fury answered: "why, my lorde, thynke you to haue hym kynd to "you, that is vnkynd, yea, and vnnatural to me, beyng his awne "brother? thynke you that frendship will make hym kepe promise "where neither nature nor kynred in any wise can prouoke or "moue him to fauor his awne bloud? Thynke you that he will "exalte and promote hys cosin or alie, whiche litle careth for the "fall or confusion of hys awne line and lignage? This you knowe "well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath maried "to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and "Haryngton he hath geuen to his wifes sonne,[1] and theire of the "lorde Hungerford he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges:[2] "thre mariages more meter for hys twoo brethren and kynne then "for suche newe foundlynges as he hath bestowed theim on. "But, by swete saincte George, I sweare, if my brother of "Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe "that wee were all three one mannes sonnes, of one mother and "lignage discended, which should be more preferred and promoted "then straungers of his wifes bloud."

[How can you expect kindness from him who is unkind to his own brother?]

[Edward has married Lord Scales's heiress to his wife's brother, to his wife's son he has given Lord Bonville's heiress, and the heiress of Lord Hungerford has been bestowed on Hastings.]

[If Gloucester would join me, we would teach Edward to prefer us rather than strangers.]

The Post—who in Act III., sc. iii., brought letters to Warwick, Lewis, and Margaret—enters and repeats to Edward their verbal answers; ending with the news (l. 117):

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[1] "hir brother, lord Anthonie, was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie, sonne to sir Iohn Graie, the queenes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie, heire to the lord Bonuille."—*Hol.* iii. 668/1/46. *Halle*, 264.

[2] The heiress of Lord Hungerford married Edward Lord Hastings, son of William Lord Hastings, whom Clarence sneers at (ll. 47, 48).—*Dugdale*, iii. 211/1; cp. *Doyle*, ii. 149, 150.

That yong Prince Edward marryes Warwicks Daughter.

Clarence says :

> Belike the elder ; Clarence will haue the younger.—
> Now, Brother King, farewell, and sit you fast,
> For I will hence to Warwickes other Daughter ; . . .
> You that loue me and Warwicke, follow me !

In the next scene Clarence joins Warwick, who welcomes him and adds (l. 12) : "my Daughter shall be thine."

On July 11, 1469,[1] the

1469

Anno Reg. 9.

[Clarence married to Warwick's elder daughter.]

[*Hol.* iii. 671/2/70. *Halle*, 272.] duke of Clarence, being come to Calis with the earle of Warwike, after he had sworne on the sacrament to keepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabell, eldest daughter [*p.* 672] to the earle, in our ladies church there.

The challenge—"You that loue me and Warwick, follow me"—is succeeded by this stage direction : "Exit Clarence, and Somerset followes." As Clarence's ally has evidently been a subject of Edward, we may suppose that "Somerset" is Henry Beaufort, the third Duke, who, about Christmas, 1462, abandoned the Lancastrian party and was taken into Edward's favour.[2] Henry Beaufort soon rejoined the Lancastrians, and was beheaded by the Yorkists on May 15, 1464, after the battle of Hexham. But the historical peer who is called "Somerset" in 3 *Hen. VI.*, Act V., was Henry's brother Edmund, the fourth Duke, who was always a staunch Lancastrian. He and his brother, however, make one dramatic "Somerset" (see p. 335 below).

Holinshed (iii. 666/1/45) or Halle (259) might have supplied the fact that in 1463—seven years before Clarence's rebellion—Henry Beaufort "reuolted from King Edward, and fled to King Henrie."[3]

When Clarence and Somerset have departed, Edward gives an order to resist Warwick's invasion (ll. 130-133) :

> Pembrooke and Stafford, you in our behalfe
> Goe leuie men, and make prepare for Warre ;
> They are alreadie, or quickly will be, landed :
> My selfe in person will straight follow you.

At the historical date on which we may suppose this order to have been given, there was no open hostility between Edward and Warwick. Warwick, however, had secretly fomented a rebellion, which broke out soon after Clarence's marriage to his daughter[4] (July 11, 1469). Whereupon

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[1] This date is given in *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (Society of Antiquaries), 98.

[2] *Wyrc.*, 495. *Greg.*, 219.

[3] In these chronicles Somerset's return to the Lancastrians appears to be antedated by some six months. He deserted Edward 'a-boute Crystysmas,' 1463 (*Greg.*, 223) ; and was beheaded on May 15, 1464 (*Greg.*, 224, 225).

[4] *Warkw.*, 6. Pembroke was defeated at Edgcote, on July 26, 1469.—*Ibid.*

[*Hol.* iii. 672/1/60. *Halle*, 273.] King Edward, hauing perfect knowledge of all the dooings of the earle of Warwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed comming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yee haue heard)[1] he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delaie to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men. . . .

The earle of Penbroke [sent against the rebels].

And, to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford[2] of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king; in hope that he would serue valiantlie in that iournie: he had with him eight hundred archers.

The lord Stafford [ordered to assist the Earl of Pembroke].

Edward lingers until Montague and Hastings have assured him of their loyalty. The former exclaims (l. 143):

So God helpe Mountague as hee proues true!

Such a fervid protestation must have misrepresented his real feeling; though he was not induced by his brother

[*Hol.* iii. 670/2/30. *Halle*, 270, 271.] to take anie part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and power of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his vnhappie conspiracie, so with a faint hart he shewed himselfe an enimie vnto king Edward; which double dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren.

When, in July, 1469, a commotion, arising from local discontent, began in Yorkshire, Montague caused the leader of the rebels to be beheaded.[3] This procedure occasioned speculation:

[*Hol.* iii. 672/1/38. *Halle*, 272.] Some saie he did it, to the

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[1] "in reproofe of Iasper [Tudor, Henry VI.'s half-brother,] earle of Penbrooke, he [Edward IV.] created William lord Herbert earle of the same place." —*Hol.* iii. 667/1/4. *Halle*, 261. Herbert was created Earl of Pembroke in 1468.—*Dugdale*, iii. 256/1-2; cp. *Doyle*, iii. 16.

[2] In *T. T.* Edward's order is given to Pembroke alone, and Stafford is not mentioned.

[3] *Halle*, 272. Halle was mistaken in supposing that this movement in Yorkshire sprang from the Nevilles' intrigues. John Neville (Montague) was then Earl of Northumberland, and the fact (recorded in *Three Chronicles*, *B. L. C.*, 183) that one demand of the Yorkshire rebels was the restoration of this earldom to the Percies explains his action.

[Two explanations of Montague's conduct.]

intent to seeme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers dooings. But other iudge that he did it, for that, contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whome (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and fauour.[1]

Act IV., scc. ii., iii.[2]—"Enter Warwicke and Oxford in England, with French Souldiors" (sc. ii.).

Warwick is confident of success (ll. 1, 2):

> Trust me, my Lord, all hitherto goes well;
> The common people by numbers swarme to vs.

Though the rest of sc. ii., and parts of sc. iii., dramatize an event which happened in the Summer of 1469, the historical date of Warwick's remark must be August or September, 1470;[3] when, as the chronicler notes:

[Soldiers flocked to Warwick.]

[*Hol.* iii. 675/1/63. *Halle,* 282.] It is almost not to be beleeued, how manie thousands men of warre at the first tidings of the earles landing resorted vnto him.

They are joined by Clarence and Somerset; the former of whom Warwick thus addresses (ll. 13-17):

> And now what rests but, in Nights Couerture,
> Thy Brother being carelessely encamp'd,
> His Souldiors lurking in the Towne about,
> And but attended by a simple Guard,
> Wee may surprize and take him at our pleasure?

In sc. iii. "Warwicke, Clarence, Oxford, Somerset, and French Souldiors," enter, "silent all"; put to flight the royal "Guard";—composed of three "Watchmen";—and seize Edward, who demurs at

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[1] In the Spring of 1470, after Warwick's withdrawal to France (see p. 317 above), Edward "began seriously to immagine who were his frendes, and who were his foes, . . . many, trustyng to the kynges pardon, submitted and yelded theimself[s] to the Kynges clemencye. Emongest whome Ihon Marques Montacute humbly yelded hymself, and vowed to bee euer true to the kyng (as he had doen before tyme); whom he [Edward] with muche humanitie and faire wordes did receiue and intertain," . . .—*Halle,* 280. *Hol.* iii. 674/2/48.

[2] *The True Tragedie* has one scene here, opening thus: "Enter Warwike and Oxford, with souldiers." The talk between three "Watchmen"—with which scene iii. opens in 3 *Hen. VI.*—is not in the earlier text, nor are they mentioned in it. The entry of Warwick and the others (sc. iii.), with "French Souldiers, silent all," is not in *T. T.*

[3] On August 5 the landing of Clarence and Warwick was expected "evyrye daye."—*Paston,* ii. 406. August was the month in which, according to John Hooker (*Hol.* iii. 676/2/63), they landed. Other chroniclers give the following dates: about September 8 (*Three Chronicles, B. L. C.,* 183); September 13 (*Stow,* 701); "a lytelle before Michaelmesse" (*Warkw.,* 10).

being spoken of by Warwick as "the Duke." The King-maker answers (ll. 32-34):

> When you disgrac'd me in my Embassade,
> Then I degraded you from being King,
> And come now to create you Duke of Yorke.

After Warwick's landing, in 1470,

[*Hol.* iii. 675/1/58. *Halle*, 282.] he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie[1] the sixt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to bear armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to right had vsurped the crowne.

[Warwick proclaimed Henry VI., and charged men to fight against Edward Duke of York.]

"But Henry now shall weare the English Crowne," says Warwick, taking—according to the stage direction in 3 *Henry VI.*—the crown off Edward's head. Warwick then provides for his late sovereign's detention (ll. 51-53):

> My Lord of Somerset, at my request,
> See that forthwith Duke Edward be conuey'd
> Vnto my Brother, Arch-bishop of Yorke.

The Earl has still to fight "with Pembrooke and his fellowes"; though, if historic chronology be worth regarding, the army of which Warwick speaks was not in the field when Edward was captured. On July 26, 1469, Pembroke was defeated by the Northern rebels at Edgcote.[2] After this battle Edward

[*Hol.* iii. 673/1/50. *Halle*, 275.] assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who, being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioine with him. The duke, being not farre off, with all speed repaired to the earle, and so they ioined their powers togither, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (bicause they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) tooke small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt of his enimies.

[The armies of Warwick and Clarence were near Edward, who took small heed to himself.]

The earle of Warwike, intending not to leese such opportunitie

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[1] "Applaud the Name of Henry with your Leader!" is the order addressed by Warwick to the soldiers, when they are setting forth to surprise Edward (3 *Hen. VI.*, IV. ii. 27). In 3 *Hen. VI.* this line is followed by the stage direction: "They all cry 'Henry!'" In *T. T.* the soldiers, unbidden, shout, "A Warwike, a Warwike!" *Halle* says (283) that when Warwick landed, in 1470, "al the tounes and al the countrey adiacent [Lincolnshire] was in a great rore, and made fiers and sange songes; criyng, 'king Henry, kyng Henry! a Warwycke, a Warwycke!'"

[2] *Warkw.*, 6.

of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre, (as secretlie as was possible,) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and, yer the king was ware, (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned,) at a place called Wolnie [? Honiley,[1] Warwickshire], foure miles from Warwike, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Warwike. And, to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham castell in Yorkeshire; and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Yorke,[2] and other his freends in those parties.

King Edward taken prisoner [, conveyed to] *Middleham castell* [, and kept there by the Archbishop of York].

Act IV. sc. iv.—Queen Elizabeth and Rivers enter. More than a historic year has elapsed since Edward's capture, but she has just had news of this mischance. Being with child she resolves to take sanctuary (l. 31). When, in the Autumn of 1470, Edward's flight from England was known, all his

K. Edwards freends take sanctuarie.

[*Hol.* iii. 677/2/5. *Halle*, 285.] trustie freends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife queene Elizabeth tooke sanctuarie at Westminster, and there, in great penurie, forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward.

Queene Elizabeth deliuered of a prince.

Act IV. sc. v.—Gloucester discloses to Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley a plan for rescuing Edward (ll. 4-13):

> you know our King, my Brother, 4
> Is prisoner to the Bishop here, at whose hands,
> He hath good vsage and great liberty;
> And, often but attended with weake guard,
> Comes hunting this way to disport himselfe. 8
> I haue aduértis'd him by secret meanes
> That, if about this houre he makes this way,
> Vnder the colour of his vsuall game,
> He shall heere finde his Friends with Horse and Men, 12
> To set him free from his Captiuitie.

In October, 1469, Edward recovered the liberty which he had lost soon after Edgcote field[3] (July 26, 1469). His escape is thus narrated:

[*Hol.* iii. 673/1/73. *Halle*, 275.] King Edward, being thus in

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[1] *Gent. Mag.*, 1839, ii. 616.

[2] *the archbishop of Yorke*] Hol. *the Archebishop of Yorke hys brother*] Halle, 275.

[3] On September 29, 1469, Edward was at York, and virtually a prisoner.—*Warkw.*, 7; cp. *Cont. Croyl.*, 552. On October 13, 1469, he was in London, and free.—*Paston*, ii. 389. (Mr. Gairdner informed me that the privy seal dates show Edward to have been in London as early as October 13.)

captiuitie, spake euer faire to the archbishop, and to his other keepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. . . . [Edward had leave to hunt.]

. . . Now, on a daie, vpon a plaine, when he was thus abrode, there met with him sir William Stanleie, sir Thomas a Borough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst, moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therfore suffred him thus to scape out of danger. *Sir William Stanleie. K. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.*

Edward and a Huntsman enter. The King's question—"whether shall we?"—is answered by Hastings (ll. 20, 21):

To Lyn, my Lord,
And ship from thence to Flanders.

Edward's escape from the Nevilles' custody (October, 1469), and his flight after Warwick's landing (September, 1470), are here fused into one event. During the historic interval Edward was formally reconciled to Warwick,[1] and in March, 1470, suppressed a revolt which the Earl had stirred up (see p. 317 above). On the failure of this attempt, Warwick and Clarence withdrew to France, whence they invaded England in September, 1470 (see p. 322 above). Edward was unable to oppose them,

[*Hol.* iii. 675/1/73. *Halle*, 283.] and therefore, being accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, (which had maried the earles [Warwick's] sister, and yet was euer true to the king his maister,) and the lord Scales, brother to the queene, he departed into Lincolneshire. And, bicause he vnderstood that all the realme was vp against him, and some part of the earle of Warwiks power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduise of his counsell, with all hast possible, he passed the Washes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an English ship, and two hulkes of Holland, readie (as fortune would) to make saile. [Edward fled with Gloucester and Hastings.] *King Edward cõmeth to Lin and taketh ship to passe ouer seas.*

Whereupon he, with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and diuerse other his trustie friends, entered into the ship. The lord Hastings taried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of necessitie should tarie behind, to shew themselues *The lord Hastings* [told his acquaintance left in England to feign themselves

[1] *Cont. Croyl.*, 552.

friends of King Henry].

openlie as friends to king Henrie[1] for their owne safegard, but hartilie required them in secret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This persuasion declared, he entered the ship with the other, and so they departed;[2] being in number in that one ship and two hulkes, about seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other necessarie things with them, sauing apparell for warre.

The number that passed ouer with king Edward.

Act IV. sc. vi.—This scene opens with Henry's deliverance from the Tower. I quote an account of his liberation and reassumption of kingly state. In the beginning of October,[3] 1470, Warwick

King Henrie fetched out of the Tower & restored to his kinglie gouernement.

[*Hol.* iii. 677/2/40. *Halle*, 285.] rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degree.

On the fiue and twentith day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauering world, went to the Tower, and from thense brought king Henrie, apparelled in a long gowne of blew velvet, through London to the

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[1] When the Mayor hesitates to open the gates of York to Edward, Hastings says (3 *Hen. VI.*, IV. vii. 28): "Open the Gates; we are King Henries friends." In *Halle* (283) the passage which I quote in my text (*Hol.* iii. 675/2/14, &c.) runs thus: "The lord Chamberlayne taried a while after, exhortyng al his acquaintaunce, that of necessitie should tarye behinde, to shew themselfs openly as frendes to the parte aduerse for their owne sauegard," . . .

[2] On (*Warkw.*, 11) or about (*Cont. Croyl.*, 554) September 29, 1470.

[3] On October 6, according to *Stow* (702), Warwick removed Henry from the Tower to the Bishop of London's palace at St. Pauls. On October 13 Henry "went a procession crowned in Paules Church."—*Ibid.* *Cont. Croyl.* (554) also gives October 13 as the date of this public function, but the place is not named. *Halle* (285), *Hol.'s* authority, makes October 12 the date on which Warwick removed Henry from a ward in the Tower to the royal lodgings therein; whence, on October 25, the King was publicly escorted to the Bishop of London's palace. *Fab.* (659) says that, on October 13, Clarence, "accompanyed with the Erlys of Warwyke, of Shrowysbury, and the lord Stanley, rode vnto the Tower, and there with all honour and reuerence fet out kynge Henry, and conueyed hym to Paulys, and there lodgyd hym in the Bysshoppes Palays, & so was than admytted and taken for kynge thorugh all the lande." *Stow's* early date—probably derived from *Three Chronicles* (*B. L. C.*), 183—for Henry's removal from the Tower is to be preferred, because the restored King's writs for the election of coroners were dated on October 9.—*Rymer*, xi. 661.

church of saint Paule; the people on euerie side the streets reioising and crieng, "God saue the king!" as though ech thing had succeeded as they would haue had it: and, when he had offered (as kings vse to doo), he was conueied to the bishops palace, where he kept his houshold like a king. [Henry brought through London in royal state to St. Pauls, and afterwards lodged at the Bishop's palace.]

Having resolved to lead a private life, Henry commits the government of England to Warwick and Clarence (l. 41):

I make you both Protectors of this Land, . . .

Halle (286) was Holinshed's authority for representing that Warwick

[*Hol.* iii. 678/1/43.] was made gouernour[1] of the realme, with whom as fellow was associat George duke of Clarence. *The earle of Warwike instituted gouernour of the realme.*

Warwick accepts the charge, and says to Clarence (ll. 53-57):

now then it is more then needfull,
Forthwith that Edward be pronounc'd a Traytor,
And all *his* Lands and *Goods* be *confiscate*.[2]
Clar. What else? and that Succession be determined. 56
Wark. I, therein Clarence shall not want his part.

The following excerpt forms the source of these lines, which are not in *The True Tragedie;*

[*Hol.* iii. 677/2/71. *Halle*, 286.] When king Henrie had thus readopted and eftsoons gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement, to begin the six and twentith day of Nouember, at Westminster; in the [*p.* 678] which king Edward was adiudged a traitor to the countrie, and an vsurper of the realme. *His goods* were *confiscat*[3] and forfeited. . . . *A parlement.* *K. Edward adiudged an vsurper* [, and his goods confiscated].

Moreouer, . . . the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the sixt, and to his heires male; and, for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and, further, the said duke was inabled to be next heire to *The crowne intailed* [to Henry, with remainder to Clarence].

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[1] *Polyd. Verg.* (521) was *Halle's* authority for Clarence's association with Warwick in the government of England. "The roll of the parliament which met on the 26th November 1470 is not known to be in existence; probably it was destroyed in 1477, when all the proceedings of that parliament were annulled (*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 191)."—*Arrival*, 41. From the writer of *The Arrival of Edward IV.* (1, 8) we learn that Warwick was appointed by Henry, "Lievetenaunte of England."

[2] *be confiscate*] Malone. *confiscate* 3 Hen. VI.

[3] al *his gooddes were confiscate*] Halle, 286.

his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had beene his eldest sonne at the time of his death.

Henry entreats Warwick and Clarence (ll. 58-61) to rank "with the first of all" those "chiefe affaires" needing despatch,

> That Margaret your Queene and my Sonne Edward
> Be sent for, to returne from France with speed; . . .

They had news of the change in England, but their return was delayed.

[When Margaret heard of the Lancastrians' success she purposed returning to England.]

[*Hol.* iii. 678/1/49. *Halle*, 286, 287.] When queene Margaret vnderstood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their freends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another season.[1]

Henry then says (ll. 65, 66):

> My Lord of Somerset, what youth is that,
> Of whom you seeme to haue so tender care?
> *Somers.* My Liege, it is young Henry, Earle of Richmond.

Laying his hand on Richmond's head, Henry predicts that "this prettie Lad"[2] is

> Likely in time to blesse a Regall Throne.
> Make much of him, my Lords, for this is hee
> Must helpe you more then you are hurt by mee.

A story which Holinshed copied from Halle (287) has here been dramatized. In 1471,[3]

Iasper earle of Penbroke [met Henry Tudor].

[*Hol.* iii. 678/1/57.] Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbrokeshire, where he found lord Henrie, sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age;[4] he being kept in maner like a captiue, but

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[1] Lack of "stable wethar to passe with" detained her from March 24 till April 13, 1471.—*Arrival*, 22.

[2] Henry VII. was "of a woonderfull beautie and faire complexion."—*Hol.* iii. 797/1/50. *Halle*, 504. He was "so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature that he seemed more an angelicall creature than a terrestriall personage."—*Hol.* iii. 757/1/53. *Halle*, 416.

[3] Pembroke seems to have gone to Wales about the time when Margaret was awaiting a passage.—*Halle*, 287. Cp. *Arrival*, 24.

[4] Henry was born in 1457.—*Doyle*, iii. 119.

honorablie brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, . . .

The earle of Penbroke tooke this child, being his nephue, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the sixt; whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: "Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our "aduersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall hereafter "giue roome and place." So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie, so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England.

The saieng of king Henrie the sixt, of Henrie of Richmond, after king Henrie the seuenth.

The dramatic fusion which made one event of Edward's escape from his subjects' custody, and his flight from England, has a strange result when "a Poste" tells Warwick (ll. 78, 79):

> That Edward is escapëd from your Brother,
> And fled (as he heares since) to Burgundie.[1]

Half of this news (l. 78) takes us back to October, 1469; the other half (l. 79) transports us to September, 1470 (see p. 325 above).

All now go out save Somerset, Richmond, and Oxford. Somerset fears what may befall Richmond in the conflicts which are sure to follow Edward's escape:

> Therefore, Lord Oxford, to preuent the worst,
> Forthwith wee'le send him hence to Brittanie,
> Till stormes be past of Ciuill Enmitie.—ll. 96-98.

The battle of Tewkesbury was fought on May 4, 1471.[2] About four months[3] after this date Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke,

[*Hol.* iii. 693/1/53. *Halle*, 303.] was conueied to Tinbie, where he got ships, and with his nephue, the lord Henrie earle of Richmond, sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke, they were

The earle of Penbroke with his nephue the earle of Richmond

[1] The order of events differs in *T. T.* and 3 *Hen. VI.* In the former we have: Edward's escape (*F.*, IV. v.); Queen Elizabeth's withdrawal to sanctuary (*F.*, IV. iv.); Edward's return (*F.*, IV. vii.); Henry's release and prophecy touching Richmond (*F.*, IV. vi.). Immediately after Henry's presageful words have been uttered, there enters "one with a letter to Warwike." From this letter Warwick learns that Edward has landed and is marching to London (*F.*, IV. viii.).

[2] *Arrival*, 28.

[3] Writing on September 28, 1471, Sir John Paston announces a report that "the Erle of Penbroke is taken on to Brettayn; and men saye that the Kynge schall have delyvere off hym hastely, and som seye that the Kynge off France woll se hym saffe, and schall sett hym at lyberte ageyn."—*Paston*, iii. 17. Richmond is not mentioned in the letter.

passe ouer into Britaine.

courteouslie interteined; with assurance made, that no creature should doo them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions.

Act IV. sc. vii.—"Flourish. Enter Edward, Richard, Hastings, and Souldiers." In *The True Tragedie* Edward, Richard, and Hastings enter "with a troope of Hollanders."[1] Edward has "brought desirëd helpe from Burgundie" (l. 6); and has now "arriu'd,"

From Rauenspurre Hauen, before the Gates of Yorke, . . .

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,

1471

He aideth K. Edward vnder hand [with money and ships].

[*Hol.* iii. 678/2/72. *Halle*, 290.] would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the [*p.* 679] crosse of S. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the hauen of de Veere, otherwise called Camphire in Zeland, which in those daies was free for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him fourteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, & for the more suertie tooke a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fifteene daies after.

On March 14, 1471,[2] Edward landed at Ravenspur, and moved towards York (*Halle*, 290, 291).

The gates have been "made fast" (l. 10). Hastings knocks "once more, to summon" the magnates of the city. In response: "Enter, on the Walls, the Maior of Yorke and his Brethren." A colloquy succeeds (ll. 17-24):

Maior. My Lords, we were fore-warnëd of your comming,
And shut the Gates for safetie of our selues;
For now we owe allegeance vnto Henry.
Edw. But, Master Maior, if Henry be your King,
Yet Edward, at the least, is Duke of Yorke.
Maior. True, my good Lord, I know you for no lesse.
Edw. Why, and I challenge nothing but my Dukedome,
As being well content with that alone.

The Mayor accepts Edward's explanation, and the gates are opened. To illustrate this part of sc. vii., I quote Halle[3] (291, 292):

Kyng Edward, without any wordes spoken to hym, cam peaceably nere to Yorke [on March 18,[4] 1471], of whose commynge,

[1] *Fab.* (660) says that Edward landed at Ravenspur "with a small company of Flemynges and other."

[2] *Arrival*, 2.

[3] The account which *Hol.* gives of Edward's campaign in 1471 was chiefly taken from *The Arrival of Edw. IV.* This pamphlet contains a great deal which is not in *Halle*, whom the writer of *The True Tragedie* followed.

[4] *Arrival*, 5.

when the citiezens wer certefied, without delay they armed themselfe, and came to defend the gates; sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen[1] of the citie, whych ernestly admonished hym on their behalfe to come not one foote nerar, nor temerariouslye to enter in to so great ieopardy; consideringe that they were fully determined and bent to compell hym to retract with dent of swourd. Kyng Edward . . . determined to set forward neither with army nor with weapon, but with lowly wordes & gentel entreatynges; requyryng moste hartely the messengers that were sent to declare to the citizens that he came neither to demaund the realme of England, nor the superiorities of the same, but onely the duchie of Yorke, his olde enheritance; the which duchie, if he might by their meanes readept and recouer, he would neuer let passe out of hys memorie so great a benifite, and so frendly a gratuitie to hym exhibited. And so with fayre wordes and flatterynge speche he dismissed the messengers, and with good spede he and his folowed so quickly after that they were almost at ye gates as sone as the Ambassadors. The citezens, heryng his good answere, that he ment nor entended nothynge preiudiciall to kynge Henry nor his royall authoritie, were much mitigated & cooled, & began to commen with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey hym self into some other place without delay, which if he did they assured hym that he should haue neither hurte nor damage; but he, gently speakyng to all men, and especially to suche as were Aldermen, (whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted,) after many fayre promises to them made, exhorted & desyred them that by their fauourable frendshyp & frendly permission he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. All the whole daye was consumed in doutful communication & ernest interlocution. The citiezens, partely wonne by hys fayre wordes, & partly by hope [*p.* 292] of hys large promises, fell to this pact & conuencion, that, yf kyng Edward woulde swere to entertayne his citiezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient and faythfull

[Two aldermen of York were sent to tell Edward that the citizens would not admit him within their gates.]

[Edward answered that he came not to claim the realm, but his duchy of York.]

[When the aldermen returned to York, Edward followed, and assured the citizens that he meant nothing prejudicial to Henry's authority.]

[The citizens parleyed with Edward from the walls, desiring him to remove elsewhere, but he mildly persisted in asking to enter York.]

[At last they yielded to his request, on condition that he should use them well, and be loyal to Henry.]

[1] In 3 *Hen. VI.*, IV. vii. 34, the Mayor opens the gates of York, and enters below with "two Aldermen." In *T. T.* he enters alone.

to all kyng Henryes commaundementes and preceptes, that then they woulde receyue hym in to their citie, & ayde and comfort hym with money. . . . When kyng Edward had appesed the citiezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the citie, &, clerely forgettinge his othe, he first set a garrison of souldiers in the towne,[1] to the entent that nothyng should be moued agaynst hym by the citezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money.

[But when Edward was admitted into York, he set a garrison there.]

When Edward has taken the keys of York from the Mayor, a march is heard, and Sir John Montgomery enters "with Drumme and Souldiers." Edward's question—"why come you in Armes"—is thus answered by Sir John (ll. 43, 44):

> To helpe King Edward in his time of storme,
> As euery loyall Subiect ought to doe. 44
> *Edw.* Thankes, good Mountgomerie; but we now forget
> Our Title to the Crowne, and onely clayme
> Our Dukedome till God please to send the rest.
> *Mount.* Then fare you well, for I will hence again: 48
> I came to serue a King and not a Duke.—
> Drummer, strike vp, and let vs march away!

Edward is soon persuaded to reassume his royal style; whereupon Hastings cries (ll. 69, 70):

> Sound Trumpet! Edward shal be here proclaim'd:
> Come, fellow Souldior, make thou proclamation!
> [*Flourish. Sound.*

Soul. Edward the Fourth, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, &c.

Edward left York on March 19, and arrived at Nottingham a few days later;[2] where

Edw. Hall. [*Hol.* iii. 680/2/49. *Halle*, 292.] there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie, with their aids; which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of K. Edward the fourth: boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

[Sir Thomas Montgomery would serve no man but a king.]

Act IV. sc. viii.—King Henry, Warwick, Montague, Clarence,

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[1] When the Mayor has yielded the keys of York, he is told that "Edward will defend the Towne and thee."—3 *Hen. VI.*, IV. vii. 38.

[2] *Arrival*, 5, 7. Sir Thomas Montgomery is not mentioned in *Arrival* or *Warkw.* According to the former (and better) authority Edward was "receyvyd as Kynge" at Warwick, on or about April 2; "and so made his proclamations from that tyme forthe wards."—*Arrival*, 9. *Warkw.* (14) agrees with *Halle* in assigning an earlier date to Edward's proclamation as King, and in making Nottingham the scene of that step.

Oxford, and Somerset meet to take counsel, since news has come that Edward

> With hastie Germanes, and blunt Hollanders,
> Hath pass'd in safetie through the Narrow Seas,
> And with his troupes doth march amaine to London; . . . 4

Warwick will muster up friends in Warwickshire,[1] while the other Lords do the same in different parts of England. All are to meet at Coventry (l. 32). These arrangements made, they bid Henry farewell, and depart. The scene is carried on, or a new scene begins,[2] with Henry's remark:

> Here at the Pallace [of the Bishop of London] will I rest a while.

His army is already in the field, and he speaks confidently of his subjects' affection for him. Before Exeter—whom Henry has been addressing—can reply, they hear shouts, which are immediately followed by the entrance of Edward, Richard, and Yorkist soldiers. Edward exclaims (ll. 53, 54, 58):

> Seize on the shamefac'd Henry, beare him hence,
> And once againe proclaime vs King of England! . . .
> Hence with him to the Tower; let him not speake!

Edward received a voluntary offer of submission from the Mayor, aldermen, and leading citizens of London.[3]

When, says Halle (294),

the duke of Somerset,[4] and other of kynge Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for hym selfe, leuinge kyng Henry alone, as an hoste that shoulde be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London adioyninge to Poules churche; not knowyng of whom, nor what, counsayll to aske, as he which wyth troble and aduersitie was clerely dulled and appalled: in whych place he was [, on April 11,[5]] by kyng Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

Kyng Henry yᵉ .vi. agayne taken and cõmitted to prison.

Act V. sc. i.—At the close of the last scene, after Henry has been led out, Edward declares the next step to be taken (IV. viii. 59, 60):

> And, Lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,
> Where peremptorie Warwicke now remaines: . . .

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[1] He was in Warwickshire when Edward landed.—*Hol.* iii. 680/1/5; *Halle*, 291. A letter (printed in Oman's *King-maker*, 221, 222) contains a postscript written by the Earl at Warwick, on March 25, 1471.

[2] Mr. Daniel begins another scene here, and allots a separate day to it.—*T-A.*, 320.

[3] *Arrival*, 16.

[4] In April, 1471, Queen Margaret's landing was expected, and, with the design of collecting men to assist her, Somerset left London for the west of England some days before April 11, when Edward entered the city.—*Arrival*, 14, 15.

[5] *Arrival*, 17.

In this scene he appears before Coventry, and summons Warwick to the walls. Warwick marvels (v. i. 19, 20):

> Where slept our Scouts, or how are they seduc'd,
> That we could heare no newes of his repayre?

The dramatic action brings Edward from York to London, and then from London to Coventry; but the latter movement is fictitious. Edward was bound for London when—on March 29, 1471[1]—he

[Edward bade Warwick battle in a plain before Coventry, but the Earl would not come forth.]

[*Halle*, 293.] auaunced hys power toward Couentre, & in a playn by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next daye after that he came thither, hys men were set forwarde, and marshalled in array, & he valiantly bad the erle battayle: which mistrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the Walles.

Warwick rejects with bitter scorn Edward's offer of grace, which Richard presses (ll. 21-52). According to Halle (293), after Clarence had been reconciled to Edward,

[After Clarence's secession the three brethren determined to attempt a reconciliation with Warwick.]

was it concluded emongest the .iii. brethren to attempt therle of Warwicke, if by any fayr means he might be reconciled or by any promise allured to their parte. To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secrete frendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarely to require him to take some good ende now, while he might, with kyng Edward.

[Clarence excused himself to Warwick, and advised the Earl's reconciliation with Edward.]

When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lorde, how he detested & accursed him! crienge out on him that he, contrary to his oth, promise, & fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from his confederates & alies. But to the dukes messengers he gaue none other answere but thys: that he had leuer be alwayes lyke him selfe then lyke a false and a *periured*[2] duke; and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war, tyll eyther he had lost hys owne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished & put vnder hys foes and enemies.

[Warwick answered that he was not like a perjured Duke, and would never make peace.]

The forces of Oxford, Montague, and Somerset[3] now march into

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[1] *Arrival*, 9.

[2] When Clarence is welcomed by Edward and Richard, Warwick exclaims (3 *Hen. VI.*, V. i. 106): "Oh passing Traytor, *periur'd* and vniust!"

[3] Somerset was not at Coventry. He went westward before Edward entered London (see p. 333, n. 4, above); met Queen Margaret at Cerne Abbey, Dorset, on April 15 (*Arrival*, 28); and mustered the forces which marched to Tewkesbury (*Ibid.*).

Coventry. Each leader, as he enters the city, cries that he is "for Lancaster!" (ll. 59-72).

The noblemen, who afterwards fought on Warwick's side at Barnet, were, as Halle relates (295):

[In Warwick's army were Exeter, Somerset, Oxford, and Montagu.]

Henry[1] duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Somerset,[2] Ihon erle of Oxenford, and Ihon Marques Montacute, whom y^e^ erle his brother wel knewe not to be well mynded (but sore agaynste hys stomacke) to take part with these lordes; and therefore stode in a doubt whether he at this tyme might trust him or no; but the fraternal loue betwene them washed awaye and diminished all suspicion [cp. 3 *Hen. VI.*, V. ii. 33-47].

[Montagu was loth to take part with the Lancastrians, but Warwick trusted him.]

As Somerset enters Coventry, Richard observes (ll. 73-75):

> Two of thy Name, both Dukes of Somerset,
> Haue sold their Liues vnto the House of Yorke;
> And thou shalt be the third, if this Sword hold.

The dramatist has here remembered that three historical Dukes of Somerset lost their lives through opposing the House of York: (1) Edmund Beaufort the elder, slain at the first battle of St. Albans; (2) Henry, his son, beheaded after Hexham field;—a battle which is not even alluded to in the play;—and (3) Henry's brother german Edmund, who met the same fate after the battle of Tewkesbury[3] (see p. 320 above).

Lastly, Clarence, approaching the walls of Coventry with a large force, repudiates his oath of allegiance to Henry (ll. 89-91), and turns to Edward and Richard, by whom he is gladly welcomed[4] (ll. 100-105).

Halle (293) relates that Warwick, before shutting himself up in Coventry, sent hastily

[Warwick sent for Clarence, who had assembled a great host.]

for the duke of Clarence to ioyne with hym; which had conscribed & assembled together a great host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd al thinges negligently, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somwhat to suspect that the Duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaunged; . . . yet he had perfect worde that the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army. Kyng Edward, beynge also therof enformed, raysed his campe, & made toward y^e^ duke. . . . When eche host was in sight of other,

[Clarence's delay caused Warwick some misgivings.]

[Clarence approached with an army, and Edward marched towards him.]

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[1] *Henry*] *Ihon* Halle.

[2] *Hol.*—who copied *Arrival*, 12—does not mention Somerset's presence.

[3] "Three Dukes of Somerset" are counted by Edward among his slain foemen (3 *Hen. VI.*, V. vii. 5).

[4] Clarence met his brothers near Warwick, in April; not later than the 4th of that month.—*Arrival*, 11-13.

[When the armies were in sight, Gloucester mediated between Edward and Clarence,

Rychard duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbitrer betwene them, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym commoned very secretly: from hym he came to kyng Edward, and with lyke secretnes so vsed hym that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but a fraternall amitie, was concluded and proclaymed; and then, leuyng all armye and weapon a syde, bothe the bretherne louyngly embraced, and familierly commoned together.

[and at last the two brothers met and embraced.]

Addressing Warwick, Clarence gives a reason for abandoning Henry (ll. 83-85):

> I will not ruinate my Fathers House,
> Who gaue his blood to lyme the stones together, 84
> *And set vp Lancaster.* Why, trowest thou, Warwicke,
> That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, vn*naturall*,
> To bend the fatall Instruments of Warre
> *Against* his Brother and his lawfull King? 88

This view had been urged on Clarence when he was a refugee in France, about a year before his desertion of Warwick. A "damosell," who professed to have been sent from England, by Edward, for the purpose of making terms with the Earl of Warwick,

[Clarence was persuaded that it was unnatural to take part against his own house, and set up the house of Lancaster.]

[*Halle*, 281.] perswaded the duke of Clarence that it was neither *naturall* nor honorable to hym, either to condiscende, or take parte, *against* the house of Yorke, (of which he was lineally descended,) *and* to *set vp* again the house of *Lancaster*, . . .

After welcoming Clarence, Edward challenges Warwick to "leaue the Towne and fight." Warwick answers (ll. 110, 111):

> I will away towards Barnet presently,
> And bid thee Battaile, Edward, if thou dar'st.
> *Edw.* Yes, Warwicke, Edward dares, and leads the way.— 112
> Lords, to the field! Saint George and Victorie!
> [*Exeunt. March. Warwicke and his companie followes.*

On April 5, 1471, Edward again offered Warwick battle before Coventry.[1] As the Earl would not stir,

[Edward marched towards London.]

[*Halle*, 293-295.] kyng Edward, thus beyng [, by Clarence's alliance,] furnished of a strong hoste, went without any maner [*p.* 294] of diffidence or mistrust toward London. . . . Therle of Warwycke, pondering that the gain of the whole battail stode in makyng hast, with al diligence followed his enemies; hopynge (that

[1] *Arrival*, 13. Edward entered London on April 11.—*Arrival*, 17. On April 13 he encamped on Barnet field.—*Arrival*, 18.

yf they wer neuer let so lytle *with* any stop or tariyng by y^e^ waye) to fight with them before thei should come to London [*p.* 295]. . . . [After resting awhile at St. Albans] he remoued to a village in the meane waye betwene London & saynct Albones, called Barnet, beyng tenne myle distaunt from bothe the tounes.

[Warwick followed Edward, and, failing to overtake him, [halted at Barnet.]

Act V. sc. ii.—"Alarum and Excursions. Enter Edward bringing forth Warwicke wounded." *The True Tragedie* has: "Alarmes, and then enter Warwike wounded." From the former stage direction, and the succeeding lines (1-4),—which are not in *The True Tragedie*,—one may infer that Warwick has been mortally wounded by Edward. For Warwick's death at Edward's hand I find no authority. Halle tells us (296) that, towards the close of the battle of Barnet,—fought on Easter Day, April 14, 1471,[1]—Warwick,

[*Halle*, 296.] beyng a manne of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, whereas he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill & sley his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was, in the middes of his enemies, striken doune & slain. The marques Montacute, thynkynge to succor his brother whiche he sawe was in greate ieoperdy, & yet in hope to obtein the victory, was likewise ouerthrowen and slain.

[Warwick died fighting in the midst of his enemies.] [Montague was slain in attempting to rescue him.]

Edward leaves Warwick to die. Soon Oxford and Somerset enter They have just had news that (l. 31)

> The Queene from France hath brought a puissant power;

and, as the scene ends, Oxford cries:

> Away, away, to meet the Queenes great power!

Queen Margaret, having heard of Edward's return,

[*Halle*, 297.] gathered together no small compaignie of hardy and valiaunt souldiours, determined with all haste and diligence, with Prince Edwarde her sonne, to saile into Englande; but yet once again (suche was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynde, & encombered with to[o] muche rigorous tempeste, "a daie after the faire," (as the common prouerbe saieth,) landed at the Port of Weymouth, in Dorsetshire [, on April 14, 1471].[2]

[Margaret's passage was delayed for lack of a favourable wind.] [She came too late, when at last she reached England.]

Act V. sc. iii.—The historical date of this scene must be April 14, 1471, if we look solely at the fact that the battle of Barnet is just over.

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[1] *Arrival*, 19.

[2] *Arrival*, 22. *Warkw.*, 17. The battle of Barnet was fought on the same day.—*Arrival*, 19.

But Edward already knows that Queen Margaret's troops "doe hold their course toward Tewksbury" (l. 19); and he resolves to go thither "straight." We learn from *The Arrivall of King Edward IV.* that news of her landing reached him on April 16; and on April 24 he marched from Windsor in search of her army. He did not ascertain the Lancastrians' purpose to give him battle at Tewkesbury until May 3, though before leaving Windsor he was satisfied that they were not coming directly towards London, but were keeping to the north-west, in hope of gathering reinforcements from Wales and Lancashire.[1]

Act V. sc. iv.—The dramatist has disregarded his authority in making Queen Margaret address her confederates with such assurance of future triumph[2] (ll. 1-38); for Halle says (297) that, when news of Barnet field came,

[Warwick's defeat overwhelmed Margaret.]

she, like a woman al dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencoly.

Margaret would have deferred a battle, but she yielded to Somerset's advice that war should be renewed without delay (*Halle*, 298, 299).

Act V. sc. v.—In *The True Tragedie* this scene opens with the following stage direction: "Alarmes to the battell, Yorke flies, then the chambers be discharged. Then enter the King, Cla. & Glo. & the rest, & make a great shout, and crie, for Yorke, for Yorke, and then the Queene is taken, & the prince, & Oxf. & Som. and then sound and enter all againe." These instructions—which I print with the punctuation unaltered—show that a retreat and victorious re-entry of the Yorkists were exhibited on the stage. At Tewkesbury field, Richard—as we learn from Halle (300)—led the Yorkist vaward against that part of the entrenched Lancastrian camp which was defended by Somerset. Failing to carry the position by assault, Richard, "for a very politique purpose, wyth all hys men reculed backe." Somerset followed the Yorkists who, turning, discomfited their pursuers, and, supported by Edward's division, entered the camp. The Lancastrians who remained there were soon routed. "The Quene was founde in her Charriot almost deade for sorowe."[3] The Prince was "apprehended," and Somerset was "by force" taken prisoner.

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[1] These particulars, with the dates of April 16, 24, and May 3, are given in *Arrival*, 22, 24, 25, and 28.

[2] Her speech just before the armies join battle (3 *Hen. VI.*, V. iv. 77-81) has a slight general resemblance to Warwick's oration when he was on the point of engaging Edward's troops at Barnet. The Earl told his men that "they fight not onely for the libertie of the countreye agaynste a tiraunte, which wrongfullye and againste all right had inuaded and subdued thys realme, but they fyght in the querel of a true and vndubitate king against a cruell man and a torcious vsurper; in the cause of a Godly and a pitiful Prince against an abhominable manqueller and bloudy boutcher;". . . In which cause beyng so good, so godly, & so iust, God of very iustice must nedes be their shilde and defence."—*Halle*, 295.

[3] On May 7 Edward heard that she had been found in "a powre religiows place" near Worcester, where she stayed during the battle.—*Arrival*, 31.

The victory won, Edward immediately disposes of two Lancastrian leaders (ll. 2, 3):

> Away with Oxford to Hames Castle straight!
> For Somerset, off with his guiltie Head!

Oxford shared the Lancastrians' defeat at Barnet, but he was not with them when they were vanquished at Tewkesbury, on May 4, 1471. It was not until February 15, 1474,[1] that

The earle of Oxford [surrendered St. Michael's Mount, and was imprisoned in the castle of Hammes]. 1472 [1474]

[*Hol.* iii. 693/2/20. *Halle*, 304.] Iohn earle of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of aid, or persuaded by his friends, gaue vp the mount, and yeelded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie saued), which to him was granted. But, to be out of all doutfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeeres, hee was in strong prison shut vp and warilie looked to.

On May 6, 1471,[2]

[Somerset beheaded.]

[*Halle*, 301.] was Edmond duke of Somerset . . . behedded in the market-place at Tewkesbury.

As Oxford and Somerset are led out, Edward asks (ll. 9, 10):

> Is Proclamation made, That who finds Edward
> Shall haue a high Reward, and he his Life?

Scarcely have these words been uttered when Prince Edward is seen approaching. The King thus addresses his rival (ll. 14-16):

> Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make
> For bearing Armes, for stirring vp my Subiects,
> And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to?
> *Prince.* Speake like a Subiect, prowd ambitious Yorke!
> Suppose that I am now my Fathers Mouth;
> Resigne thy Chayre, and, where I stand, kneele thou,
> Whil'st I propose the selfe-same words to thee,
> Which, Traytor, thou would'st haue me answer to!

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[1] Escaping from the rout at Barnet, John Earl of Oxford went first to Scotland and afterwards to France.—*Warkw.*, 16, 26; *Arrival*, 20. On April 10, 1473, he was at Dieppe, purposing, as was supposed, to sail for Scotland.—*Paston*, iii. 88. He landed at St. Ossyths in Essex on May 28, 1473, but soon reëmbarked.—*Paston*, iii. 92. On September 30, 1473, he took possession of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which he defended against the royal forces until February 15, 1474, when the defection of his garrison obliged him to surrender. He was then brought as a prisoner to Edward, who immediately sent him to Hammes Castle (Calais).—*Warkw.*, 26, 27; *Polyd. Verg.*, 532/44. William of Worcester (*Itinerarium*, 122) and *Warkw.* differ as to the length of the siege, and the former gives Feb. 19 as the date of surrender.

[2] *Arrival*, 31. *Warkw.*, 19.

The Prince repeats his claim to sovereignty (ll. 33-37), and is forthwith murdered:

Edw. Take that, thou[1] likenesse of this Rayler here!
[*Stabs him.*
Rich. Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agonie!
[*Rich. stabs him.*
Clar. And ther's for twitting me with periurie! 40
[*Clar. stabs him.*

The account of Prince Edward's death here dramatized is given by Holinshed, whose authority was Halle (301).

[*Hol.* iii. 688/2/7.] After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoeuer could bring foorth prince Edward aliue or dead, should haue an annuitie of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought foorth aliue. Sir Richard Crofts [the Prince's captor], nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought foorth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned yoong gentleman;[2] whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuouslie enter into his realme with banner displaied?

Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hope that his life should haue beene saued.

Wherevnto the prince boldlie answered, saieng: "To recouer "my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather "to him, and from him after him to me, lineallie descended." At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom, incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquesse Dorcet, and William lord Hastings, that stood by, suddenlie murthered: . . .

Prince Edward murthered.

Act V. sc. vi.—Having helped to slay Prince Edward, Richard posts off "to London on a serious matter" (V. v. 47). Scene vi. is laid at the Tower. Richard enters with Henry, whom, after some conference, he stabs to death (l. 57) with a sword (l. 63). Henry died on May 21 or 22, 1471.[3] He was

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[1] 38. *thou*] Whole Contention (Q3). *the* 3 Hen. VI.

[2] *being a . . . gentleman*] Hol. *beynge a* good Femenine & a wel feautered *younge gentleman* Halle, 301. Edward apostrophizes him as "thou likenesse of this Rayler here" [Queen Margaret].

[3] *Warkw.* (21) says: "And the same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde came to Londone, Kynge Herry, beynge inwarde [? in ward] in presone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxj. day of Maij, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj. and xij. of the cloke, beynge thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucetre, brothere to Kynge Edwarde, and many other"; . . . From a chronicle (MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 28, fol. 25, v°, cited in *Warkw.*, xiii.) we

[*Hol.* iii. 690/2/61.] in the Tower spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Glocester, (as the constant fame ran,) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie) murthered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Halle [303]. *King Henrie the sixt murthered in the Tower.*

Edward is ignorant of Richard's sudden resolve to despatch Henry (l. 83). More—whose narrative I here give in Halle's words (343)—asserts that Richard

slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixt; saiynge: "now is there "no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde but wee of the house "of Yorke!"[1] whyche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assent; which would haue appointed that bocherly office to [*too* Halle] some other rather then to hys owne brother.

Kyng Henry the .vi. slayn in the towar by Richard the iij.

Act V. sc. vii.—We may suppose this scene to be laid in the Palace at Westminster. There are present King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings, and the infant Prince Edward, of whom a nurse has charge. Clarence demands (ll. 37-40):

> What will your Grace haue done with Margaret?
> Regnard, her Father, to the King of France
> Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Ierusalem,
> And hither haue they sent it for her ransome.
> *King.* Away with her, and waft her hence to France!

An interval of more than four historic years elapsed between the dates of Margaret's ransom and the battle of Tewkesbury; though, according to dramatic time, the latter event is very recent. In 1475[2] the agreement was made by which

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learn that Henry "decessit" on May 21. According to *Three Chronicles* (*B. L. C.*), 184, he died "feliciter" on May 22. A fourth chronicle (MS. Laud, 674 (B. 23) fol. 11, r°, cited in *Warkw.*, xi.) records that Henry "moriebatur" on May 22. A fifth chronicle (MS. Bib. Reg. 2 B. xv. fol. 1, r°, cited in *Warkw.*, xi.) fixes the time of his death between ("inter") the 21st and 22nd of May. Finally, the Yorkist writer of *Arrival* (38) asserts that Henry died on May 23, "of pure displeasure, and melencoly."

[1] Glo. *The Tower, man, the Tower; Ile root them out.*] T. T. Rich. [*The*] *Tower, the Tower.* 3 Hen. VI., V. v. 50. The words "now is . . . of Yorke" are in *Halle*, but not in *Hol.*

[2] The articles of this agreement—"aduisez par et entre Le Roy de France dune part Et messires Iehan seigneur de Hauart et Thomas seigneur de mongomery chivalers conseillers du Roy dangleterre Touchant le bail et deliurance de dame marguerit fille du Roy de Secille"—are dated October 2, 1475. Her ransom was 50,000 crowns of gold. The original articles, signed by Lewis's own hand, are preserved in the British Museum. An order, dated November 13, 1475, and addressed to Sir Thomas Montgomery, authorizes him to receive Margaret from Thomas Thwaytes and deliver her to Lewis or to such persons as shall be chosen by Lewis and Montgomery in Edward's name. —*Rymer*, xii. 22. Her ransom was to be paid within five years (*Rymer*, xii. 51); and, on March 21, 1480, Edward gave Lewis a full acquittance.—*Rymer*,

[René paid Margaret's ransom by selling Lewis XI. the two Sicilies and Provence.]

[*Halle*, 301.] King Reiner her father raunsomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borowed of kyng Lewes y^e^ xi.; and, because he was not of power nor abilitie to repaye so greate a dutie, he solde to the French kyng & his heyres the kingdomes of Naples and both the Sciciles, wyth the countie of Prouince. . . .

There is another unhistorical personage in this play besides the dual "Somerset." "Westmerland" is a hot Lancastrian in 3 *Hen. VI.*, I. i., but the historical second Earl—grandson of Ralph Neville, the first Earl—kept aloof from civil strife.[1]

"Exeter," in the First and Third Parts of *Henry VI.*, is, I suspect, the same person; though the historical Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, died in 1426, and, during the war of the Roses,[1*] this title was borne by Henry Holland. Holland was a staunch Lancastrian; but the dramatic "Exeter" accepted the arrangement which reduced Henry VI. to the position of King by the grace of Richard Plantagenet.

French (*Shakspeareana Genealogica*, p. 199) conjectured that "Summerfield" (*T. T.*) or "Someruile" (3 *Hen. VI.*, V. i. 7-15) was meant for Sir Thomas Somerville, who died 16 Henry VII., 1500.

XII. RICHARD III.

THE *Tragedy of Richard the Third*[2] is not separated from *The third Part of Henry the Sixt* by a dramatic interval of one clear day. For although Clarence's arrest—the first incident of the former drama—occurred in 1477,[3] the action of sc. ii, Act I., takes us back to May

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xii. 112. In consideration of the ransom, René agreed that Provence should be united to the French crown after his death, and Margaret confirmed the cession.—*Jean de Troyes*, 36, 37.

[1] The dramatist might have been misled by finding in *Halle* (256) or *Hol.* (iii. 665/1/27) that "the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland" were slain at Towton. John Lord Neville—a brother of Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmoreland—was killed in this battle, fighting on the Lancastrian side. —*Rot. Parl.*, v. 477/2.

[1*] The red rose was not a badge of Henry VI., but we learn from a grant (dated Nov. 23, 1461) that Edward IV.'s emblem ("Divisam nostram") was a white rose.—*Rymer*, xi. 480. Edward's father bore "by the Castle of Clyfford . . . a Whyte Roose."—Digby MS. No. 82, Bodleian (*Archaeol.*, xvii. 226).

[2] I quote the text of F1.

[3] We do not know when Clarence was arrested, but a probable date is based on the following facts: On May 20, 1477, Burdett and Stacy, dependents of Clarence, were executed for constructive treason.—*D. K. Rep.* 3, appendix ii. p. 214. On May 21, Clarence came to the Council Chamber at Westminster, accompanied by a priest named Godard, who read before the Council the declarations of innocence made by Burdett and Stacy previous to execution. Resenting this interference, Edward summoned Clarence to appear "certo die" at the palace of Westminster, and there, in the presence of the civic dignitaries, vehemently censured him. The Duke was put "sub custodiâ," and remained a prisoner till his death.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 561, 562. Edward's privy seals show

23, 1471, when Henry's corse was conveyed to Chertsey (p. 345, n. 2, below). Henry died on May 21 or 22 (p. 340, n. 3, above); but, even if we assume that May 21 was the date of his death, we can hardly refer the closing scene of 3 *Henry VI.* to the same day. *The Tragedy of Richard the Third* ends with the battle of Bosworth, fought on August 22, 1485.[1]

Act I. sc. i.—Richard enters and soliloquizes. Two serious obstacles may, he trusts, soon be removed from his path.

> Plots haue I laide, Inductions dangerous,
> By drunken Prophesies, Libels, and Dreames,
> To set my Brother Clarence and the King
> In deadly hate, the one against the other.—ll. 32-35.

News (ll. 136, 137) that

> The King is sickly, weake, and melancholly,
> And *his Physitians* feare him mightily,[2]

leads to further anticipations (ll. 145-152):

> He cannot liue, I hope; and must not dye
> Till George be pack'd with post-horse vp to Heauen.
> Ile in, to vrge his hatred more to Clarence,
> With Lyes well steel'd with weighty Arguments; 148
> And, if I faile not in my deepe intent,
> Clarence hath not another day to liue:
> Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy,
> And leaue the world for me to bussle in! 152

"Some wise men" weened that Richard's

[*Hol.* iii. 712/2/28. *More*, 6/29.] drift, couertlie conueied, lacked not in helping foorth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintlie than he that were hartilie minded to his wealth.

[Some believed that Richard covertly suggested Clarence's death, and had long looked forward to succeeding Edward.]

And they, that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in king Edwards life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that *euill diet*[3] should shorten) should

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that on May 26 he was at Greenwich, on May 27 at Greenwich and Westminster, and on May 28 at Greenwich again.—*O. B.* May 27, then, is a date in accordance with the testimony of the Croyland continuator, who, as he tells us himself (*Cont. Croyl.*, 557, sidenote), was in 1471 or 1472 a member of the Council. Clarence was attainted by the Parliament which met at Westminster on January 16, 1478.—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 167/1; 193-195.

[1] *Fab.*, ii. 672.

[2] Edward perceived "that there was little hope of recouerie in the cunning of *his physicians*" (*Hol.* iii. 708/2/35. Not in *Halle*).

[3] Cp. what Richard says of Edward (I. i. 139, 140):

> "O, he hath kept an *euill diet* long."

happen to deceasse (as in deed he did) while his children were yoong. And they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs haue hindered him so intending ; whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yoong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe.

If expectation fail not,

This day should Clarence closely be mew'd vp,
About a Prophesie, which sayes that G
Of Edwards heyres the murtherer shall be.—ll. 38-40.

And Clarence, entering on his road to the Tower, informs Richard (ll. 55-59) that Edward

. . . from the Crosse-row pluckes the letter G,
And sayes a Wizard told him that by G
His issue disinherited should be ;
And, for my name of George begins with G,
It followes in his thought that I am he.

Rumour declared that Clarence's death

[*Hol.* iii. 703/1/46. *Halle*, 326.] rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that, after K. Edward, one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a G. Wherewith the king and queene were sore troubled, and began to conceiue a greeuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And, as the diuell is woont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diuelish fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when, after king Edward, Glocester vsurped his kingdome.

[The "G" prophecy.]

Prophesies diuelish fantasies.

Richard accuses Queen Elizabeth of having sent Clarence to the Tower (ll. 62-65). Another rumoured cause of Clarence's death was his projected marriage to Mary Duchess of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold.

[*Hol.* iii. 703/1/61. *Halle*, 326.] Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the prosperitie of his brother) both gainesaid and disturbed, and thereby old malice reuiued betwixt them : which the queene and hir bloud (euer mistrusting, and priuilie barking at the kings linage) ceassed not to increase.

[The Queen and her kindred hated Edward's lineage.]

However,

[*Hol.* iii. 712/1/46. *More*, 5/13.] . . . were it by the queene and

lords of hir bloud, which highlie maligned the kings kinred, (as women commonlie, not of malice, but of nature, hate them whome their husbands loue,) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himselfe, intending to be king; at the least wise heinous treason was there laid to his charge: . . .

I do not find that Hastings—who enters (l. 121) after his release from the Tower—either actually suffered imprisonment through the enmity of Queen Elizabeth and Rivers, or regained his liberty by petitioning Mistress Shore (ll. 66-77). But the Queen disliked Hastings, and he was once in great peril owing to the accusation of Rivers. See p. 366 below.

Act I. sc. ii.—"Enter the Coarse of Henrie the sixt with Halberds to guard it, Lady Anne being the Mourner." The bier is set down for a while till Lady Anne says (ll. 29, 30):

> Come now towards Chertsey with your holy Lode,
> Taken from Paules to be interrëd there; . . .

Soon after Richard enters she cries to the guards (ll. 55, 56):

> Oh, Gentlemen, see, see! dead Henries wounds
> Open their congeal'd mouthes and bleed afresh!

Holinshed (iii. 690/2/73) gives the following account of Henry's funeral, and the bleeding of the corpse:

The nine and twentith of Maie. [A wrong date.]

[Henry's body was conveyed from the Tower to St. Pauls, and afterwards to Chertsey. It bled at St. Pauls and the Blackfriars.]

[*Hol.* iii. 690/2/73.] The dead corps, on the Ascension euen [May 22, 1471], was conueied with billes and glaues pompouslie (if [*p.* 691] you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there, laid on a beire or coffen bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bleed:[1] where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thense he was caried to the Blackfriers, and bled there likewise: and, on the next daie[2] after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saieng, vnto the monasterie of Chertsey, distant from London fifteene miles, and there was it first buried: . . .

The historical Lady Anne did not attend Henry VI.'s funeral; and the dialogue between her and Richard (ll. 46-225) is imaginary. She

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[1] This excerpt was partly derived from *Halle* (303), but he does not mention the bleeding of Henry's corpse.

[2] Henry's body was conveyed to Chertsey on Ascension Day (May 23).—*Fab.*, ii. 662, and a London chronicle (Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. A. xvi. fol. 133, r°) cited in *Warkw.*, xii. *Hol.* was wrong if the words "where it rested . . . next daie after" mean that the body was conveyed to Chertsey on May 24.

married Richard in 1472.[1] From Holinshed (iii. 751/1/45) Shakspere might have learnt that she was

[Anne, Warwick's younger daughter, married first to Prince Edward.]

[*Hol.* iii. 751/1/45. *Halle*, 407.] the same Anne, one of the daughters of the earle of Warwike, which, (as you haue heard before,) at the request of Lewes the French king, was maried to prince Edward, sonne to king Henrie the sixt.

Richard's entreaty that she would go to Crosby Place, and receive a visit from him there (ll. 213-217), was perhaps suggested by the mention (*Hol.* iii. 721/2/70) of his having "kept his houshold," as Protector, at "Crosbies in Bishops gates street." A slip of the pen, or a compositor's error, may account for Richard's order that the body be taken to White-Friars, not to Chertsey (ll. 226, 227). We have seen (p. 345 above) how Henry's corpse, after its removal from St. Pauls, rested at Black-Friars,[2] and was thence conveyed to Chertsey.

Act I. sc. iii.—Queen Elizabeth tells Rivers (ll. 11-13) that her son's

> minority
> Is put vnto the trust of Richard Glouster, 12
> A man that loues not me, nor none of you.
> *Riu.* Is it concluded he shall be Protector?
> *Qu.* It is determin'd, not concluded yet:
> But so it must be, if the King miscarry. 16

Edward died on April 9, 1483,[3] and Richard was appointed Protector before the middle of May in the same year.[4] When—on May 4, 1483[5]—Edward V. entered London,

[*Hol.* iii. 716/2/53. *More*, 22/31.] the duke of Glocester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that, from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the councell next assembled he was made the onelie man, chosen and

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[1] In a letter written on February 17, 1472, Sir John Paston reports Clarence to have said "that he [Richard] may weell have my Ladye [Anne] hys [Clarence's] suster in lawe, butt they schall parte no lyvelod."—*Paston*, iii. 38. A petition for the reversal of the attainder of John Lord Neville was presented to the Parliament which met at Westminster on October 6, 1472, and was prorogued on November 30, 1472. This petition contains a salvo that nothing asked for shall be prejudicial to "Richard Duke of Gloucestr' and Anne Duches of Gloucestr' his wyfe."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 25/1. It appears, therefore, that Richard and Anne must have been married on some date between February 17 and November 30, 1472.

[2] *Halle* (303) does not mention the deposit of Henry's body at Blackfriars.

[3] *Cont. Croyl.*, 564.

[4] In commissions of the peace, dated May 14, he is styled Protector of England.—Rot. Pat. Edw. V. in dorso (cited in *Grants of Edward V.*, ed. J. G. Nichols, xiii., xxxi.). If the entry on the Patent Roll can be trusted, he was Protector on April 21.—Gairdner's *Life of Richard III.*, ed. 2, p. 69.

[5] *Fab.*, 668.

thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realme; so that (were it destinie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the woolfe to keepe. *The duke of Glocester made protector.*

The ensuing dialogue (ll. 17-319) is fictitious. Margaret—who is one of the speakers—left England soon after November 13, 1475, and died on August 25, 1482.[1] But as this scene cannot be historically dated before April 9, 1483, there is point in the rebuke (ll. 255-256) which she is made to give Dorset, who pronounced her to be "lunaticke."

> Peace, Master Marquesse, you are malapert!
> Your fire-new stampe of Honor is scarce currant.

Barely eight years had elapsed since Edward—on April 18, 1475[2]—

[*Hol.* iii. 702/2/8.] created the lord Thomas, marquesse Dorset, before dinner; and so in the habit of a marquesse aboue the habit of his knighthood he began the table of knights in saint Edwards chamber. [Thomas Grey created Marquess Dorset.]

She calls Richard a "rooting Hogge" (l. 228). In the second year of Richard's reign (1484), William Collingborne published the couplet:

[*Hol.* iii. 746/2/10. *Halle*, 398.]

> The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,
> Rule all England vnder an hog.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadfull wild boare, which was the kings cognisance. But, bicause the first line ended in dog, the metrician could not (obseruing the regiments of meeter) end the second verse in boare, but called the boare an hog. [The wild boar—Richard's cognisance—called a hog.]

Although, as I have said, the dialogue of this scene is fictitious, Shakspere may have taken a hint for it from the following passage, in which Richard is accused of fomenting strife between the two factions at Court. The writer has been speaking of a man named Pottier, who, on hearing of Edward's death, straightway inferred that Richard would be King.

[*Hol.* iii. 712/2/68. *More*, 7/26.] And forsomuch as he [Richard]

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[1] The date of Margaret's death is taken from *Anselme*, i. 232. Cp. Baudier's *History of the Calamities of Margaret of Anjou Queen of England*, 1737, pp. 191, 192. As to the date of Margaret's departure from England, see p. 341, n. 2, above.

[2] I take this date from *Stow* (713), *Hol.'s* authority for the passage in which Grey's elevation to the dignity of marquess is recorded.

[Before Edward's death, Richard had fostered enmity betwixt the kindred of the King and Queen.]

well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the queens kinred and the kings bloud, either partie enuieng others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in deed) a furtherlie beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

[Afterwards he resolved to make their variance serve his ambition.]

Nay, he was resolued, that the same was a sure [*p.* 713] ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abuse the anger and ignorance of the tone partie to the destruction of the tother; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those, that could not be woone, might be lost yer they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certeine, that, if his intent were perceiued, he should soone haue made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud.

Act I. sc. iv.—In this scene two murderers, sent by Richard, slay Clarence, though Edward's order for the Duke's death had been reversed (II. i. 86). The First Murderer exclaims, as he stabs Clarence (I. iv. 276, 277):

> Take that, and that! if all this will not do,
> Ile drowne you in the Malmesey-But within.

I quote a passage containing the only detail of sc. iv. which Shakspere did not invent. Edward's hatred of Clarence reached such a pitch

Anno Reg. 17 [18 *Stow*]. *George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmesie.*

[*Hol.* iii. 703/1/40.] that finallie the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith adiudged for a traitor, and priuilie drowned in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the seuententh yeare of the kings reigne.[1]

Act II. sc. i.—Edward, who now daily expects death, has made, as he hopes, an "vnited League" between the two parties which divided his Court. Hastings exchanges assurance of friendship with Rivers[2]

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[1] *Hol.* took this date (March 11) from *Stow* (717). The rest of the passage is derived from *Halle* (326). *Fab.* (666) says that Clarence was put to death on February 18, 1478; a date confirmed by *Inq. p. m.* 18 E. IV. 46 & 47 (O. B.). *More* (*Hol.*, iii. 712 1/54), *Fab.*, *Halle*, and *Stow*, agree that the Duke was drowned—or, as *Stow* puts it, "made his ende"—in a butt ("a vessell" *Stow*) of malmsey. Instead of "drowne you . . . within," the Qq. of *Rich. III.* read: "chop thee . . . But in the next roome."

[2] In F. (II. i. 7) Dorset and Rivers—who were not foes—are commanded by Edward to take each other's hand. In the Qq. the King gives this order to Rivers and Hastings. In both texts ll. 9-10 and 11 have the respective prefixes *Riu. Hast.*

and Dorset; and kisses Queen Elizabeth's hand, which she gives him as a sign of amity. Buckingham professes zealous regard for the Queen and her kindred (ll. 1-40).

Of this brief truce we have the following account:

[*Hol.* iii. 713/1/10. *More,* 8/15.] King Edward, in his life, albeit that this dissention betweene his freends somewhat irked him; yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: bicause he thought, whatsoeuer businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties. [While he was in good health Edward cared little for the strife of the two parties at his Court.]

But, in his last sicknesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infeebled, that he despaired all recouerie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned, yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselues, & good counsell of their freends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by plesant aduise to win themselues fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset, the queenes sonne by hir first husband. [But in his last sickness he tried to make peace between them.]

So did he also William the lord Hastings, a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the queene speciallie grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that she thought him secretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie. Hir kinred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, (which office the lord Riuers, brother to the queene, clamed of the kings former promise,) as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king, lifting vp himselfe, and vnderset with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them. [I omit "The oration of the king on his death-bed."] *Hastings lord chamberleine maligned of the queene & hir kin.*

[*Hol.* iii. 714/1/22. *More,* 11/30.] And therewithall the king, no longer induring to sit vp, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping.

But the lords, recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their words appeared, ech forgaue other, and ioined their hands togither; when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre asunder.

A counterfet and pretended reconcilement.

When Buckingham has vowed peace, Richard enters and quickly seizes an opportunity to let Edward know that a royal order countermanding Clarence's death arrived too late (ll. 75-90). Then comes the "Earle of Derby," [1] beseeching pardon for his servant, who has been guilty of homicide. Edward exclaims (ll. 102-107):

> Haue I a tongue to doome my Brothers death,
> And shall that tongue giue pardon to a slaue?
> My Brother kill'd no man; his fault was Thought, 104
> And yet his punishment was bitter death.
> Who sued to me for him? Who (in my wrath)
> Kneel'd at my feet, and bad [2] me be aduis'd?

After Clarence's removal,

[*Hol.* iii. 703/1/66. *Halle*, 326.] although king Edward were consenting to his death, yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: insomuch that, when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie saie, & openlie speake: "Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make "sute!"

[When a pardon was craved from Edward he would lament that no one had asked mercy for Clarence.]

Act II. sc. ii.—Shakspere might have learnt from Holinshed that "the old Dutchesse of Yorke" was grandmother to "the two children of Clarence," [3] with whom she enters in this scene. Holinshed has also an account (iii. 703/2/2) of the "two yoong infants" left by Clarence; whose names were Edward [4] and Margaret.

The Duchess and her grandchildren speak of Clarence's death (February, 1478) as a recent event. Their talk is interrupted by the entrance of Queen Elizabeth, distracted with grief for the loss of King Edward (April 9, 1483). Rivers and Dorset accompany the Queen (l. 33). Soon the characters already assembled are joined by Richard, Buckingham, and Hastings (l. 100).

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[1] In some other scenes of the Qq. and F. he is rightly called Stanley. Thomas Lord Stanley was created Earl of Derby by Henry VII., on October 27, 1485.—*Dugdale*, iii. 248/2.

[2] *Kneel'd at . . . and bad*] Q1. *Kneel'd and . . . and bid* F1.

[3] "In this verie season [1495] departed to God Cicilie duchesse of Yorke, moother to king Edward the fourth."—*Hol.* iii. 780/1/1.

[4] In F. *Edw.* is prefixed to the first speech of Clarence's son. Afterwards —and throughout this scene in the Qq.—he is called *Boy*.

Buckingham reminds the lords present of their late reconciliation, and adds (ll. 120-122):

Me seemeth good, that, with some little Traine,
Forthwith from Ludlow, the young Prince be fet
Hither to London, to be crown'd our King.
Riuers. Why "with some little Traine," my Lord of Buckingham?
Buc. Marrie, my Lord, least, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of Malice should breake out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is greene and yet vngouern'd: . . .

Rivers and Hastings accept Buckingham's advice (ll. 134-140).[1] Richard says: "Then be it so" (l. 141).

The position of affairs at Edward's death, and Richard's intrigues to gain possession of the young King, are described in the following excerpts:

[*Hol.* iii. 714/1/36. *More*, 12/6.] As soone as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London; which at the time of his deceasse kept his houshold at Ludlow in Wales, . . . [The Prince kept his household at Ludlow.]

To the gouernance and ordering of this yoong prince, at his sending thither, was there appointed sir Anthonie Wooduile, lord Riuers, and brother vnto the queene; a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same partie; and in effect euerie one as he was neerest of kin vnto the queene, so was he planted next about the prince. That drift by the queene not vnwiselie deuised, whereby hir bloud might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Glocester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his vnhappie building. For whome soeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them, some by mouth, & some by writing. . . . *Lord Riuers* [was his governor]. *The duke Glocesters solicitations* [to the enemies of the Queen's kindred].

[*Hol.* iii. 714/2/35. *More*, 14/6.] With these words and writings, and such other, the duke of Glocester soone set on fire them that were of themselues easie to kindle, &, in especiall,[2] twaine, Henry[3] duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings, then chamberleine; both men of honour & of great power: the one

[1] 123-140. Riuers. *Why . . . say I*] F. Not in Qq.
[2] *in speciall*] More. *in especiallie* Hol. [3] *Henry*] *Edward* Hol.

A consent to worke wickednesse [between Richard, Buckingham, and Hastings. They agreed to remove the Queen's friends from the young King.]

by long succession from his ancestrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. These two, not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the queenes part, in this point accorded togither with the duke of Glocester; that they would vtterlie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers freends, vnder the name of their enimies.

Upon this concluded the duke of Glocester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him vp to his coronation accompanied with such power of their freends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemblie of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull; and in which, the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretlie therfore by diuers means caused the queene[1] to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong.

[Richard persuaded the Queen that her son ought not to have a large escort.]

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronation and honor of the king; if the lords of hir kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whome and them had beene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safegard, (whome no man impugned,) but for their destruction; hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, (whose power she wist well far stretched,) and thus should all the realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, (which was likelie [*p.* 715] not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where she least would,) all the world would put hir and hir kindered in the wight, and saie that they had vnwiselie and vntrulie also broken the amitie & peace, that the king hir husband so prudentlie made, betweene his kin and

[1] In the play Queen Elizabeth is not asked to give her opinion about the number of her son's escort. Richard merely requests her and his mother to deliver their "censures" touching the persons who are to be sent post to Ludlow (II. ii. 141-144).

hirs in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obserued.

The queene, being in this wise persuaded, such word sent vnto hir sonne, and vnto hir brother, being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Glocester himselfe and other lords, the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerentlie, and to the queenes freends there so louinglie, that they, nothing earthlie mistrusting, brought the king vp in great hast, not in good speed, with a sober companie. [So the King went from Ludlow with a small company.]

Act II. sc. iii.—Three London Citizens meet and discuss the news of Edward's death, which is not yet generally known (ll. 7, 8). Before they go out, the Second Citizen remarks (ll. 38, 40):

> Truly, the *hearts* [1] of men are full of feare:
> You cannot reason almost with a man
> That lookes not heauily, and full of dread. 40
> 3 [*Cit.*]. *Before* the dayes of Change, still is it so:
> By a diuine *instinct mens* mindes mistrust
> Pursuing danger; as, by proof, we see
> The Water *swell before a* boyst'rous storme. 44

These lines contain reminiscences of a passage describing public feeling in June, 1483;[2] when

[*Hol.* iii. 721/2/57. *More*, 43/19.] began there, here and there abouts, some maner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared, nor wherefore: were it, that, *before* such great things, *mens hearts* of a secret *instinct* of nature misgiue them; as the sea without wind *swell*eth of himselfe sometime *before a* tempest:[3] . . . [Men warned by a secret instinct of great political changes.]

Act II. sc. iv.—Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, imparts to Queen Elizabeth news of her son's journey to London (ll. 1-3):

> Last night, I heare, they lay at Northhampton;
> At Stonistratford will they be to night:
> To morrow, or next day, they will be here.

In a previous scene (II. ii. 146-154) Richard and Buckingham resolved to leave London,[4] and meet the King on his way to the capital. My next excerpt concerns the two Dukes' arrival at Northampton.

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[1] *hearts*] F. *soules* Qq.

[2] When the several councils were held (see p. 363 below).

[3] *as the sea . . . tempest*] Hol. *as the south wynde somtyme swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste* Halle (358).

[4] On receiving news of Edward's death, Richard left York for London, and met the Duke of Buckingham at Northampton. Thence the two Dukes went

[*Hol.* iii. 715/1/15. *More*, 15/23.] Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Northampton, when these dukes of Glocester and Buckingham came thither; where remained behind the lord Riuers the kings vncle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford, certeine miles thence, earlie, yer he departed.

[Richard and Buckingham came to Northampton after the King had left for Stony Stratford.]

I have quoted above the reading of the Quartos (Q1). The Folio has (ll. 1-3):

> Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford;
> And at Northampton they do rest to night:
> To morrow, or next day, they will be heere.

London is nearer Stony Stratford than Northampton,[1] but the Folio reading may be, perhaps, defended,[2] on the ground that Richard and Buckingham, after arresting Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, brought the King back from Stony Stratford to Northampton.[3] These arrests made,

[*Hol.* iii. 715/2/51. *More*, 18/26.] the duke of Glocester tooke vpon himselfe the order and gouernance of the yoong king, whome with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied vpward towards the citie. But, anon, the tidings of this matter came hastilie to the queene a little before the midnight following, and that in the sorest wise: that the king hir son was taken, hir brother, hir sonne, & hir other freends arrested, and sent, no man wist whither, to be doone with God wot what. . . .

[Richard's loyal demeanour.]

[The Queen had speedy news of her son's capture and her friends' arrest.]

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine [Hastings], to doctor Rotheram the archbishop of Yorke, then chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster. And for that he shewed his seruants that he had tidings of so great importance, that his maister gaue [*p.* 716] him in charge, not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. "Notwithstanding, sir" (quoth he) "my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no

[Archbishop Rotherham had news of the King's return to Northampton.]

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to Stony Stratford, where they found the King.—*Polyd. Verg.*, 539, 540. Richard was appointed Lieutenant-General against the Scots, June 12, 1482.—*Rymer*, xii. 157, 158.

[1] The difference is fourteen miles.—*Lewis.*

[2] This explanation is, however, inconsistent with the fact that Rotherham is made to speak unconcernedly of the King's return to Northampton.

[3] *Hol.* iii. 715/1/48—2/30. *More*, 16/20—18/7.

"feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well." "I assure "him" (quoth the archbishop) "be it as well as it will, it will "neuer be so well as we haue seene it."

Thus, according to the historical narrative, Queen Elizabeth had learnt all before Rotherham received his information, yet in the play she accepts what he tells her as news.

The young Duke of York is entertaining the Queen and Duchess with his waggish humour when a messenger[1] announces (ll. 42-45) that, by "the mighty Dukes, Gloucester and Buckingham,"

> Lord Riuers and Lord Grey are sent to Pomfret,
> With[2] them Sir Thomas Vaughan, Prisoners.

Both Dukes took part in the arrests (*Hol.* iii. 715/1/61; 2/27. *More*, 16/32; 18/4), but Richard alone

The death of the lord Riuers & other [at Pomfret].

[*Hol.* iii. 715/2/46. *More*, 18/21.] sent the lord Riuers, and the lord Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan, into the north countrie, into diuerse places to prison; and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

Hoping to save her younger son from destruction, the Queen says (l. 66):

> Come, come, my Boy; we will to Sanctuary. . . .
> *Arch.* My gracious Lady, go; 68
> And thether beare your Treasure and your Goodes.
> For my part, Ile resigne vnto your Grace
> The Seale I keepe: and so betide to me
> As well I tender you and all of yours! 72
> Go, Ile conduct you to the Sanctuary.

On hearing what had befallen her elder son, Queen Elizabeth,

The queene taketh sanctuarie.

[*Hol.* iii. 715/2/60. *More*, 19/1.] in great fright & heauinesse, bewailing hir childes reigne, hir freends mischance, and hir owne infortune, damning the time that euer she dissuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir selfe in all the hast possible with hir yoonger sonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Westminster, (in which she then laie,) into the sanctuarie; lodging hir selfe and hir companie there in the abbats place.

After the departure of Hasting's messenger, Rotherham

[The Archbishop went to Westminster, and

[*Hol.* iii. 716/1/11. *More*, 19/25.] caused in all the hast all his seruants to be called vp, and so, with his owne houshold about him, and euerie man weaponed, he tooke the great seale with him, and came yet before daie vnto the queene. About whom he found

[1] In the Qq. Dorset is the bearer of these tidings.
[2] 43. *With them*] Q. *and with them* F.

[found men removing the Queen's goods from the palace to the sanctuary.]

much heauinesse, rumble, hast, and businesse; cariage and conueiance of hir stuffe into sanctuarie; chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trussed all on mens backs; no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waie: . . .

[*The desolate state of the queene.*]

The queene hir selfe sate alone alow on the rushes all desolate and dismaid, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could; shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. "Ah, wo woorth him!" (quoth she) "for he is one of them that "laboreth to destroie me and my bloud." "Madame" (quoth he) "be yee of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other "king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall "on the morow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with "you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble "prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it "vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne:" and therewith he betooke hir the great seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

[He comforted her, and gave her the Great Seal.]

Act III. sc. i.—After receiving the congratulations of Buckingham and Richard upon his entrance into London, the young King says (l. 6):

I want more Vnkles [1] heere to welcome me.

Richard answers:

Those Vnkles which you want were dangerous; 12
Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,
But look'd not on the poyson of their hearts:
God keepe you from them, and from such false Friends!
Prin. God keepe me from false Friends! but they were none. 16

Richard and Buckingham arrested Rivers before they left Northampton. At Stony Stratford they overtook the King, and arrested in his presence Sir Richard Grey, whom they accused of plotting with Rivers and Dorset to obtain supreme control of the realm.

[The King asserted the innocence of

[*Hol.* iii. 715/2/21. *More*, 17/31.] Vnto which words the king answered: "What my brother marquesse hath doone I cannot

[1] Sir Richard Grey was the King's half-brother. See the excerpt quoted to illustrate ll. 6; 12-16. Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan were arrested on April 30, 1483.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 565.

"saie, but in good faith I dare well answer for mine vncle Riuers "and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie such matter." "Yea, my liege" (quoth the duke of Buckingham) "they haue "kept their dealing in these matters farre fro the knowledge of "your good grace." *Rivers and Grey, but Buckingham said that their designs were carefully concealed.]*

The "Lord Maior" enters, and is introduced to the King by Richard (l. 17):

My Lord, the Maior of London comes to greet you.

Edward V.'s reception by the Lord Mayor is thus described:

[*Hol.* iii. 716/2/46. *More*, 22/24.] When the king approched neere to the citie, Edmund Shaw, goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and Iohn Matthew, shiriffes, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with fiue hundred horsse of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnesie; and riding from thence accompanied him into the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. *The kings comming to London.*

The King is chafing at the absence of his mother and brother when Hastings comes to announce (ll. 27, 28) that

The Queene your Mother, and your Brother Yorke,
Haue taken Sanctuarie: . . .

Addressing Rotherham,[1] and then turning to Hastings, Buckingham says (ll. 32-36):

Lord Cardinall, will your Grace
Perswade the Queene to send the Duke of Yorke
Vnto his Princely Brother presently?—
If she denie, Lord Hastings, goe with him,
And from her iealous Armes pluck him perforce!

Rotherham promises to try the effect of his oratory upon the Queen; "but," he adds (ll. 39-43),

if she be obdurate
To milde entreaties, God in heauen[2] forbid
We should infringe the holy Priuiledge
Of blessed Sanctuarie! not for all this Land
Would I be guiltie of so great a sinne.

[1] The prelate, who is sent to bring the Duke of York out of sanctuary, is styled a Cardinal in the Qq. and F. According to *More* (25/28), *Hol.'s* authority, the Cardinal who undertook this mission was Rotherham, Archbishop of York. Editors have adhered to *More* in deciding that the Cardinal (Qq.) or Archbishop (F.) of Act II. sc. iv. is Rotherham, but they have followed *Cont. Croyl.* (566), *Fab.* (668), *Polyd. Verg.* (542/11), or *Halle* (352), in making Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal of Act III. sc. i. I agree with Mr. Daniel in doubting "whether the dramatist intended to present more than one personage."—*T-A.*, 328, note.

[2] *in heauen*] Q. om. F.

Buckingham replies (ll. 48-56) that to seize the Duke of York cannot be a breach of sanctuary:

The benefit thereof is alwayes granted 48
To those whose dealings haue deseru'd the place,
And those who haue the wit to clayme the place:
This Prince hath neyther claym'd it nor deseru'd it;
And therefore, in mine opinion, *cannot haue it:* [See p. 360 below.] 52
Then, taking him from thence that is not there,
You breake no Priuiledge nor Charter there.
Oft haue I heard of Sanctuarie men;
But Sanctuarie children ne're till now. [See p. 360 below.] 56

These quotations (ll. 32-56) embody portions of speeches delivered by Richard, Cardinal Rotherham, and the Duke of Buckingham, at a council held on or about June 16, 1483.[1] Having pointed out what evils might arise from the Duke of York's detention in sanctuary, Richard concluded:

[*Hol.* iii. 717/1/42. *More*, 24/25.] "Wherefore me thinketh it "were not worst to send vnto the queene, for the redresse of this "matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tendereth the "kings weale and the honour of his councell, and is also in fauour "and credence with hir. For all which considerations, none "seemeth more meetlie, than our reuerend father here present, "my lord cardinall, who may in this matter doo most good of anie "man, if it please him to take the paine;" . . .

The lord cardinall thought the fittest man to deale with the queene for the surrendring of hir sonne.

"And if she be percase so obstinate, and so preciselie set vpon "hir owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement "can not mooue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall "we, by mine aduise, by the kings authoritie, fetch him out of that "prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall "companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorablie "intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch "perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that "caused hir to keepe him there."

[If she will not surrender her son, let him be fetched out.]

Rotherham

[*Hol.* iii. 717/2/8. *More*, 25/30.] tooke vpon him to mooue hir, and therein to doo his vttermost deuoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the spiritualtie present, that it were not in anie wise to be attempted to take him out against hir will.

[Rotherham would use argument, but could not assent to York's removal against the Queen's will.]

[1] See p. 361, n. 1, below.

For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be[1] kept, . . . *Reasons [omitted] why it was not thought meet to fetch the queens son out of sanctuarie.*

He protested against the employment of force:

[*Hol.* iii. 717/2/28. *More*, 26/16.] "God forbid that anie man "should, for anie thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie "& libertie of the sacred sanctuarie, that hath beene the safegard "of so manie a good mans life. And I trust" (quoth he) "with "Gods grace, we shall not need it. But, for anie maner need, I "would not we should doo it." [God forbid that any man should violate sanctuary!]

A long reply from Buckingham on the abuse of sanctuary contains the following passages, which should be compared with ll. 48-56. Let sanctuaries, said he, be respected

[*Hol.* iii. 718/2/3. *More*, 30/5.] "as farre foorth as reason "will, which is not fullie so farre foorth, as may serue to let "vs of the fetching foorth of this noble man to his honor and "wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be, a "sanctuarie man. . . .

"But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth "he the tuition of some speciall priuilege; which is the onelie "ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

"From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue "to his king, nature and kinred prooueth; whose innocencie to all "the world, his tender youth prooueth; and so sanctuarie, as for "him, neither none he needeth, nor also none can haue. Men "come not to sanctuarie, as they come to baptisme, to require it "by their godfathers; he must aske it himselfe that must haue it. "And reason, sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose con-"science of his owne fault maketh him fain need to require it. "What will then hath yonder babe, which, and if he had discretion "to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angrie[2] "with them that keepe him there? . . . [The Duke of York needs no sanctuary, and therefore cannot claim it.] [If he had discretion he would be angry with those who detain him.]

[1] *be*, been. *bee* More.

[2] Hastings tells the King (III. i. 29, 30) that York

> "Would faine haue come with me to meet your Grace,
> But by his Mother was perforce with-held."

[I never heard of sanctuary children.]

"And verelie, *I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but* I *neuer* "heard earst of *sanctuarie children.*" [1]

During a subsequent conference with the Queen in the sanctuary, Rotherham warned her that there were "manie" who thought

[The Duke of York has neither will to ask, nor malice to deserve, sanctuary.]

[*Hol.* iii. 720/1/4. *More,* 36/2.] "he can haue no priuilege in "this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to "deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, "though they fetch him out; which, if yee finallie refuse to deliuer "him, I verelie thinke they will."

Replying, she contemptuously stated his argument before meeting it:

The queenes replie vpon the lord cardinall.

[*Hol.* iii. 720/1/20. *More,* 36/17.] "But my sonne can deserue "no sanctuarie, *and therefore* he *can not haue it.*" [2]

Rotherham yields to Buckingham's arguments, and goes out with Hastings (l. 60). Soon the two envoys return with the Duke of York (l. 94). Meanwhile Richard, in answer to the King's query (l. 62),

Where shall we soiourne till our Coronation?

proposes the Tower, and obtains a reluctant assent from his victim (ll. 64, 65; 149, 150). More says that, after Buckingham's speech, the majority of the council

[Rotherham was sent to essay the removal of York with the Queen's good will.]

[*Hol.* iii. 719/1/2. *More,* 32/7.] condescended in effect, that, if he were not deliuered, he should be fetched. Howbeit, they thought it all best, in the auoiding of all maner of rumor, that the lord cardinall should first assaie to get him with hir good will.

Wherevpon all the councell came vnto the Starre chamber at Westminster; and the lord cardinall, leauing the protector with the councell in the Starchamber, departed into the sanctuarie to the queene, with diuers other lords with him: . . .

[York brought to the Protector.]

[*Hol.* iii. 721/1/42. *More,* 41/2.] When the lord cardinall, and these other lords with him, had receiued this yoong duke, they brought him into the Star chamber, where the protector tooke him

O dissimulation.

in his armes and kissed him with these words: "Now welcome, my "lord, euen with all my verie heart!" And he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Therevpon, foorthwith they brought him

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[1] Cp. III. i. 55, 56, p. 358 above.
[2] Cp. III. i. 52, p. 358 above.

vnto the king his brother into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thense thorough the citie honourablie into the Tower,[1] out of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad. [The King and York conveyed to the Tower.]

The King and his brother leave the stage (l. 150); followed by all the persons present except Richard, Buckingham, and Catesby. At some time preceding this scene,—perhaps, as Mr. Daniel conjectures,[2] during the journey to London, and after the arrests had been effected,—the dramatic Buckingham became aware of Richard's intention to usurp the throne. (See III. i. 157—164.) But More—as my next excerpt shows—believed that Buckingham was not apprized of Richard's purpose until the young Princes were safely lodged in the Tower.

[*Hol.* iii. 721/1/52. *More*, 41/12.] When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himselfe more boldlie, both to certeine other men, and also cheeflie to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that manie thought that this duke was priuie to all the protectors counsell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protectors freends said, that the duke was the first moouer of the protector to this matter; sending a priuie messenger vnto him, streict after king Edwards death. [Opinions differed as to whether Buckingham knew Richard's purpose from the first,

But others againe, which knew better the subtill wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterprise to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the queenes kinsfolks, & gotten both hir sonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought meet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who being woone to his purpose, he thought his strength more than halfe increased. [or was ignorant of it until the Princes were in the Tower.]

Though Catesby is sure of Hastings's love for the young King, Buckingham resolves to test this conviction, and therefore says (ll. 169-171):

> goe, gentle Catesby,
> And, as it were *farre off*,[3] sound thou Lord Hastings,
> How he doth stand affected to our purpose; . . .

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[1] *More* erred in saying that the Duke of York was brought to the Bishop's palace at St. Paul's. We learn from *Cont. Croyl.* (566) and Stallworthe's letter (*Excerpta Historica*, 16, 17) that York left sanctuary on June 16, 1483, and went thence to the Tower. A letter given under the King's signet shows that Edward V. was in the Tower on May 19.—*Grants*, viii., 15.

[2] The "story" (II. ii. 149), therefore, concerned Richard's purposed assumption of the protectorate.

[3] *a farre off*] Q.

We learn from More (45/3) that

[*Hol.* iii. 722/1/41.] the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance vnto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedlie the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, sauing for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose.

[Richard moved Catesby to sound Hastings.]

For which cause he mooued Catesbie to prooue with some words cast out a *farre off*, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part.

Catesby having departed, Richard promises Buckingham a reward (ll. 194-196):

> And, looke, when I am King, clayme thou of me
> The Earledome of Hereford, and all the moueables
> Whereof the King my Brother was possest.

After the Princes had been conveyed to the Tower,

[*Hol.* iii. 721/2/31. *More*, 42/30.] it was agreed, that the protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king, . . . and

[The rewards which Richard promised Buckingham.]

that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obteine it in king Edwards time.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector, of his owne mind, promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure, and of his houshold stuffe.

Act III. sc. ii.—"Vpon the stroke of foure" (l. 5) in the morning of the dramatic day next after that on which the action of the last scene passes,—or at midnight of the historic June 12-13, 1483,—a message is brought to Hastings from Stanley, who "this Night"

> Dreamt the Bore had rasëd off his Helme:
> Besides, he sayes there are two Councels kept;
> And that may be determin'd at the one,
> Which may make you and him to rue at th'other.
> Therefore he sends to know your Lordships pleasure,
> If you will presently take Horse with him,
> And with all speed post with him toward the North,
> To shun the danger that his Soule diuines.
> *Hast.* Goe, fellow, goe, returne vnto thy Lord;
> Bid him not feare the seperated Councells:[1]

[1] *councels*] Q. *Councell* F.

His Honor and my selfe are at the one,
And at the other is my good friend[1] Catesby;
Where nothing can proceede, that toucheth vs,
Whereof I shall not haue intelligence. 24

When Richard and Buckingham had come to terms,

[*Hol.* iii. 721/2/42. *More*, 43/6.] they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yoong king, as they would haue it seeme. And that they might turne both the eies and minds of men from perceiuing of their drifts other-where, the lords, being sent for from all parts of the realme, came thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall [Bouchier], the archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings, then lord chamberleine, with manie other noble men, to common & deuise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king. [The separate councils.]

To which councell . . . there were adhibited verie few, and they were secret: . . .

The rumoured existence of a cabal produced general uneasiness, and caused

[*Hol.* iii. 722/1/8. *More*, 44/8.] some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre foorth that the lord Stanleie, (that was after earle of Derbie,) wiselie mistrusted it, and said vnto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two seuerall councels. "For while we" (quoth he) "talke of one matter in "the tone place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother "place." [Stanley disliked the separate councils.]

"My lord" (quoth the lord Hastings) "on my life, neuer doubt "you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer "can there be thing once mooued, that should sound amisse "toward me, but it should be in mine eares yer it were well out of "their mouths." This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his neere secret councell, and whome he verie familiarlie vsed, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust; reckoning himselfe to no man so liefe, sith he well wist there was no man so [Hastings did not fear the secret council, while Catesby attended it.]

[1] *good friend*] F. *seruant* Q. The Q reading perhaps better characterizes the relative social positions of Hastings and Catesby.

Catesbie and his conditions described.

much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and, by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leicester, where the lord chamberlains power cheefelie laie.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onelie kept all that mischeefe vp. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse; for manie ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harm toward him in that councell intended, where Catesbie was.

[Hastings was betrayed by Catesby.]

Having given a reason for not fearing "the seperated Councells," Hastings adverts to Stanley's dream (ll. 26-33):

> And for his Dreames, I wonder hee's so simple
> To trust the mock'ry of vnquiet slumbers:
> To flye the Bore, before the Bore pursues,
> Were to incense the Bore to follow vs,
> And make pursuit where he did meane no chase.
> Goe, bid thy Master rise and come to me;
> And we will both together to the Tower,
> Where, he shall see, the Bore will vse vs kindly.
> *Mess.* Ile goe, my Lord, and tell him what you say. [*Exit.*

Hastings had a warning of his fate when, on

[*Hol.* iii. 723/1/35. *More*, 48/19.] the selfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger vnto him at midnight in all the hast, requiring him to rise and ride awaie with him, for he was disposed vtterlie no longer to bide, he had so fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their shoulders. And, forsomuch as the protector gaue the boare for his cognisance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarie, but had his horsse readie, if the lord Hastings would go with him, to ride so farre yet[1] the same night, that they should be out of danger yer daie.

The lord Stanleies dreame.

[1] *so far yet*] More. *yet so farre* Hol.

"Ha, good Lord!" (quoth the lord Hastings to this messenger) "leaneth my lord thy maister so much to such trifles, and hath "such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or "doo rise in the nights rest by reason of his daies thought? Tell "him it is plaine witchcraft to beleeue in such dreames, which if "they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we "might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were "caught & brought backe, as freends faile fliers; for then had the "boare a cause likelie to rase vs with his tusks, as folke that fled "for some falsehood. . . . And therefore go to thy maister (man) "and commend me to him, & praie him be merie & haue no feare: "for I insure him I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I "am of mine owne hand." "God send grace, sir!" (quoth the messenger) and went his waie. [Hastings despised Stanley's dream.]

Stanley's messenger gone, Catesby enters, and answers Hastings's demand for news "in this our tott'ring State," by saying (ll. 38-40):

> It is a reeling World indeed, my Lord;
> And, I beleeue, will neuer stand vpright,
> Till Richard weare the Garland of the Realme.

Hastings replies (ll. 43, 44):

> Ile haue this Crown of mine cut from my shoulders,
> Before Ile see the Crowne so foule mis-plac'd!

He is no mourner for the news—which Catesby brings from the Protector—of the impending execution of the Queen's kindred at Pomfret, on "this same very day";

> But, that Ile giue my voice on Richards side,
> To barre my Masters Heires in true Descent,
> God knowes I will not doe it, to the death!

Catesby,—who had, as we have seen (p. 362 above), been charged to sound Hastings,—

[*Hol.* iii. 722/1/50. *More*, 45/11.] whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake. [Catesby reported Hastings's loyalty.]

Stanley now enters (l. 73), and, after being reassured by Hastings, departs with Catesby. As they are leaving the stage, a pursuivant enters, and is accosted by Hastings (l. 98):

> How now, Sirrha! how goes the World with thee?
> *Purs.* The better that your Lordship please to aske.
> *Hast.* I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now, 100

Then when thou met'st me last where now we meet:
Then was I going Prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the Queenes Allyes;
But now, I tell thee, (keepe it to thy selfe!) 104
This day those Enemies are put to death,
And I in better state then ere I was.

Of this incident we have the following account:

[Hastings met a pursuivant of his own name.]

[*Hol.* iii. 723/2/31. *More*, 50/9.] Upon the verie Tower wharfe, so neare the place where his head was off soone after, there met he with one Hastings,[1] a purseuant of his owne name. And, at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner togither in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had beene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Riuers, the queenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe. And, forsomuch as he now met this purseuant in the same place, that ieopardie so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof; with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein.

[Hastings had once been in danger through an accusation of Rivers.]

[Hastings reminded the pursuivant of this.]

And therefore he said: "Ha, Hastings! art thou remembred "when I met thee here once with an heauie heart?" "Yea, my "lord" (quoth he) "that remember I well, and thanked be God, "they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby." "Thou wouldest "say so" (quoth he) "if thou knewest as much as I know, which "few know else as yet, and mo shall shortlie." That meant he by the lords of the queenes kinred that were taken before, and should that daie[2] be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wist, but nothing ware that the ax hung ouer his owne head. "In faith, man"

[The Queen's kindred were to be executed on that day.]

[1] *Enter Hastin. a Purssuant.*] Q. *Enter a Pursuiuant.* F.

[2] Hastings was executed on June 13 (*Cont. Croyl.*, 566); but Rivers's will was made at Sheriff Hutton (Yorkshire), on June 23.—*Excerpta Historica*, 246. A Latin obituary calendar of saints (Cottonian MS. Faustina, B. VIII.), written in the 14th century, has later additions at the side. On leaf 4 back, at the side of "Iunij 25," is written, in a 16th or late 15th century hand, "Anthonij Ryvers"; an entry which probably means that the obit of Earl Rivers was kept on June 25. This calendar is cited in *Excerpta Historica*, 244. (Dr. Furnivall, who examined the MS., tells me that it is not, as was supposed, an obituary calendar belonging to St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.) Cp. also *York Records*, 156, note, and *Cont. Croyl.* (567), for proof that the execution of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan took place after June 13.

(quoth he) "I was neuer so sorie, nor neuer stood in so great dread "in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And, lo, how "the world is turned! now stand mine enimies in the danger, (as "thou maiest hap to heare more hereafter,) and I neuer in my life "so merrie, nor neuer in so great suertie!" [Hastings's joy and confidence.]

The pursuivant's departure is succeeded by the entry of a priest, in whose ear Hastings is whispering[1] when Buckingham appears and exclaims (ll. 114-116):

> What, talking with a Priest, Lord Chamberlaine?
> Your friends at Pomfret, they doe need the Priest;
> Your Honor hath no shriuing worke in hand.

In the morning of June 13, ere Hastings was up, there

[*Hol.* iii. 723/2/6. *More*, 49/26.] came a knight[2] vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the councell, but of truth sent by the protector to hast him thitherwards; with whome he was of secret confederacie in that purpose: a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie. [In the morning of June 13 Richard sent a knight for Hastings.]

This knight (I say) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to staie his horsse, & common a while with a priest whom he met in the Tower street, brake his tale, and said merilie to him: "What, my lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so "long with that priest? you haue no need of a priest yet": and therwith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, "Ye shall "haue soone." But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life; which selfe thing is oft seene a signe of change. [The knight jested at Hastings for stopping to speak with a priest.]

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[1] *He whispers in his eare.*] Q (against l. 113). om. F.

[2] "ere he [Hastings] were vp from his bed . . . , there came to him Sir Thomas Haward, sonne to the lorde Haward, (whyche lord was one of the prineyest of the lord protectours counsaill and doyng,) as it were of curtesye to accompaignye hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour to hast him thetherward."—*Halle*, 361. Thomas Howard was knighted at the child-marriage of Anne Mowbray and Richard Duke of York, second son of Edward IV.—*Weever*, 555. The Duke of York was married on January 15, 1478.—*Sandford*, 415, 416. On June 28, 1483, Richard III. created Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey.—*Doyle*, ii. 589. On February 1, 1514, the dukedom of Norfolk was conferred on Surrey by Henry VIII.—*Ibid.*, 590. Writing about 1513 More might justly say that the "meane man" of Edward V.'s time was "now of great authoritie"; for in the above-named year Surrey commanded our army at Flodden.

As the scene closes Hastings and Buckingham go out on their way to the Tower.

Act III. sc. iii.—"Enter Sir Richard Ratcliffe, with[1] Halberds, carrying the Nobles to death at Pomfret." The historical date of Rivers's execution could not have been earlier than June 23 (see p. 366 above, n. 2); but, according to dramatic time, Rivers and Hastings were beheaded on the same day (June 13). Shakspere followed the narrative which Holinshed took from More (55/25), who says:

[*Hol.* iii. 725/1/55. *More*, 55/25.] Now was it so deuised by the protector and his councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord chamberleine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the selfe same houre, was there (not without his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembred lords & knights that were taken from the king at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which thing was doone in the presence, and by the order, of sir Richard Ratcliffe, knight; whose seruice the protector speciallie vsed in that councell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises; as a man that had beene long secret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behauiour, bold in mischiefe, as far from pitie as from all feare of God.

Sir Richard Ratcliffe [described].

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they were traitors, (not suffering them to declare & speake their innocencie, least their words might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and his part,) caused them hastilie, without iudgement, processe, or maner of order to be beheaded; and without other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queene.

The lord Riuers & other beheaded.

Act III. sc. iv.—The historical date of this scene is June 13, 1483.[2]

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[1] *Enter . . . with the Lo. Riuers, Gray, and Vaughan, prisoners.*] Q. Vaughan says (III. iii. 7): "You liue that shall cry woe for this heereafter"; and Rivers asks God to remember Margaret's curse upon Hastings, Buckingham, and Richard (ll. 17-19). *Halle* added to *More's* narrative a passage (364) wherein Vaughan appeals Richard "'to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye.' And then Ratclyffe sayed: 'you haue well apeled; lay doune youre head.' 'Ye,' quod sir Thomas, 'I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong.'"

[2] Hastings was beheaded on Friday, June 13, 1483.—*Cont. Croyl.* 566. Simon Stallworthe, writing on Saturday, June 21, to Sir William Stonor, says: "on fryday last was the lord Chamberleyn [Hastings] hedded sone

In a room in the Tower are assembled Buckingham, Stanley, Hastings, the Bishop of Ely, Ratcliffe, and Lovel. Hastings says (ll. 1-3):

> Now, Noble Peeres, the cause why we are met
> Is, to determine of the Coronation.
> In Gods Name, speake! when is the Royall day?
> *Buck.* Are[1] all things ready for the Royall time? 4
> *Darb.* [*Stan.*] It is, and wants but nomination.
> *Ely.* To morrow, then, I iudge a happie day.

Discussion is prevented by Richard's entrance and greeting (ll. 23, 24):

> My Noble Lords, and Cousins all, good morrow!
> I haue beene long a sleeper: . . .

Soon he addresses the Bishop of Ely (ll. 33-35):

> When I was last in Holborne,
> I saw good Strawberries in your Garden there:
> I doe beseech you, send for some of them.
> *Ely.* Mary, and will, my Lord, with all my heart. 36
> [*Exit Bishop.*

Taking Buckingham aside, Richard tells him of Catesby's failure to seduce Hastings (ll. 38-42). Richard and Buckingham then withdraw. Business is resumed by Stanley's proposal that the coronation be deferred until a later date than to-morrow (ll. 44-47). Whereupon the Bishop of Ely re-enters and asks (ll. 48, 49): "Where is my Lord the Duke of Gloster? I haue sent for these Strawberries."

> *Ha.* His Grace looks chearfully & smooth this morning;
> There's some conceit or other likes him well,
> When that he bids good morrow with such spirit. 52

Stanley distrusts Richard's cheerful mien. Hastings replies, but fails to convince his friend (Q.), and the Protector re-enters with Buckingham (ll. 56-60). Richard immediately demands (ll. 61-64):

> I pray you all, tell me what they deserue
> That doe conspire my death with diuellish Plots
> Of damnëd Witchcraft, and that haue preuail'd
> Vpon my Body with their Hellish Charmes? 64
> *Hast.* The tender loue I beare your Grace, my Lord,
> Makes me most forward in this Princely presence
> To doome th' Offendors: whosoe're they be,
> I say, my Lord, they haue deseruëd death. 68
> *Rich.* Then be your eyes the witnesse of their euill!
> Looke how I am bewitch'd; behold mine Arme

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apone noon."—*Excerpta Historica*, 16. To reconcile this piece of news with the high authority of the Croyland continuator, we must suppose that Stallworthe meant Friday-week. *More*, although he gave no dates, made the execution of Hastings succeed York's removal from sanctuary, but according to *Cont. Croyl.* (566) the latter event took place on the Monday (June 16) following Hastings's death; a date confirmed by Stallworthe (see p. 361, n. 1, above), if we assume that "fryday last" = Friday-week.

[1] *Are*] Q. *Is* F.

Is, like a blasted Sapling, wither'd vp!
And this is Edwards Wife, that monstrous Witch,
Consorted with that Harlot Strumpet Shore,
That by their Witchcraft thus haue markëd me!
Hast. If they haue done this deed, my Noble Lord,—
Rich. "If"! thou Protector of this damnëd Strumpet!
Talk'st thou to me of "Ifs"? Thou art a Traytor!—
Off with his Head!—Now, by Saint Paul I sweare,
I will not dine vntill I see the same!—
Louell and Ratcliffe, looke that it be done:—
The rest, that loue me, rise and follow me.
[*Exeunt. Mane*[*n*]*t* Louell *and* Ratcliffe, *with the* Lord Hastings.[1]

Soon after Catesby had sounded Hastings;

An assemblie of lords in the Tower [to devise about the coronation].

[*Hol.* iii. 722/1/65. *More*, 45/24.] that is to wit, on the fridaie [being the thirteenth of Iune],[2] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in councell, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation; of which the time appointed then so neere approched, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much vittels killed therfore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting togither communing of this matter, the protector came in amongst them, first about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteouslie, and excusing himselfe that he had beene from them so long; saieng merilie that he had beene a sleeper that daie.

[Richard entered late, and apologized for having overslept himself.]

[He asked the Bishop of Ely to give them a mess of strawberries, and then withdrew.]

After a little talking with them, he said vnto the bishop of Elie: "My lord, you haue verie good strawberies at your garden "in Holborn, I require you let vs haue a messe of them." "Gladlie, my lord" (quoth he) "would God I had some better "thing as readie to your pleasure as that!" And therewithall in

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[1] *Exeunt . . . Hastings.*] F. *Exeunt. manet Cat. with Ha.* Q. Sc. iii. Act III. accords with *More* (see p. 368 above) in making Ratcliffe supervise the execution of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, at Pomfret; and the same authority is followed in assigning the deaths of Hastings and his enemies to the same day. In the F. version of sc. v. Act III. (l. 13), Catesby enters with the Lord Mayor, who was presumably sent for after Hastings's arrest. Then (III. v. 21) Lovel and Ratcliffe enter, with Hastings's head. In the Q. version of this scene no one accompanies the Lord Mayor, whose entry precedes the appearance of Catesby bearing Hastings's head. In both versions, after the Lord Mayor's entry, Richard bids Catesby "o'erlook the walls" (l. 17). Thus, while the F. allows Ratcliffe to be present at Pomfret and London on the same day, the Q. represents Catesby as being addressed while absent from the stage.

[2] *friday the day of many*] More. The date (June 13), and the brackets enclosing it, appear in *Hol.'s* reprint of *More*.

all the hast he sent his seruant for a messe of strawberies. The protector set the lords fast in communing, & therevpon, praieng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And soone after one houre, betweene ten & eleuen, he returned into the chamber amongst them, all changed, with a woonderfull soure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning, and fretting [1] and gnawing on his lips: and so sat him downe in his place.

The behauior of the lord protector in the assemblie of the lords [when he returned].

All the lords were much dismaid, and sore maruelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: "What were they "worthie to haue that compasse and imagine the destruction of "me, being so neere of bloud vnto the king, and protector of his "roiall person and his realme?" At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cleere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betweene them thought he might be boldest with him) [2] answered and said, that they were worthie to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoeuer they were. And all the other affirmed the same. "That is" (quoth he) "yonder sorceresse my brothers wife, and other with hir" (meaning the queene.)

[Richard asked what should be done to those who imagined his death.]

[Hastings answered that they ought to be punished as traitors.]

[Richard accused the Queen and others.]

At these words manie of the other lords were greatlie abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was mooued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of councell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfe same daie; in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: "Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceresse, and that "other witch of hir councell, Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue,

[The Queen's kindred beheaded on that day.]

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[1] *browes, frowning and froting and knawing*] More.

[2] Hastings proposes to give a proxy-vote for Richard in the matter of fixing a day for the King's coronation. Touching this offer Richard says (III. iv. 30, 31):

"Then my Lord Hastings no man might be bolder;
His Lordship knowes me well, and loues me well."

[Richard showed his arm, withered (as he said) by the Queen and Shore's wife.]

"by their sorcerie and witchcraft, wasted my bodie." And therwith he plucked vp his dublet sleeue to his elbow, vpon his left arme, where he shewed a weerish withered arme, and small; as it was neuer other.

Herevpon euerie mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wist that the queene was too wise to go about anie such follie. And also, if she would, yet would she, of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell; whome of all women she most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Naithlesse, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing, as it is said, he that while forbare hir of reuerence toward the king, or else of a certeine kind of fidelitie to his freend) answered and said: "Certeinelie, my lord, if they haue "so heinouslie doone, they be worthie heinous punishment."

[Hastings kept Shore's wife.]

[Hastings replied that they deserved punishment, if they had so heinously done.]

"What" (quoth the protector) "thou seruest me, I weene, with "'ifs' and with 'ands': I tell thee they haue so doone, and that "I will make good on thy bodie, traitor!" and therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the boord a great rap. At which token one cried, [*p.* 723] "Treason!" without the chamber. Therewith a doore clapped, and in come there rushing men in harnesse, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings: "I arrest thee, traitor!" "What me, my lord?" (quoth he.) "Yea, thee, traitor!" quoth the protector. . . .

[Richard cried out at Hastings's "ifs," and called him a traitor.]

[Hastings arrested.]

Then were they all quickelie bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the protector bad speed and shriue him apace, "for, by saint Paule" (quoth he) "I will not to "dinner till I see thy head off!" It booted him not to aske whie, but heauilie he[1] tooke a priest at aduenture, and made *a short shrift:*[2] for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much

[Richard would not dine till Hastings was beheaded.]

[1] *he*] More. om. Hol.

[2] "*Ra.* [*Cat.* Q.] Come, come, dispatch! the Duke would be at dinner: Make *a short Shrift;* he longs to see your Head."

—*Rich. III.*, III. iv. 96, 97.

hast to dinner, which he might not go to, vntill this were doone, for sauing of his oth.

While Hastings lingers to muse on his sudden downfall, he recalls an incident till now unheeded (ll. 86-88):

> Three times to day my Foot-Cloth-Horse did stumble,
> And started, when he look'd vpon the Tower,
> As loth to beare me to the slaughter-house.

Fore tokens of imminent misfortune to the lord Hastings.

[*Hol.* iii. 723/1/71. *More*, 49/18.] Certeine is it also, that in riding towards the Tower, the same morning in which he was beheded, his horsse twise or thrise stumbled with him, almost to the falling.

At the close of this scene Hastings is led out to execution. I quote a passage which gives particulars of his death:

Lord Hastings, lord chamberleine, beheaded.

[*Hol.* iii. 723/1/19. *More*, 48/11.] So was he brought foorth to the greene beside the chappell within the Tower; and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there striken off, . . .

Act III. sc. v.— "Enter Richard and Buckingham, in rotten Armour, maruellous ill-fauoured."[1] They feign great timidity (ll. 14-21). Addressing the Lord Mayor,—who has been sent for to hear an explanation of the step which they have taken,—Richard speaks thus of Hastings (ll. 29-32):

> So smooth he dawb'd his Vice with shew of Vertue,
> That, his apparant open Guilt omitted,
> (I meane, his Conuersation with Shores Wife,)
> He liu'd from all attainder of suspect.[2] 32

When Richard sent for "manie substantiall men out of the citie" (see next page), he despatched to the city a herald with a proclamation (the same which the scrivener produces in sc. vi., Act III.), giving particulars of the alleged conspiracy, and accusing Hastings of

[Hastings's "conuersation" with Shore's wife.]

[*Hol.* iii. 724/1/43.] vicious liuing and inordinate abusion of his bodie, both with manie other, and also speciallie with Shore's wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason; with whom he laie nightlie, and namelie the night last past next before his death.[3]

Buckingham asks the Mayor (ll. 35-39):

> Would you imagine, or almost beleeue,
> (Wert not that, by great preseruation, 36

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[1] *Enter Richard . . .*] F. *Enter Duke of Glocester and Buckingham in armour.* Q.

[2] *suspect*] Q. *suspects* F.

[3] *with whom . . . his death.*] Halle (362). om. More.

We liue to tell it,) that the subtill Traytor
This day had plotted, in the Councell-House,
To murther me and my good Lord of Gloster?

The succeeding excerpt shows that Hastings was not represented to have confessed his treason (ll. 57, 58). The "substantiall men" were, however, outwardly as acquiescent as the credulous dramatic Mayor, who answers Richard thus (ll. 62, 63):

But, my good Lord, your Graces word[1] shal serue,
As well as I had seene and heard him speake: . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 723/2/74. *More*, 51/14.] Now flew the fame of this lords death [*p.* 724] swiftlie through the citie, and so foorth further about, like a wind in euerie mans eare. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to set some colour vpon the matter, sent in all the hast for manie substantiall men out of the citie into the Towre.

[The citizens, whom Richard sent for, found him and Buckingham arrayed "in old ill-faring briganders."]

Now, at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old ill faring briganders, such as no man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put vpon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contriued to haue suddenlie destroied him, and the duke, there the same day in the councell. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenoone; which sudden feare draue them to put on for their defense such harnesse as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that would haue doone it. And this he required them to report.

[Richard said that he and Buckingham had barely escaped death from a plot of Hastings.]

[The citizens professed to believe this tale, which Richard desired them to report.]

Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleeued.

Richard now bids Buckingham follow the Lord Mayor to Guildhall, and there seize an opportunity of decrying Edward IV. in the citizens' presence. As a proof of the late King's tyrannical humour Buckingham is to

Tell them how Edward put to death a Citizen, 76
Onely for saying he would make his Sonne
Heire to the Crowne; meaning indeed his House,
Which, by the Signe thereof, was tearmëd so.

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[1] *word*] Q. *words* F.

In a speech delivered at the Guildhall, on June 24, 1483,[1] Buckingham accused Edward of having turned "small trespasses into mispris[i]on, mispris[i]on into treason"; and, to prove his charge, cited the following case as being well known:

[*Hol.* iii. 728/2/35. *More*, 67/26.] Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast cruellie beheaded, by the miscontruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleasure. *Burdet.*

Between the words "beheaded" and "by," Halle[2] inserted the subjoined parenthetical comment (369):

This Burdet was a marchaunt dwellyng in Chepesyde at y^e^ signe of y^e^ croune, which now is y^e^ signe of y^e^ floure de luse, ouer agaynst soper lane. This man merely, in y^e^[3] rufflyng time of king Edward y^e^ .iiij. his raign,[4] sayd to his owne sonne that he would make him [Burdet was a merchant dwelling at "The Crown" in Cheapside.]

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[1] According to *Fab.* (669) Shaw's sermon (see p. 379 below) was preached on June 15,—the Sunday following Hastings's execution on June 13,—and Buckingham's speech was delivered on Tuesday, June 17. These dates agree with More's order of events (cp. 56, 57, 63, 66). But Stallworthe—writing from London on Saturday, June 21, and mentioning, amongst other news, Hastings's execution—says not a word about Shaw's sermon (*Excerpta Historica*, 16, 17). Besides, as the sermon was a complete unveiling of Richard's purpose, we can hardly suppose that such a hazardous step would be taken before June 16, when the Duke of York was conveyed to the Tower.

[2] In *Grafton* (ii. 107) the same story is foisted into *More's* narrative. *Hol.* records, under the year 1476, that "Thomas Burdet, an esquier of Arrow in Warwikeshire, . . . was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort. King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrow, and slue manie of his deere, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he vnderstood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (hornes and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London."—*Hol.* iii. 703/1/6.

[3] *y^e^*] Halle (1548). om. Halle (1550).

[4] *raign*] Ed. *rage* Halle. The six editions of *Halle* belonging to the British Museum have the wrong reading "rage." In one of these editions (6004, ed. 1548), a corrector has written *n* upon the *e*; a change which substitutes the reading "ragn" (= *reign*) for "rage." Crotchets enclose "This Burdet . . . Chepesyde" in the edd. of (?) 1542, and 1548, but these words are not marked as a parenthesis in the edd. of 1550, or in *Grafton*. Part of *Halle's* addition was thus expanded by *Grafton* (ii. 107); "This man merily, in the ruffling time, betwene king Edward the fourth, and king Henry the sixt, said to his owne sonne," . . . In *Halle* and *Grafton* a comma is placed after "spoken." In *More* and *Hol.* "spoken" is unpunctuated, and in *More* a comma follows "hast." *Hardyng-Grafton* has not *Halle's* addition. The punctuation of *More* was evidently changed to suit *Halle's* version of Burdet's offence.

[He said that he would make his son heir to "The Crown."]

[For this jest Edward caused Burdet to die a traitor's death.]

inheritor of y^e^ croune, meaning his owne house, but these wordes king Edward made to be misconstrued & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of y^e^ realme: wherfore, within lesse space[1] then .iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde, by the misconstruynge of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, . . .

When Buckingham has departed, Richard says (ll. 103-105):

Goe, Louell, with all speed to Doctor Shaw;
[*To Cate.*] Goe thou to Fryer Penker; bid them both
Meet me within this houre at Baynards Castle.[2]

Among those whom Richard employed to advocate his right to the throne were

[Shaw and Penker described.]

[*Hol.* iii. 725/2/30. *More*, 57/4.] Iohn Shaw, clearke, brother to the maior, and frier Penker, prouinciall of the Augustine friers; both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning.

Left alone, Richard mentions his resolve (ll. 108, 109)

. . . to giue order, that no manner person
Haue any time recourse vnto the Princes.

When Richard became King (June 26,[3] 1483),

The two princes shut vp in close hold.

[*Hol.* iii. 735/1/37. *More*, 83/16.] foorthwith was the prince and his brother both shut vp, & all other remooued from them; onelie one (called Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, set to serue them and see them sure.

Act III. sc. vi.—"Enter a Scrivener with a paper in his hand" (Q. *with . . . hand* om. F.). He thus addresses the audience (ll. 1-9):

Here is the Indictment of the good Lord Hastings;
Which *in a set Hand* fairely is engross'd,
That it may be to day read o're in Paules.
And marke how well the sequell hangs together:
Eleuen houres I haue spent to write it ouer,
For yester-night by Catesby was it sent me;
The Precedent was full as long a doing:
And yet within these fiue houres Hastings liu'd
Vntainted, vnexamin'd, free, at libertie.

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[1] *space*] Halle (1548). *place* Halle (1550).

[2] Ll. 103-105 are not in Q.

[3] The Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer in Ireland contain a letter from Richard III. to his Irish subjects, who were, it appears, uncertain about the exact date of his accession. The King informs them that his reign began on June 26, 1483.—Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, 326, 327. See also *Cont. Croyl.*, 566, and *York Records*, 157, note.

The proclamation of Hastings's treason and vicious life (see p. 373 above) was

[*Hol.* iii. 724/1/62. *More*, 52/31.] made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiouslie indicted, & so faire written in parchment, *in* so well *a set hand*, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betweene his death and the proclaming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribled foorth in hast at aduenture. So that, vpon the proclaming thereof, one that was schoolemaister of Powles, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him: "Here is a gaie goodlie cast, foule "cast awaie for hast." And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophesie.

[The proclamation was prepared before Hastings's death.]

[Jests of a schoolmaster and a merchant.]

Act III. sc. vii.—The scene is laid at Baynard's Castle. Since sc. v. closed Buckingham had harangued the citizens at Guildhall. Richard now asks (l. 4):

> Toucht you the Bastardie of Edwards Children?
> *Buck.* I did; with his Contráct with Lady Lucy,
> And his Contráct by deputie in France;[1]
> Th'vnsatiate greedinesse of his desire,
> And his enforcement of the Citie Wiues;[2] . . .

Buckingham reminded the citizens at Guildhall how on Sunday (June 22) Dr. Shaw

[*Hol.* iii. 729/2/53. *More*, 70/21.] "groundlie made open vnto "you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie "begotten; forsomuch as the king (leauing his verie wife dame "Elizabeth Lucie)[3] was neuer lawfullie maried vnto the queene their "mother," . . .

A slanderous lie confirmed [: that Edward was betrothed to Dame Lucy.]

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[1] We do not learn from *More* that Warwick's marriage-making embassy was noticed in Buckingham's speech at the Guildhall. The Shaksperian Buckingham refers to this matter again (III. vii. 179-182), together with Edward's supposed contract to Lady Lucy. Ll. 5, 6 (*his . . . France*), are not in Q.

[2] 8. *And . . . Wiues*] F. om. Q.

[3] The Parliament which met on January 23, 1484, ratified a petition—no doubt presented to the Protector at Baynard's Castle—setting forth reasons for Richard's assumption of the crown. One of the petitioners' objections to the validity of Edward IV.'s union with Elizabeth Grey was "that at the tyme of contract of the same pretensed Mariage, and bifore and longe tyme after, the

Buckingham also declared that

[*Hol.* iii. 729/1/58. *More*, 1557, pp. 62, 63.] "the kings[1] greedie "appetite was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme "intollerable.

"For no woman was there anie where, yoong or old, rich or "poore, whome he set his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, "either person or fauour, speech, pase, or countenance, but, with- "out anie feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmur or "grudge of the world, he would importunelie pursue his appetite, "and haue hir, to the great destruction of manie a good woman, "and great dolor to their husbands, . . . And all were it that, "with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie "part annoied, yet speciallie yee heere, the citizens of this noble "citie, as well for that amongest you is most plentie of all such "things as minister matter to such iniuries, as for that you were "neerest at hand; sith that neere heere abouts was commonlie "his most abiding."

He directeth his speech to y^e^ communaltie of the citie [, who suffered most through Edward's lust.]

Richard had prescribed Edward's illegitimacy as a topic for Buckingham's speech; adding, however (III. v. 93, 94):

> Yet touch this sparingly, as 'twere farre off;
> Because, my Lord, you know my Mother liues.

Buckingham therefore reports (III. vii. 9-14) having drawn attention to Edward's

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seid King Edward was and stode maryed and trouth plight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, doughter of the old Earl of Shrewesbury [? John Talbot, the first Earl] with whom the same King Edward had made a precontracte of Matrimonie, longe tyme bifore he made the said pretensed Mariage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in maner and fourme abovesaid."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 241/1. The first Parliament of Henry VII. (1485) ordained that this petition should, "for the false and seditious ymaginacions and untrouths thereof, . . . be taken and avoided out of the Roll and Records of the said Parliament of the said late King [Richard III.], and brente, and utterly destroyed." Parliament also ordained "that every persoune, haveing anie Coppie or Remembraunces of the said Bill or Acte [the petition], bring unto the Chauncellor of England for the tyme being, the same Coppies and Remembraunces, or utterlie destrue theym, afore the Fest of Easter next comen, upon Peine of ymprissonment, and makeing fyne and ransome to the Kinge atte his will."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 289/1. *More*, writing about 1513, does not speak of Dame Eleanor Butler, but tells us (61/33) that the Duchess of York objected to her son's marriage with Elizabeth Grey because "the kinge was sure to dame Elisabeth Lucy and her husband before god." Dame Elizabeth Lucy, however, confessed that she and Edward "were neuer ensured."—*Ibid.* 62/10.

[1] *the kings . . . their husbands*] om. reprint of More, p. 69.

owne Bastardie,
As being got, your Father then in France,
And his resemblance, being not like the Duke :[1]
Withall I did inferre your *Lineaments*, [See next page.] 12
Being the right Idea of your Father,
Both in your forme and Noblenesse of Minde ;[2]

In his speech at the Guildhall, Buckingham alluded to

[*Hol.* iii. 729/2/69. *More*, 70/32.] other things which the said worshipfull doctor rather signified than fullie explaned, & which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbereth to say that he knoweth [*p.* 730]; in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing (as nature requireth) a filiall reuerence to the duchesse his mother.

[Edward IV.'s illegitimacy alluded to.]

Richard and his Council resolved that Dr. Shaw should broach Edward V.'s deposition

[*Hol.* iii. 725/2/53. *More*, 57/24.] in a sermon at Paules crosse; in which he should (by the authoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the protectors ghostlie purpose. But now was all the labor and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretext, for which the people should be content to depose the prince, and accept the protector for king. In which diuerse things they deuised. But the cheefe thing & the weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that they should alledge bastardie, either in king Edward himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that he should seeme disabled to inherit the crowne by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

The chiefest deuise to depose the prince [: to allege bastardy in Edward himself and his children.]

To laie bastardie in king Edward sounded openlie to the rebuke of the protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adultresse; which, notwithstanding, to further this purpose, he letted not. But neuerthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more fauourablie handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but that the matter should be touched aslope, craftilie; as [*p.* 726] though men spared in that

[Shaw was to touch lightly on the first point, for reverence of the protector's mother; but the bastardy of Edward's children was to be fully declared.]

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[1] 11. *And . . . Duke*] F. om. Q.

[2] "Layd open all your Victories in Scotland," is the next line. Buckingham's speech, in *More* and *Halle*, contains no allusion to these victories. Richard's Scottish campaign is related by *Hol.* iii. 705-708.

point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmize in king Edwards children, that would he should be openlie declared and inforced to the vttermost.

So instructed, Shaw, after denying the legitimacy of the late King's children, told the people that

[Neither Edward nor Clarence was deemed to be certainly the son of Richard Duke of York.]

[*Hol.* iii. 727/2/50. *More,* 64/26.] neither king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence, among those that were secret in the houshold, were reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble duke; as those that by their fauours more resembled other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous conditions he said also that the late king Edward was far off.

[The Protector was the image of York.]

But the lord protector, he said, the verie noble prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie prowesse, as well in all princelie behauiour, as in the *lineaments*[1] and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face of the noble duke his father. "This is" (quoth he) "the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie "print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse "likenesse of that noble duke."

Buckingham thus concludes his report (ll. 20-41):

And, when my Oratorie drew toward end,
I bid them, that did loue their Countries good,
Cry, "God saue Richard, Englands Royall King
Rich. And did they so?
Buck. No, so God helpe me, they spake not a word;
But like dumbe Statuas,[2] or breathing Stones,
Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale.
Which when I saw, I reprehended them;
And asked the Maior what meant this wilfull silence:
His answer was, the people were not vsed
To be spoke to but by the Récorder.
Then he was vrg'd to tell my Tale againe,
"Thus sayth the Duke, thus hath the Duke inferr'd;"
But nothing spake[3] in warrant from himselfe.
When he had done, some followers of mine owne,
At lower end of the Hall, hurld vp their Caps,
And some tenne voyces cry'd, "God saue King Richard!"
And thus I tooke the vantage of those few,
"Thankes, gentle Citizens and friends," quoth I;
"This generall applause and chearefull showt,

[1] Cp. III. vii. 12, p. 379 above.
[2] *Statuas*] Steevens (Reed). *Statues.* Q. F.
[3] *spake*] Q. *spoke* F.

"Argues your wisdome, and your loue to Richard:" 40
And euen here brake off, and came away.

More's account of Buckingham's speech contains details which were omitted by Shakspere. The citizens' silence caused Buckingham—"somewhat lowder"—to broach "the same matter againe in other order, and other words." Howbeit the people remained "as still as the midnight." After the Recorder's address, Buckingham whispered to the Mayor,—"this is a maruellous obstinate silence" (cp. III. vii. 28), —and then told his hearers that, though the lords, and the commons of other parts, could do what was asked, yet regard for the citizens was a motive for seeking their consent also. Hence he required an answer. Thereupon a whispering began among the people, "as it were the sound of a swarme of bees," till at last were heard the shouts proceeding from "an ambushment of the dukes seruants."

[*Hol.* iii. 730/1/71. *More*, 72/16.] When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whome he hoped that the maior had framed before, should, after this proposition made, haue cried, "King Richard, king Richard!" all was husht and mute, and not one word answered therevnto. . . . [The citizens were silent.]

When the maior saw this [the failure of Buckingham's second speech], he with other partners of that councell drew about the duke, and said that the people had not beene accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happilie to him they will answer. With that the recorder, called Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was so new come into that office, that he neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding, thervnto commanded by the maior, made rehearsall to the commons of that the duke had twise rehearsed to them himselfe. [The Mayor said that they might answer their recorder.] *Fitz William, recorder* [, rehearsed Buckingham's speech].

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part his owne. But all this nothing[1] no change made in the people, which alwaie after one stood as they had beene men amazed. . . . [But Fitz-William spoke as Buckingham's mouthpiece.] [Still the citizens were silent]

[When Buckingham demanded an answer] the people began to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of bees; till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, an ambushment of [when Buckingham demanded an answer.]

[1] *nothing*] More. *noting* Hol. *thys no chaunge made* Halle.

the dukes seruants, and one Nashfield,[1] and other belonging to the protector, with some prentisses and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the prease, began suddenlie at mens backes to crie out, as lowd as their throtes would giue: "King Richard, king "Richard!" and threw vp their caps in token of ioy. And they, that stood before, cast backe their heads, maruelling thereof, but nothing they said. Now when the duke and the maior saw this maner, they wiselie turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodlie crie, & a ioifull, to heare euerie man with one voice, no man saieng naie.

K. Richards election preferred by voices of confederacie [; crying "King Richard, King Richard!"]

[Buckingham affirmed that these shouts expressed the citizens' minds.]

"Wherefore, friends" (quoth the duke) "sith we perceiue it "is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your king, "(whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall report, that we "doubt not but it shall redound vnto your great weale and com-"moditie,) we [*p.* 731] require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and "we with you, vnto his noble grace, to make our humble request "vnto him in maner before remembred." And therewith the lords came downe, and the companie dissolued and departed, . . .

The historical date of the rest of this scene (ll. 45-247) is June 25, 1483.[2] The Lord Mayor is now at hand, so Richard departs in order to show himself presently on the leads of Baynard's Castle. When the Mayor and citizens enter they find Buckingham apparently waiting for an audience. Catesby then brings what purports to be the Protector's answer (ll. 59-64):

> He doth entreat your Grace, my Noble Lord,
> To visit him to morrow or next day:
> He is within, with two right reuerend Fathers,
> Diuinely bent to Meditation;
> And in no Worldly suites would he be mou'd,
> To draw him from his holy Exercise.

Catesby is despatched to ask again for an audience, but Richard sends him back with another excuse (ll. 84-87):

> He wonders to what end you haue assembled
> Such troopes of Citizens to come to him,
> His Grace not being warn'd thereof before:
> He feares, my Lord, you meane no good to him.

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[1] *and one Nashfield* (*Nashfeelde*)] Halle. *and Nashfields* Hol. *and Nashefeldes* More.

[2] The morrow of Buckingham's speech at the Guildhall. See p. 375, note 1, above. Scenes ii.-vii., Act III., make one dramatic day.—*T-A.*, 328-331.

Receiving Buckingham's profession of good faith, Catesby goes out, and thereupon Richard enters "aloft, betweene two Bishops" [1] (l. 94).

I must premise (1) that nothing said by More, or any other historical authority, supplied a hint even for the dramatic Richard's refusal of an audience on the ground of preoccupation with "holy Exercise": (2) the words "with a byshop on euery hand of him"—which I have placed between square brackets—were added by Halle or Grafton to More's text.

I resume More's narrative at the point when, "on the morrow after" Buckingham's speech,

The maiors comming to Bainards castell, vnto the lord protector.

[*Hol.* iii. 731/1/11. *More*, 74/27.] the maior with all the aldermen,[2] and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their best maner apparelled, assembling themselues togither, resorted vnto Bainards castell, where the protector laie. To which place repaired also, (according to their appointment,) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse noble men with him, beside manie knights and other gentlemen. And therevpon the duke sent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to mooue a great matter vnto his grace. Wherevpon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he first knew some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie mistrusted the comming of such a number vnto him so suddenlie, without anie warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme.

[Buckingham sent word to Richard that a great company desired an audience on an important matter.]

[Richard declined to come till he knew something of their business.]

Then the duke, when he had shewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby see how little the protector looked for this matter, they sent vnto him by the messenger such louing message againe, and therewith so humblie besought him, to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would vnto none other person anie part disclose; that at the last he came foorth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but stood aboue in a gallerie ouer them [with a byshop on euery hand of him], where they might see him, and speake to him, as though he would not yet come too neere them till he wist what they ment.

[After another message he came forth and stood in a gallery.]

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[1] 94. *Enter Richard aloft, . . . Bishops.*] F. *Enter Rich. with two bishops aloft* (*a loste* Q1).] Q. Richard's summons of Shaw and Penker to meet him at Baynard's Castle (III. v. 103-105) is not in the Qq. See p. 376 above.

[2] In the F. version of III. vii. 66, "the Maior and Aldermen" desire a conference with Richard. The Q. reads: "the Maior and Cittizens;" and F. has (l. 55): "Enter the Maior, and Citizens."

Speaking on behalf of the Mayor and citizens, Buckingham thus addresses Richard (ll. 100-103):

> Famous Plantagenet, most gracious Prince,
> Lend fauourable eare to our requests;
> And pardon vs the interruption
> Of thy Deuotion and right Christian Zeale.

Richard asks "what is your Graces pleasure?" and Buckingham answering (ll. 109, 110),

> Euen that (I hope) which pleaseth God aboue,
> And all good men of this vngouern'd Ile;

proceeds, after some flattery, to make known their suit (ll. 130-136):

> we heartily solicite
> Your gracious selfe to take on you the charge
> And Kingly Gouernment of this your Land; 132
> Not as Protector, Steward, Substitute,
> Or lowly Factor for anothers gaine;
> But as successiuely, from Blood to Blood,
> Your Right of Birth, your Empyrie, your owne. 136

Richard's answer (ll. 141-173) contains nothing resembling the speech attributed to him by More, save in ll. 148-150; 171. With these lines compare the passage, "Notwithstanding, he not onlie . . . to the prince." If, says Richard, I elect to keep silence, you might deem that I consented;

> If to reproue you for this suit of yours, 148
> (So season'd with your faithfull loue to me,)
> Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends.[1] . . .
> On him [Edward V.] I lay that you would lay on me, . . . 171

[*Hol.* iii. 731/1/39. *More*, 75/20.] And thervpon the duke of Buckingham first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propose vnto his grace the intent of their comming, without his displeasure; without which pardon obteined, they durst not be bold to mooue him of that matter.

[Buckingham craved Richard's pardon beforehand for the intent of their coming.]

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it; whome they would in no wise offend. Then the protector (as he was verie gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked; verelie trusting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to bee greeued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed he bold to shew him their intent and

[Richard gave Buckingham leave to speak.]

[1] 148-150. *If . . . friends*] F. om. Q.

purpose, with all the causes moouing them therevnto (as ye before haue heard); and finallie to beseech his grace, that it would like him, of his accustomed goodness and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaie of the same, and to set his gratious hands to redresse and amendment thereof. [Richard entreated to assume the sovereignty of this distressed realm.]

All which he might well doo, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie descended vnto him; and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were so glad to liue vnder his obeisance, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the proposition, he looked verie strangelie thereat, and answered: that all were it that he partlie knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet such entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, &[1] so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one, (of which he was neuer desirous,) that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their desire. . . . *O singular dissimulation of king Richard* [, in refusing Buckingham's offer!]

Notwithstanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him; praieng them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the prince, . . . *K. Richard spake otherwise than he meant* [, when he prayed them transfer their love to his nephew].

Buckingham replies[2] by urging the illegitimacy of Edward IV.'s children (ll. 177-180):

> You say that Edward is your Brothers Sonne:
> So say we too, but not by Edwards Wife;
> For first was he contráct to Lady Lucie,
> (Your Mother liues a Witnesse to his Vow,) . . .

When Edward IV. made known his betrothal to Lady Grey, the Duchess of York

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[1] *& so much*] Halle. *that so much* Hol. (More).

[2] In this speech (III. vii. 189) Buckingham says that Edward was seduced, by a fancy for Lady Grey, "To base declension and loath'd *Bigamie*." The Duchess of York told Edward that Lady Grey's widowhood should be a sufficient deterrent, for it was "a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approch priesthood in cleannesse as he dooth in dignitie, to be defiled with *bigamie* in his first mariage." —*Hol.* iii. 726/2/21. *More*, 60/12.

Elizabeth Lucie [was—so the Duchess of York asserted—betrothed to Edward].

[*Hol.* iii. 727/1/16. *More*, 61/31.] openlie obiected against his mariage, (as it were in discharge of hir conscience,) that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir husband before God.

As Richard still affects to hesitate, the petitioner uses a final argument (ll. 214-217):

> Yet whether[1] you accept our suit or no,
> Your Brothers Sonne shall neuer reigne our King;
> But we will plant some other in the Throne,
> To the disgrace and downe-fall of your House: . . .

Richard yields; declining all responsibility for his acquiescence (ll. 227-236). Buckingham exclaims (ll. 239, 240):

> Then I salute you with this Royall Title:
> Long liue King Richard, Englands worthie King!

The following passages illustrate the rest of this scene:

[*Hol.* iii. 731/2/30. *More*, 77/11.] Upon this answer giuen, the duke, by the protectors licence, a little rowned aswell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon desired & obteined) he shewed alowd vnto the protector for a[2] finall conclusion: that the realme was appointed K. Edwards line should not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone, that it was now no suertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuersall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humblie beseech him therevnto. If he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, (which they would be loth to heare,) then must they needs seeke and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. . . .

[Buckingham's reply: They would not suffer Edward's line to reign.]

[If Richard refused their offer, they should seek for some other noble who would accept it.]

[When Richard accepted the crown] there was a great shout, crieng: "King Richard, king Richard!"

[A shout: "King Richard, King Richard!"]

Act IV. sc. i.—Queen Elizabeth, the Duchess of York,[3] the Marquess of Dorset, Anne Duchess of Gloucester, and Lady Margaret Plantagenet (Clarence's daughter), meet before the Tower; purposing to visit the Princes. They are informed by the Lieutenant of the

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[1] *yet whether*] Q. *yet know, where* F.
[2] *for a*] Halle. *that for a* Hol. (More).
[3] As this scene closes the Duchess of York says (l. 96):

> "Eightie odde yeeres of sorrow haue I seene," . . .

The historical Duchess was born on May 3, 1415 (*Wyrc.*, 453); and was therefore about eighty years of age when she died in 1495 (see p. 350, n. 3, above).

Tower that Richard will not suffer their visit (ll. 15-17; cp. p. 376 above). In the previous scene (III. vii. 242-244) Richard's coronation was appointed for to-morrow. Stanley now enters, and, addressing Anne, says (ll. 32, 33):

> Come, Madame, you must straight to Westminster,
> There to be crownëd Richards Royall Queene.

On July 6, 1483,[1]—nearly a fortnight after the election at Baynard's Castle,—Richard and Anne ascended their thrones in Westminster Abbey,

The king & queene crowned.

[*Hol.* iii. 734/1/3. *Halle,* 376.] where the cardinall of Canturburie, & other bishops them crowned according to the custome of the realme, . . .

Queen Elizabeth then bids Dorset begone (ll. 42, 43):

> If thou wilt out-strip Death, goe crosse the Seas,
> And liue with Richmond, from the reach of Hell: . . .

Dorset went with Queen Elizabeth into sanctuary at Westminster,[2] and left it to join the rebellion raised by Buckingham in October, 1483.[3] Buckingham, before his capture, hoped either to collect a new army, "or else shortlie to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond" (*Hol.* iii. 743/2/56. *Halle,* 394). Dorset, more fortunate, was one of those who "fled by sea," and "arriued safelie in the duchie of Britaine" (*Hol.* iii. 743/2/68. *Halle,* 394). When Richmond returned to Brittany, after his fruitless attempt to succour the rebellion,

[Dorset in Brittany, searching for Richmond.]

[*Hol.* iii. 745/1/55. *Halle,* 396.] he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had lost his head; and that the marquesse Dorset, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to Vannes. . . .

[Dorset and the Lancastrians rejoiced to hear of Richmond's safety.]

When they knew that he was safelie returned into Britaine, Lord, how they reioised! for before that time they missed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make inquirie or search for him. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in England, & fallen into the hands of king Richard, in whose person they knew well was neither mercie nor compassion.

[Their meeting with Richmond.]

Wherefore in all speedie maner they galoped toward him, and him reuerentlie saluted.

Act IV. sc. ii.—Richard enters "crownd" (Q.); attended by Buckingham, Catesby, a Page, and others. The King requires Buckingham's "consent" that the young Princes shall die (l. 23). Buckingham

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[1] *Cont. Croyl.*, 567.
[2] *Polyd. Verg.*, 540/39.
[3] *Hol.* iii. 743/1/59 (*Halle*, 393).

craves "some litle breath, some pawse," ere he can "positively speake in this" (ll. 24, 25); and goes out. Angered by Buckingham's hesitation, Richard calls the Page and asks (ll. 34, 35):

> Know'st thou not any whom corrupting Gold
> Will tempt vnto a close exploit of Death?
> *Page.* I know a discontented Gentleman,
> Whose humble meanes match not his haughtie spirit:
> Gold were as good as twentie Orators,
> And will (no doubt) tempt him to any thing.
> *Rich.* What is his Name?
> *Page.* His Name, my Lord, is Tirrell.
> *Rich.* I partly know the man: goe, call him hither, Boy.

After the Page's exit, Richard hears from Stanley of Dorset's flight. The King then says (ll. 51-53):

> Come hither, Catesby: rumor it abroad
> That Anne, my Wife, is very grieuous sicke;[1]
> I will take order for her keeping close.

In March, 1485,[2] Richard

A rumour spred abroad of the queenes death; at the procurement of king Richard.

[*Hol.* iii. 751/1/18. *Halle,* 407.] procured a common rumor (but he would not haue the author knowne) to be published and spred abroad among the common people, that the queene was dead; to the intent that she, taking some conceit of this strange fame, should fall into some sudden sicknesse or greeuous maladie: and to prooue, if afterwards she should fortune by that or anie other waies to lease hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or sicknesse, or thereof would laie the blame to him.

Catesby departs, and Richard communes with himself (ll. 61, 62):

> I must be marryed to my *Brothers Daughter*,
> Or else my Kingdome stands on brittle Glasse.

In 1485, Richmond heard that Richard

[*Hol.* iii. 752/2/47. *Halle,* 409.] intended shortlie to marie the ladie Elizabeth, his *brothers daughter;* . . .

The Page now returns with Tyrrel, who at once undertakes to despatch the Princes (ll. 78-81).

> Let me haue open meanes to come to them,
> And soone Ile rid you from the feare of them.
> *Rich.* Thou sing'st sweet Musique. Hearke, come hither, Tyrrel:
> Goe, by this token: rise, and lend thine Eare: . . . [*Whispers.*

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[1] *is sicke and like to die*] Q. [2] See p. 396, n. 3, below.

Tyrrel's work is to be done "straight" (F.), or before Richard sleeps (Q.).

The ensuing excerpts form the source of ll. 8-41; 66-85.

[*Hol.* iii. 734/2/38. *More*, 81/15.] King Richard, after his coronation, taking his waie to Glocester to visit (in his new honour) the towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuised (as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had intended. And forsomuch as his mind gaue him, that, his nephues liuing, men would not reckon that he could haue right to the realme, he thought therefore without delaie to rid them; as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindlie king. Whervpon he sent one Iohn Greene (whom he speciallie trusted) vnto sir Robert Brakenberie, constable of the Tower; with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert should in anie wise put the two children to death.

[Richard determined to have his nephews slain.]

Iohn Greene [sent to sound] Robert Brakenberrie, constable of the Tower.

This Iohn Greene did his errand vnto Brakenberie, kneeling before our ladie[1] in the Tower. Who plainelie answered, that he would neuer put them to death to die therefore. With which answer Iohn Greene returning, recounted the same to king Richard at Warwike, yet in his waie. Wherewith he tooke such displeasure & thought, that the same night he said vnto a secret page of his: "Ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I haue brought vp "myselfe, those that I had weent would most suerlie serue me, euen "those faile me, and at my commandement will doo nothing for "me." "Sir" (quoth his page) "there lieth one on your pallet "without, that I dare well saie, to doo your grace pleasure, the "thing were right hard that he would refuse." Meaning this by sir Iames Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie personage, and for natures gifts worthie to haue serued a much better prince; if he had well serued God, and by grace obteined as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit.

The murther of the two yoong princes set abroch.

Sir Iames Tirrell described.

The man had an high heart, & sore longed vpward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered & kept vnder by the meanes of sir Richard Ratcliffe, [*p.* 735] and sir William Catesbie, which, (longing for no mo parteners of the princes fauour; and,

Authoritie loueth no partners [: Ratcliffe and Catesby kept Tyrrel out of employment].

[1] Kneeling in prayer before an image of our Lady.

namelie, not for him, whose pride they wist would beare no peere,) kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust: which thing this page well had marked and knowne. Wherefore, this occasion offered, of verie speciall friendship he tooke his time to put him forward, and by such wise doo him good, that all the enimies he had (except the deuill) could neuer haue doone him so much hurt. For vpon this pages words king Richard arose, (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for such a councell,) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir Iames and sir Thomas Tirrels, of person like, and brethren of bloud, but nothing of kin in conditions.

[Richard easily gained Tyrrel's consent.]

Then said the king merilie to them: "What, sirs, be ye in bed "so soone?" And calling vp sir Iames, brake to him secretlie his mind in this mischeeuous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morow he sent him to Brakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer sir Iames all the keies[1] of the Tower for one night; to the end he might there accomplish the kings pleasure, in such things as he had giuen him commandement. After which letter deliuered, & the keies receiued, sir Iames appointed the night next insuing to destroie them; deuising before and preparing the meanes.[2]

The constable of the Tower deliuereth the keies to sir Iames Tirrell vpon the kings commandement.

When Tyrrel is gone, Buckingham re-enters and makes a demand (ll. 91-94):

> My Lord, I clayme the gift, my due by promise,
> For which your Honor and your Faith is pawn'd; 92

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[1] The men sent to murder Clarence have a commission addressed to Brakenbury, who, after reading it, delivers to them the keys.—*Rich. III.*, I. iv. 90-96.

[2] Assuming this account to be true, the Princes were murdered about the middle of August, 1483. Richard III.'s privy seals show that he was at Warwick from August 8 to August 14. On August 15 he was at Coventry (*H. S.*). At Warwick Grene reported Brakenbury's answer (*More*, 81/33). On the day following Grene's arrival at Warwick, Tyrrel was despatched to take the keys of the Tower from Brakenbury (*More*, 82/2, 83/2). The deed was done on "the night nexte ensuing" the delivery of the keys to Tyrrel (*More*, 83/6). Warwick is 90 miles distant by road from London.—*Lewis.* In Richard's reign messengers could post 100 miles a day.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 571. If Tyrrel were sent from Warwick, the latest date for his departure must have been August 14, and he could reach London the same day. When Buckingham's rebellion began (October), there was a rumour that the Princes were dead.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 568.

Th'Earledome of Herford,[1] and the moueables,
Which you haue promisëd I shall possesse.

While carrying out a purpose of contemptuously ignoring Buckingham's demand, Richard, vouchsafing no response, addresses Stanley (ll. 95, 96):

Stanley, looke to your Wife: if she conuey
Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

In 1484,[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 746/1/56. *Halle*, 398.] nothing was more maruelled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not beene taken and reputed as an enimie to the king; considering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife, moother to the earle of Richmond. But, forsomuch as the enterprise of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or estimation, and that the lord Thomas hir husband had purged himselfe sufficientlie to be innocent of all dooings and attempts by hir perpetrated and committed; it was giuen him in charge to keepe hir in some secret place at home, without hauing anie seruant or companie: so that from thense foorth she should neuer send letter or messenger vnto hir sonne, nor anie of his freends or confederats, by the which the king might be molested or troubled, or anie hurt or preiudice might be attempted against his realme and communaltie.

King Richard chargeth the lord Stanleie to keepe his wife in some secret place from dealing against him

Still apparently unmindful of Buckingham, Richard soliloquizes about Henry VI.'s prophecy that Richmond should be King (see p. 329 above), which leads to a reflection on the prophet's unforeseen death,[3] and is followed by a disagreeable reminiscence (ll. 106-110):

Richmond! When last I was at Exeter,
The Maior in curtesie showd me the Castle,
And called it Ruge-mount: at which name I started, 108
Because a Bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not liue long after I saw Richmond.[4]

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[1] *Herford*] Q. *Hertford* F. *erle of Herfordes landes* Halle (382), but (387) *Earle of Hartfordes landes.* See p. 450, n. 2, below.

[2] This general feeling of surprise at Stanley's freedom is spoken of by *Halle* (397, 398) as having been prevalent about the time when Richard's sole Parliament was sitting. The session opened on January 23, 1484.—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 237/1.

[3] "How chance the prophet could not at that time
Haue told me, I being by, that I should kill him?" (Q. om. F.)
The dramatic Richard of 3 *Hen. VI.* was, like the historic character, absent from England during Henry's brief restoration.

[4] 106-110. *Richmond! . . . Richmond.*] Q. om. F.

In November, 1483,[1] Exeter was visited by Richard,

John Hooker, alias Vowel. K. Richard commeth to Excester, and is receiued with presents.

[*Hol.* iii. 746/1/1.] whome the maior & his brethren in the best maner they could did receiue, and then presented to him in a purse two hundred nobles; which he thankefullie accepted. And during his abode here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the same, & at length he came to the castell; and, when he vnderstood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said: "Well, I see my daies be not long." He spake this of a prophesie told him, that, when he came once to Richmond, he should not long liue after: which fell out in the end to be true; not in respect of this castle, but in respect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next [*i.e.* second] yeare following met him at Bosworth field, where he was slaine.

A prophesie, the memorie whereof did appall the kings spirits.

Buckingham again solicits attention to his demand for the promised earldom (114, 115). He supported Richard at Northampton in April, 1483;

[*Hol.* iii. 736/1/21. *More*, 86/29.] and from thense still continued with him partner of all his deuises; till that, after his coronation, they departed (as it seemed) verie great freends at Glocester. From whense as soone as the duke came home, he so lightlie turned from him, and so highlie conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And, suerlie, the occasion of their variance is of diuerse men diuerselie reported.

Causes of the duke of Buckingham and K. Richards falling out.

Some haue I heard say, that the duke, a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the erle[2] of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And, forsomuch as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was somwhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before depriued, the protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the dukes request with manie spitefull and minatorie words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; . . .

[Richard refused, with threats, to give Buckingham the Earl of Hereford's lands.]

[1] Buckingham was beheaded on November 2, 1483 (see p. 410 below). On the following day Richard left Salisbury and marched westwards till he reached Exeter.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 568. About the end of November the King returned to London.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 570.

[2] *erle*] Halle. *duke* Hol. (More).

Richard rejects his former ally's demand with studied insult; and all leave the stage save Buckingham, who lingers a moment to muse (ll. 123-126):

> And is it thus? repayes he my deepe seruice
> With such contempt? made I him King for this?
> O, let me thinke on Hastings, and be gone
> To Brecnock, while my fearefull Head is on!

In the Summer of 1483, "soone after" Buckingham's

[*Hol.* iii. 736/2/3. *More*, 88/12] comming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his custodie, by the commandement of king Richard, doctor Morton, bishop of Elie, . . . [Buckingham] waxed with him familiar; whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the dukes destruction.

[Buckingham returned to Brecknock, and became friendly with Dr. Morton.]

Halle's Chronicle contains (387) what professes to be an account of this matter given by Buckingham himself to Dr. Morton, during the time of the Bishop's detention at Brecknock Castle. When, said Buckingham, Richard

[*Hol.* iii. 739/1/74.] was once crowned king, and in full possession of the whole realme, he cast awaie his old conditions as the adder dooth hir skin, verifieng the old prouerbe, "Honours change manners," as the parish preest remembreth that he was neuer[1] parish clearke. For when I my selfe sued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands, which his brother king Edward wrongfullie deteined and withheld from me; and also required to haue the office of the high constableship of England, as diuerse of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long descent continued: in this my first sute shewing his good mind toward me, he did not onelie first delaie me, and afterward denaie me, but gaue me such vnkind words, with such tawnts & retawnts, ye, in manner checke and checkemate, to the vttermost proofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not set him vp. . . .

The principall cause why the duke of Buckingham cõceiued such inward grudge against king Richard [was Richard's scornful rejection of the Duke's claim to the Earl of Hereford's lands, and the Constableship of England.]

But when I was crediblie informed of the death of the two yoong innocents, his owne naturall nephues, contrarie to his faith and promise; to the which (God be my iudge!) I neuer agreed, nor condescended; O Lord, how my veines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! insomuch that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the companie, of him, that

[When Buckingham heard of the Princes' murder, (to which he never agreed,)

[1] (?) never remembreth that he was ever.

he left Richard's Court.] I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtfull.

Act IV. sc. iii.—The Princes have been smothered while abed by Dighton and Forrest, at the instance of Tyrrel, who now enters and describes his agents' remorse (ll. 3-21). Richard, entering, learns from Tyrrel that "the thing" commanded "is done"; and asks (l. 27):

But did'st thou see them dead?
Tir. I did, my Lord.
Rich. And buried, gentle Tirrell? 28
Tir. The Chaplaine of the Tower hath buried them;
But where (to say the truth)[1] I do not know.

Having undertaken to make away with the Princes,

[*Hol.* iii. 735/1/45. *More*, 83/23.] sir Iames Tirrell deuised, that they should be murthered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow *fleshed*[2] in murther before time. To him he ioined one Iohn Dighton, his owne horssekeeper, a big, broad, square, and strong knaue.

The two murtherers of the two princes appointed.

Then, all the other being remooued from them, this Miles Forrest, and Iohn Dighton, about midnight, (the seelie children lieng in their beds,) came into the chamber, &, suddenlie lapping them vp among the clothes, so to bewrapped them and intangled them, keeping downe by force the fether-bed and pillowes hard vnto their mouths, that, within a while, smoothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen; leauing to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceiued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lieng still, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and fetched sir Iames to see them; which, vpon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to burie them at the staire foot, meetlie deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones.

The yoong K. and his brother murthered in their beds at midnight in the Tower.

Then rode sir Iames in great hast to king Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murther; who gaue him great thanks, and (as some saie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burieng in so vile a corner; saieng, that he

[Richard gave Tyrrel great thanks (*cp.* ll. 33, 34).]

[1] *where (to say the truth)*] F. *how or in what place* Q.
[2] Tyrrel calls both the murderers "*flesht* Villaines" (IV. iii. 6).

would haue them buried in a better place, bicause they were a kings sonnes. . . . Whervpon, they saie that a priest of sir Robert Brakenberies tooke vp the bodies againe, and secretlie interred them in such place, as, by the occasion of his death, which onelie knew it, could neuer since come to light.

[The Princes' bodies never found.]

When he is alone Richard recounts what has happened since the close of sc. ii., Act IV. He had purposed (III. v. 107) secretly

To draw the Brats of Clarence out of sight.

Afterwards he remarked (IV. ii. 56):

The Boy is foolish, and I feare not him.

Now (IV. iii. 36) he says:

The Sonne of Clarence haue I pent vp close.

Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence, was executed in November 1499, for having shared Perkin Warbeck's plot to escape from the Tower.[1] Warwick

Edward Plantagenet, earle of Warwike, a verie innocent.

[*Hol.* iii. 787/2/15. *Halle*, 490.] had beene kept in prison within the Tower almost from his tender yeares; that is to saie, from the first yeare of the king [Henry VII.], to this fifteenth yeare, out of all companie of men & sight of beasts; insomuch that he could not discerne a goose from a capon, . . .

Within a day or two after the battle of Bosworth, Henry VII. sent

[*Hol.* iii. 762/1/6. *Halle*, 422.] sir Robert Willoughbie, knight, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet, earle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence; then being of the age of fifteene yeares: whome king Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time of his vsurped reigne.[2]

[Warwick imprisoned at Sheriff Hutton by Richard.]

A few dramatic hours have elapsed since Catesby departed, at Richard's bidding, to

Inquire me out some meane poore Gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence Daughter.—IV. ii. 54, 55.

Both obstacles are now removed. Clarence's son is "pent vp close";

His daughter meanly haue I matcht in marriage.—IV. iii. 37.

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[1] *Halle*, 491.

[2] Richard was at York in September, 1483 (*York Records*, 171-173); and there knighted the young Earl of Warwick (*Rows Rol*, 60).

Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, Clarence's daughter, was about twelve years of age at the time of Richard's death.[1] She married Sir Richard Pole, Chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Prince Arthur.[2] The Dramatist has, apparently, confounded her with her first cousin. In 1485, the rumour that Richard would marry his niece was accompanied by a report that he meant also

[Richard proposed marrying Cicely Plantagenet to a man of unknown lineage.]

[*Hol.* iii. 752/2/48. *Halle*, 409.] to prefer the ladie Cicilie hir sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie.

Richard proceeds (ll. 38, 39):

> The Sonnes of Edward sleepe in Abrahams bosome,
> And Anne my wife hath bid this world good night.

Richard was, as we have seen (p. 388 above), accused of spreading a false report of Anne's death. Hearing of this rumour, she feared that Richard "had iudged hir worthie to die," and so

The queene, wife to king Richard the third, suddenlie dead.

[*Hol.* iii. 751/1/40. *Halle*, 407.] either by inward thought and pensiuenesse of hart, or by infection of poison (which is affirmed to be most likelie), within few daies after the queene departed out of this transitorie life.[3]

Richard's meditations are interrupted by the entrance of Ratcliffe (*Catesby* Q.), announcing (l. 46),

> Bad news, my Lord: Mourton is fled to Richmond.

John Morton, Bishop of Ely, though he became a confidant of his jailor Buckingham's plots against Richard,

[*Hol.* iii. 741/1/71. *Halle*, 390.] did not tarrie till the dukes

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[1] She was born in August, 1473.—*Rows Rol*, 61.

[2] "Margaret Plantagenet . . . became the Wife of Sir Richard Pole Kt. (Son of Sir Jeffrey Pole Kt. descended from a Family of ancient Gentry in Wales) who having valiantly served King Henry the Seventh, in his Wars of Scotland [? in 1497: see Bacon's *Henry VII.*, 158/2], and being a Person much accomplished, was made chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Prince Arthur, and Kt. of the Garter; whereupon attending him into Wales, he receiv'd Command to Govern in those Parts."—*Sandford*, 441. As her son Henry Pole had livery of his lands on July 5, 1513 (*Calendar, Hen. VIII.*, I. 4325), the year of her marriage could not have been later than 1492.

[3] The writer of *Cont. Croyl.* (572) says that Queen Anne's death occurred about the middle of March, 1485; "in die magnae ecclipsis solis." The Rev. S. J. Johnson, Vicar of Melplash, Dorset, wrote thus in response to my enquiry anent the precise date of this eclipse: "The eclipse to which you refer took place on 16 March 1485. On making a rough calculation of it some years ago, I found 9 digits or three-fourths of the Sun would be eclipsed at London about half-past three in the afternoon. In the Mediterranean it would be total." *Stow* (782) gives March 16, 1485, as the date of Anne's death.

companie were assembled, but, secretlie disguised, in a night departed, (to the dukes great displeasure,) and came to his see of Elie; where he found monie and freends; and so sailed into Flanders, where he did the earle of Richmond good seruice.[1]

The bishop of Elie saileth into Flanders to the earle of Richmond.

Ratcliffe continues (ll. 47, 48):

> And Buckingham, backt with the hardy Welshmen,
> Is in the field, and still his power encreaseth.

Buckingham was

[*Hol.* iii. 743/2/10. *Halle*, 394.] accompanied with a great power of wild Welshmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and sharpe speech) in maner against their willes had rather thereto inforced and compelled by lordlie and streict commandement, than by liberall wages and gentle demenour; which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsooke him. The duke, with all his power, marched through the forrest of Deane, intending to haue passed the riuer Seuerne at Glocester, & there to haue ioined his armie with the Courtneis, and other westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had doone, no doubt but king Richard had beene in great ieopardie, either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life, or both.

The duke of Buckinghās power of wild Welshmen (falseharted) doo faile him.

Richard orders Ratcliffe to "muster men" (l. 56) for immediate action, and the scene closes.

Buckingham's revolt was seconded by simultaneous risings in different parts of England,[2] but

[*Hol.* iii. 743/1/70. *Halle*, 393.] king Richard, (who in the meane time had gotten togither a great strength and puissance,) thinking it not most for his part beneficiall, to disperse and diuide his great armie into small branches, and particularlie to persecute anie one of the coniuration by himselfe, determined (all other things being set aside) with his whole puissance to set on the chiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham.

K. Richards drift in the disposing of his armie.

[Richard determined to march against Buckingham.]

Act IV. sc. iv.—Richard's forces have been mustered, and he enters "marching, with Drummes and Trumpets" (Q.). He is met by the

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[1] Richard says (IV. iii. 49, 50):

> "Ely with Richmond troubles me more neere,
> Then Buckingham and his rash leuied Strength."

[2] See p. 403 below.

Duchess of York and Queen Elizabeth. His mother goes out, laying her "most greeuous Curse" upon him; but he detains his sister-in-law, and sues for the hand of his niece the Princess Elizabeth. In pleading his cause, he says (ll. 311-314):

> Dorset your Sonne, that, with a fearfull soule,
> Leads discontented steppes in Forraine soyle,
> This faire Alliance quickly shall call home
> To high Promotions, and great Dignity.

After long railing at him the Queen is so far appeased by his fair words as to ask (l. 426):

> Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?
> *Rich.* And be a happy Mother by the deed.
> *Qu.* I go. Write to me very shortly,
> And you shal vnderstand from me her mind.
> *Rich.* Beare her my true loues kisse; and so, farewell!
> [*Exit Q*[*ueen*].

Earlier in the eventful dramatic day which embraces scenes ii.—v., Act IV., Richard sent Catesby to spread a rumour of Anne's mortal sickness. Soon we hear from him of her death, and he adds (IV. iii. 40-43):

> Now, for I know the Britaine Richmond aymes
> At yong Elizabeth, my brothers daughter,
> And, by that knot, lookes proudly on the Crowne,
> To her go I, a iolly thriuing wooer.

In the Autumn of 1483 the Countess of Richmond and Queen Elizabeth communicated through the agency of Lewis, the Countess's physician, whose profession afforded him a convenient pretext for visiting the sanctuary at Westminster, where the Queen still abode. Acting under instructions obtained from the Countess, Lewis broached to Queen Elizabeth a proposal—which was accepted—for uniting the rival Houses:[1]

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[1] *Polyd. Verg.*, 550/9. Richard III.'s privy seals show that he was at Gloucester on August 2-4, 1483 (*H. S.*); and there Buckingham left him (*More*, 88/11). Thence Buckingham went to Brecknock Castle, where he had the custody of John Morton, Bishop of Ely.—*More*, 87/21—88/15. The result of a conference at Brecknock between Buckingham and Morton was that the former promised to aid Henry Earl of Richmond in obtaining the crown, if the Earl agreed to marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. By Morton's invitation, Reginald Bray, one of the household of Margaret Countess of Derby, Richmond's mother, came from Lancashire—where she was then residing—to Brecknock; and, after conferring with Buckingham, returned to the Countess and informed her of the Duke's promise.—*Hardyng-Grafton*, 526; Halle, 390. Thereupon she sent her physician Lewis to the Queen Dowager, who was then in the sanctuary at Westminster; instructing him to propose the matrimonial alliance as though it were an idea of his own. —*Hardyng-Grafton*, 526; *Halle*, 390, 391. Allowing time for the journies and previous negotiations, we may fairly refer Lewis's share in the latter to the early autumn of 1483. Before October 12, 1483, Buckingham had rebelled, and Richard was marching against him.—*Ellis*, II. i. 159. 160.

[*Hol.* iii. 742/1/1. *Halle*, 391.] "You know verie well, "madame, that, of the house of Lancaster, the earle of Richmond "is next of bloud, (who is liuing, and a lustie yoong batcheler,) and "to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you "could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest "daughter with the yoong earle of Richmond in matrimonie, no "doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortlie deposed, "and your heire againe to hir right restored." *The coniunction of the two families mooued to the Q. by the physician.*

On Christmas Day, 1483, Richmond was at Rennes, where he swore to marry the Princess Elizabeth after his accession to the throne, and received oaths of fidelity from the refugees who had espoused his cause.[1] Early in the year 1484,[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 750/1/27. *Halle*, 406.] king Richard was crediblie aduertised, what promises and oths the earle and his confederates had made and sworn togither at Rennes,[3] and how by the earles means all the Englishmen were passed out of Britaine into France. Wherefore, being sore dismaid, and in a maner desperate, bicause his craftie chieuance[4] tooke none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuised how to infringe and disturbe the earles purpose by an other meane; so that, by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his neece, he should pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. . . . *K. Richards deuise to infringe and defeat the earle of Richmōds purpose.*

[Richard therefore] determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife queene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promises; firmelie beleeuing, hir fauour once obteined, that she would not sticke to commit (and louinglie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters; and so by that meanes the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his neece should be vtterlie defrauded and beguiled. . . . *A subtill and lewd practise of king Richard to beguile the earle of Richmond.*

[Richard] would rather take to wife his cousine and neece the

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[1] *Polyd. Verg.* 553/44.

[2] On March 1, 1484, Richard took a solemn oath—peers spiritual and temporal with the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London being present—to ensure the personal safety and welfare of his nieces if they, leaving sanctuary, would commit themselves to his care.—*Ellis*, II. i. 149. Before Richard opened the negotiations with the Queen which placed her daughters in his power, he had considered the expediency, if he should become a widower, of marrying the Princess Elizabeth and thus forestalling Richmond.—*Polyd. Verg.* 556/2.

[3] *Rennes*] *Renes* Halle. *Reimes* Hol.

[4] To detain Richmond in Brittany.

[Richard's motive for marrying Elizabeth.]

ladie Elizabeth,[1] than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme should run to ruine; as who said, that, if he once fell from his estate and dignitie, the ruine of the relme must needs shortlie insue and follow.[2] Wherefore he sent to the queene (being in sanctuarie) diuerse and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against hir attempted or procured, and after should so largelie promise promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onelie to hir, but also to hir sonne lord Thomas, Marquesse Dorset, that they should bring hir (if it were possible) into some wanhope, or (as men saie) into a fooles paradise.

[Richard sent messengers to the Queen, excusing past injuries and making promises to her and Dorset.]

The messengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, so persuaded the queene with great and pregnant reasons, & with[3] faire and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; insomuch that she faithfullie promised to submit and yeeld hir selfe fullie and frankelie to the kings will and pleasure. . . .

Queene Elizabeth allureth hir sonne the marquesse Dorset home out of France.

After she sent letters to the marquesse hir sonne, (being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond,) willing him in anie wise to leaue the earle, and without delaie to repaire into England, where for him were prouided great honours, and honourable promotions; ascerteining him further, that all offenses on both parts were forgotten and forgiuen, and both he and she highlie incorporated in the kings heart.

After Anne's death, in March, 1485, the

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[1] There can be no doubt that rumour attributed this purpose to Richard. A little before Easter, 1485 (Easter fell on April 3), at the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, in the presence of the Mayor and citizens of London, the King absolutely repudiated the design of marriage with his niece Elizabeth.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 572. In a letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of York, dated April 5 (1485), Richard spoke of various ways by which "sedicious and evil disposed *per*sonnes" sowed "sede of noise and disclaundre agaynest our *per*sone"; and added: "for remedie wherof, and to thentent the troth opinlye declared shuld represse all suche false and contrived invencions, we now of late called before us the Maire and Alder*men* of *our* Citie of London, togidder *with* the moste sadde and discrete *per*sones of the same Citie in grete nombre, being present many of the lord*es* spir*it*uel and temporel of *our* land, and the substance of all *our* housland, to whome we largely showed *our* true entent and mynd in all suche thinge*s* as the said noise and disclaundre renne upon in suche wise as we doubt not all wel disposed *per*sonnes were and be therw*ith* right wele content"; . . .—*York Records*, 209.

[2] Cp. *Rich. III.*, IV. iv. 406-411.

[3] *with*] Halle. *what with* Hol.

[*Hol.* iii. 751/1/49. *Halle*, 407.] king thus (according to his long desire) lo[o]sed out of the bonds of matrimonie, began to cast a foolish fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his neece; making much sute to haue hir ioined with him in lawfull matrimonie. *K. Richard casteth his loue on his neece, purposing to marie hir.*

Queen Elizabeth's exit is followed by the entrance of Ratcliffe with the announcement (ll. 433-439) that

> on the Westerne Coast
> Rideth a puissant Nauie; . . .
> 'Tis thought that Richmond is their Admirall; 437
> And there they hull, expecting but the aide
> Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.

Richard gives Catesby a message for the Duke of Norfolk (ll. 448-450):

> bid him leuie straight
> The greatest strength and power that he can make,
> And meet me suddenly at Salisbury.

Starting from London, Richard

[*Hol.* iii. 743/2/5. *Halle*, 394.] tooke his iournie toward Salisburie, to the intent that in his iournie he might set on the dukes [Buckingham's] armie, if he might know him in anie place incamped, or in order of battell arraied. [Richard marched toward Salisbury.]

While Ratcliffe is speaking historic time has not advanced beyond October, 1483, but, were it not for the rendezvous appointed, we might suspect that the message with which Catesby is charged should be dated August, 1485; when, on hearing of Richmond's landing, Richard

[*Hol.* iii. 754/1/53. *Halle*, 412.] sent to Iohn duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Surrie, and to other of his especiall & trustie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and esteeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and priuate commoditie; willing them to muster and view all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and choose the most couragious and actiue persons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his presence with all speed and diligence. *The king sendeth to his friends for a chosen power of men.*

Ratcliffe's news is confirmed by Stanley, who pretends to know merely "by guesse" that Richmond

> . . . makes for England, here to clayme the Crowne (l. 469).

The rebellion of Buckingham and his adherents began on October 18, 1483.[1] They were to be supported by Richmond, who had

[1] This is the date given in the attainder of Buckingham and his confederates.—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 245/1, &c. But Norfolk, writing from London on

The earle of Richmonds preparation of ships and souldiers to the sea.

[*Hol.* iii. 744/2/48. *Halle*, 395.] prepared an armie of fiue thousand manlie Britons, and fortie well furnished ships. When all things were prepared in a readinesse, and the daie of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelfe daie of the moneth of October [1483], the whole armie went on shipbord, and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wind tooke the sea.

Richard taunts Stanley with a design of joining Richmond (ll. 476-478). Stanley asks permission to depart and collect men for the King's service (488-490). Richard yields a conditional assent (ll. 496-498):

> Goe, then, and muster men; but leaue behind
> Your Sonne George Stanley: looke your heart be firme,
> Or else his Heads assurance is but fraile.

Holinshed copied from Halle (408) a passage whence we learn that, among those whom Richard

What noble men K. Richard most mistrusted.

[*Hol.* iii. 751/2/5.] most mistrusted, these were the principall: Thomas lord Stanleie, sir William Stanleie his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and six hundred other: of whose purposes although king Richard were ignorant,[1] yet he gaue neither confidence nor credence to anie one of them; and least of all to the lord Stanleie, bicause he was ioined in matrimonie with the ladie Margaret, mother to the earle of Richmond, as afterward apparantlie yee may perceiue. For when the said lord Stanleie would haue departed into his countrie to visit his familie, and to recreate and refresh his spirits, (as he openlie said, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect readinesse to receiue the earle of Richmond at his first arriuall in England,) the king in no wise would suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage in the court George Stanleie, lord Strange, his first begotten sonne and heire.

[He gave least credence to Stanley.]

When Stanley is gone, four messengers enter successively with news of the revolt. The first messenger announces (ll. 500-504) a rising in Devonshire, headed by

> Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughtie Prelate
> Bishop of Exeter, his brother there,[2] . . .

The "Guilfords," a second messenger reports (ll. 505-507), have

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October 10, 1483, tells John Paston, "that the Kentysshmen be up in the weld, and sey that they wol come and robbe the cite, which I shall lett yf I may."—*Paston*, iii. 308.

[1] *were ignoraunt*] Halle. *were not ignorant* Hol.

[2] *brother there*] Q. *elder Brother* F.

taken up arms in Kent. A fourth messenger brings tidings of another outbreak (ll. 520, 521):

> Sir Thomas Louell and Lord Marquesse Dorset,
> 'Tis said, my Liege, in Yorkeshire are in Armes.

The rebellion was well-concerted, for Buckingham had

[*Hol.* iii. 743/1/56. *Halle*, 393.] persuaded all his complices and partakers, that euerie man in his quarter, with all diligence, should raise vp people & make a commotion. And by this means, almost in one moment, Thomas marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie, (where since the begin[n]ing of K. Richards daies he had continued, whose life by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell[1] was preserued from all danger & perill in this troublous world,) [and] gathered together a great band of men in Yorkeshire. [Risings in Yorkshire,

Sir Edward Courtneie, and Peter his brother,[2] bishop of Excester, raised an other a[r]mie in Deuonshire and Cornewall. In Kent, Richard Gilford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of souldiers, and openlie began warre. [Devonshire, Cornwall, and Kent.]

The news of a third messenger

> Is, that by sudden Floods and fall of Waters, 512
> Buckinghams Armie is dispers'd and scatter'd;
> And he himselfe wandred away alone,
> No man knowes whither.

Buckingham meant to cross the Severn, and effect a junction with his allies in the west (p. 397 above), but before

[*Hol.* iii. 743/2/25. *Halle*, 394.] he could atteine to Seuerne side, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the riuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the countrie adioining; insomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houses with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were caried about the fields swimming in cradels, beasts were drowned on hilles. Which rage of water lasted continuallie ten daies, insomuch that in the countrie adioining they call it to this daie,[3] "The great water"; or, "the duke of Buckinghams great water." By this floud the passages were so closed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuern to

A sore floud, or high water, dooing much harme, called the duke of Buckinghās great water.

[1] The translator of this passage from *Polyd. Verg.* (551/45) substituted "sir Thomas louell esquyer" for plain Thomas Rowell ("Rouelli").

[2] Cousin.—*French*, 248.

[3] The account of this flood was added to the translation of *Polyd. Verg.* (552) in *Halle*.

his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the Welshmen, lingring idelie, and without monie, vittels, or wages, suddenlie scattered and departed: and, for all the dukes faire promises, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wise either go further nor abide.

[The Welshmen departed.]

The duke (being thus left almost post alone) was of necessitie compelled to flie, . . .

[Buckingham fled.]

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, (which were redie to giue battell,) that his host was scatred, and had left him almost alone, and [he] was fled, & could not be found, they were suddenlie amazed & striken with a sudden feare, that euery man like persons desperate shifted for himselfe & fled.

[Buckingham's adherents fled when they heard that he could not be found.]

Richard asks (ll. 517, 518):

> Hath any well-aduisëd friend proclaym'd
> Reward to him that brings the Traytor in?
> *Mess.* Such Proclamation hath been made, my Lord.

From Leicester, on October 23, 1483,[1] Richard

A proclamation for the apprehension of the duke of Buckinghã, with large rewards to the apprehendor.

[*Hol.* iii. 744/1/21. *Halle*, 394.] made proclamation, that what person could shew and reueale where the duke of Buckingham was, should be highlie rewarded: if he were a bondman, he should be infranchised and set at libertie; if he were of free bloud, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

The fourth messenger's doubtful report of Dorset's appearance in arms is counterbalanced by better and certain news (ll. 523-529):

> The Brittaine Nauie is dispers'd by Tempest:[2]
> Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a Boat
> Vnto the shore, to aske those on the Banks,
> If they were his Assistants, yea or no?
> Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
> Vpon his partie: he, mistrusting them,
> Hoys'd sayle and made his course againe for Brittaine.

On October 12, 1483, Richmond put to sea "with a prosperous wind" (p. 402 above):

[*Hol.* iii. 744/2/55. *Halle*, 396.] But toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and so huge and terrible a

[1] I take the date from *Rymer*, xii. 204, where the proclamation is printed.
[2] *by Tempest*] F. om. Q.

tempest so suddenlie arose, that, with the verie power and strength of the storme, the ships were disparkled, seuered & separated asunder: some by force were driuen into Normandie, some were compelled to returne againe into Britaine. The ship wherein the earle of Richmond was, associat onelie with one other barke, was all night tossed and turmoiled. *His ships disparkled by tempest.*

In the morning after, (when the rage of the furious tempest was asswaged, and the ire of blustering wind was some deale appeased,) about the houre of noone the same daie, the earle approched to the south part of the realme of England, euen at the mouth of the hauen of Pole, in the countie of Dorset; where he might plainelie perceiue all the sea bankes & shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldiers, appointed and deputed there to defend his arriuall and landing. . . . Wherefore he gaue streict charge, and sore commandement, [*p.* 745] that no person should once presume to take land, and go to shore, vntill such time as the whole nauie were assembled and come togither. And, while he taried and lingered, he sent out a shipboate toward the land side, to know whether they, which stood there in such a number, and so well furnished in apparell defensiue, were his foes and enimies, or else his freends and comfortors. *He seeth all the sea banks furnished with souldiers.* *He sendeth to know whether they were with him or against him.*

They, that were sent to inquire, were instantlie desired of the men of warre keeping the coast, (which thereof were before instructed & admonished,) to descend and take land; affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarie for the arriuall and landing of the earle of Richmond, and to conduct him safelie into the campe, where the duke, not far of[f], laie incamped with a mightie armie, and an host of great strength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, ioining in puissances and forces togither, might prosecute and chase king Richard being destitute of men, and in maner desperate; and so, by that meanes, and their owne labours, to obteine the end of their enterprise which they had before begun. *A forged tale to intrap the earles messengers.*

The earle of Richmond, suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraud (as it was in deed), after he perceiued none of his ships to appeare in sight, he weied vp his anchors, halsed vp his sailes, &, hauing a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale sent [Richmond distrusted the invitation to land, and sailed away.]

euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and ieopardie, arriued safe and in all securitie in the duchie of Normandie; where he (to refresh and solace his soldiers and people) tooke his recreation by the space of three daies, and cleerelie determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Britaine.

The earle arriueth in Normandie & passeth by land into Britaine againe.

Catesby—whom Richard had despatched (IV. iv. 444-450) to summon the Duke of Norfolk to Salisbury—now re-enters with the latest advices (ll. 533-536):

> My Liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken;
> That is the best newes: that the Earle of Richmond
> Is, with a mighty power, landed at Milford,
> Is colder tidings[1], but yet they must be told.

Here Shakspere annihilates the historical time which intervened between Buckingham's luckless rebellion and Richmond's victorious enterprise. Buckingham was captured in October, 1483. Richmond,

[*Hol.* iii. 753/1/23. *Halle,* 410.] being accompanied onelie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, weied vp his anchors, and halsed vp his sailes in the moneth of August [1485], and sailed from Harfleet with so prosperous a wind, that, the seuenth daie[2] after his departure, he arriued in Wales in the euening, at a place called Milford hauen, and incontinent tooke land, . . .

The earle arriueth at Milford hauen.

Act IV. sc. v.—Stanley enters with Christopher Urswick, to whom he says (ll. 1-5):

> Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me:
> That, in the stye of the most deadly Bore,
> My Sonne George Stanley is frankt vp in hold:
> If I reuolt, off goes yong Georges head; 4
> The feare of that holds off my present ayde.

In August, 1485, "a daie or two before" Richmond sojourned at Lichfield,

[*Hol.* iii. 753/2/73. *Halle,* 411.] the lord Stanleie, hauing in his band almost fiue thousand men, lodged in the [*p.* 754] same towne. But, hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, dislodging him and his, and repaired to a

The lord Stanleies deuise to

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[1] *tidings*] Q. *Newes* F.

[2] *Polyd. Verg.* says (559/45) that Richmond sailed from the mouth of the Seine on August 1 ("Calend. Augusti"), and reached Milford Haven seven days after his departure, about sunset. According to *Cont. Croyl.* (573) August 1 was the date of Richmond's arrival at Milford Haven. *Rous* (218) gives August 6 as the date on which Richmond arrived at Milford Haven.

towne called Aderstone; the reabiding the comming of the earle. And this wilie fox did this act, to auoid all suspicion on king Richards part. *auoid suspicion of K. Richard and to saue his sonnes life.*

For the lord Stanleie was afraid, least, if he should seeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the earle his sonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, (which yet vtterlie did not put in him diffidence and mistrust,) would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire apparant, George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the intent that the lord Stanleie his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him.

Until the day before the battle of Bosworth, Richmond

[*Hol.* iii. 754/2/54. *Halle,* 413.] could in no wise be assured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanleie, which, for feare of the destruction of the lord Strange his sonne (as you haue heard), as yet inclined to neither partie. For, if he had gone to the earle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had beene shortlie executed. [Fear for his son made Stanley hold back to the last.]

Stanley also asks (l. 6)

But, tell me, where is Princely Richmond now?
Chri. At Penbroke, or at Harford-west,[1] in Wales.
Stan. What men of Name resort to him?
Chri. Sir Walter Herbert, a renownëd Souldier;
Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir Iames Blunt,
And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant Crew;
And many other of great name and worth:
And toward London do they bend their power,
If by the way they be not fought withall.[2]

The Earls of Oxford and Pembroke sailed with Richmond from Normandy. On the day after his arrival at Milford Haven, Richmond, "at the sunne rising, remooued to Hereford west" (*Hol.* iii. 753/1/33. *Halle,* 410). While there he received a

[*Hol.* iii. 753/1/44. *Halle,* 410.] message from the inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, . . . that the Penbrochians were readie to serue and giue their attendance on their naturall and immediat lord Iasper earle of Penbroke. [A message from the inhabitants of Pembroke.]

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[1] *Harford-west*] Q. *Hertford West* F.
[2] 6-15. *At . . . withall.* I have taken these lines in the order of the Qq.

Advancing farther, Richmond

[*Hol.* iii. 753/2/10. *Halle*, 411.] was by his espials ascerteined, that sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him; readie to incounter with his armie, and to stop their passage. Wherefore, like a valiant capteine, he first determined to set on them, and either to destroie or to take them into his fauour; and after, with all his power and puissance, to giue battell to his mortall enimie king Richard. But, to the intent his freends should know in what readinesse he was, and how he proceeded forward, he sent of his most secret and faithfull seruants with letters and instructions to the ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanleie and his brother [Sir William Stanley], to sir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his trustie freends; declaring to them that he, being succoured and holpen with the aid and reliefe of his freends, intended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and so to passe directlie to the citie of London.

[Sir Walter Herbert and Rice ap Thomas in arms for Richard.]

The erle sendeth secret word to his mother and other his freends, that he meant a direct passage to London, & [required] their conference.

Wherefore he required them, (as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie,) that they would meet him by the waie with all diligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at time and place conuenient, might communicate togither the deepnesse of all his doubtfull and weightie businesse. When the messengers were dispatched with these commandements and admonitions, he marched forward towards Shrewesburie: and, in his passing, there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas, with a goodlie band of Welshmen; which, making an oth and promise to the earle, submitted himselfe wholie to his order and commandement.

Rice ap Thomas sweareth fealtie and seruice to the earle of Richmond.

In the evening of the day on which Richmond encamped near Newport,

[*Hol.* iii. 753/2/59. *Halle*, 411.] came to him sir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the yoong earle of Shrewesburie, then being in ward; which were accounted to the number of two thousand men. And thus, his power increasing, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, and there paused.

[Richmond joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot and Sir William Stanley.]

There also came sir William Stanleie accompanied with a few persons.

In 1484,[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 749/1/17. *Halle*, 405.] Iohn Vere, earle of Oxford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in prison within the castell of Hammes, so persuaded Iames Blunt, capteine of the same fortresse, and sir Iohn Fortescue, porter of the towne of Calis, that he himselfe was not onelie dismissed and set at libertie, but they also, abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condescend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part.

Sir Iohn Vere earle of Oxford getteth out of prison, & he with others [—James Blunt being one—] *go to the earle of Richmond.*

The historic date of this scene must be August, 1485, but Stanley gives Urswick a message relating to a matter which had been settled in 1483 (p. 399 above):

> Retourne vnto thy Lord; commend me to him:
> Tell him, the Queene hath hartelie consented
> He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.—ll. 16-18. (Q1).

When the marriage between Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth had been arranged,

[*Hol.* iii. 742/1/58. *Halle*, 392.] the countesse of Richmond tooke into hir seruice Christopher Urswike, an honest and wise priest, and (after an oth of him for to be secret taken and sworne) she vttered to him all hir mind and counsell; adhibiting to him the more confidence and truth, that he all his life had fauoured and taken part with king Henrie the sixt, and as a speciall iewell put to hir seruice by sir Lewes hir physician. So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of hir son, appointed this Christopher Urswike to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to declare and reueale to him all pacts and agreements betweene hir & the queene agreed and concluded.

The countesse of Richmond vttereth the matter to Urswike hir chapleine, swearing him to be secret.

Act V. sc. i.—When sc. iv., Act IV., closed, Richard was setting out toward Salisbury, whither he commanded that Buckingham should be brought. Buckingham now enters on his way to execution. He asks the sheriff (l. 1):

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[1] Oxford probably joined Richmond in October, 1484. We learn from the minutes of Charles VIII.'s Council, sitting at Montargis, that Richmond had left Brittany before October 11, 1484.—*Séances du Conseil de Charles VIII.*, 128. The Council remained at Montargis until October 25, 1484.—*Ibid.*, 142. According to *Polyd. Verg.* (556/13), Richmond, after escaping from Brittany, went to Angers and thence to Montargis, where Oxford, Blunt, and Fortescue came to him.

Will not King Richard let me speake with him?
Sher. No, my good Lord; therefore be patient.

Assured, in answer to his enquiry, that it is All Souls' Day, the Duke says (l. 12):

Why, then Al-soules day is my bodies doomsday.

Buckingham,

The duke of Buckingham beheaded without arreigmēt or iudgement [, on All Souls' Day].

[*Hol.* iii. 744/2/13. *Halle*, 395.] vpon All soules daie, without arreigment or iudgement, . . . was at Salisburie, in the open market place, on a new scaffold, beheaded and put to death.

Act V. sc. ii.—Richmond and his adherents enter. One of the stages of his march was "the towne of Tamworth" (*Hol.* iii. 754/2/32. *Halle*, 413); and scene ii. is laid in or near that place (l. 13). Blunt depreciates Richard's strength (ll. 20, 21):

He hath no friends but what are friends for fear,
Which in his deerest neede will flye from him.

Holinshed copied Halle's mention (413) of some who joined Richmond during the march between Lichfield and Tamworth; but altered the sense of the next passage.[1] I quote this latter passage as it stands in Holinshed:

[Some who hated Richard came to him through fear.]

[*Hol.* iii. 754/2/42. *Halle*, 413.] Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard woorse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength, wishing and working his destruction; who otherwise would haue beene the instrument of their casting away.

On the day of battle,

[Traitors in Richard's army.]

[*Hol.* iii. 757/1/26. *Halle*, 416.] such as were present (more for dread than loue) kissed them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other sware outwardlie to take part with such whose death they secretlie compassed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promised to inuade the kings enimies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king. Other stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and ouercommers.

Act V. sc. iii.—Richard enters with his partisans, and says (l. 1):

Here pitch our tentes,[2] euen here in Bosworth field.

On August 21, 1485,[3]

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[1] "Diuerse . . . strength" is *Halle's* translation of *Polyd. Verg.* (561/45, 46). *Hol.*, not perceiving that "him" refers to Richmond, added the words "wishing . . . away.

[2] *tentes*] Q. *Tent* F.

[3] I take the date from *Cont. Croyl.*, 573.

[*Hol.* iii. 755/1/36. *Halle*, 413.] king Richard, which was appointed now to finish his last labor by the very diuine iustice & prouidence of God, (which called him to condigne punishment for his mischiefous deserts,) marched to a place meet for two battels to incounter, by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leicester: and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame, refreshed his souldiers, and tooke his rest. [Richard encamped near Bosworth.]

Norfolk is among those who are in attendance. Richard asks (l. 9):

Who hath descried the number of the Traitors?
Nor. Six or seuen thousand is their vtmost power.
Rich. Why, our Battalia[1] trebbles that account: . . .

When the two armies were drawn up for action, Richmond's

[*Hol.* iii. 755/2/57. *Halle*, 414.] whole number exceeded not fiue thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleies, wherof three thousand were in the field, vnder the standard of sir William Stanleie. The kings number was double so much and more. [Richmond was outnumbered by more than two to one.]

Richard returns from surveying "the vantage of the ground" (V. iii. 15), and takes up his quarters in the royal tent. He gives some orders; one being (l. 64):

Saddle white Surrey for the Field to morrow.

On or about August 19, 1485,[2]

[*Hol.* iii. 754/2/20. *Halle*, 412.] he, (inuironed with his gard,) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, . . . entered the towne of Leicester after the sunne set, . . . [Richard's white courser.]

Richard then demands of Ratcliffe (l. 68):

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[1] *battalion* Q.

[2] After Richmond's arrival at Lichfield, Richard left Nottingham for Leicester.—*Polyd. Verg.*, 561/11-39. The King proposed leaving Nottingham on August 16 (*Paston*, iii. 320); but a messenger—who was at York on August 19—found Richard at Bestwood (*York Records*, 216). Bestwood is four miles north of Nottingham.—*Bartholomew.* This messenger might have ridden as swiftly as one who seems to have been at Bosworth field on August 22, and, on the following day, brought news of the battle to York.—*York Records*, 218. Such a feat was surpassed by Bernard Calvert, who, on July 17, 1619, rode—with relays of horses—140 miles in 9 hours.—Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 1032, col. 2. In Richard's reign messengers could, within two days, ride post for 200 miles.—*Cont. Croyl.*, 571. The distance between Nottingham and Leicester is twenty-two miles in a straight line. Richard, as we have seen, departed from Leicester on August 21. (In regard to Mr. Davies's conjecture, *York Records*, 216, note, that for Bestwood we should read Prestwould, see Mr. Gairdner's *Richard III.*, p. 294, note.)

Saw'st thou the melancholly Lord Northumberland?
Rat. Thomas the Earle of Surrey, and himselfe,
Much about Cockshut time, from Troope to Troope
Went through the Army, chearing vp the Souldiers.

Here Malone quoted the following passage, prefacing it with the explanation that "Richard calls him [Northumberland] *melancholy*, because he did not join heartily in his cause."—*Var. Sh.*, xix. 213. Among those who submitted to Richmond after the battle

[Northumberland took no part in the battle.]

[*Hol.* iii. 759/2/43. *Halle*, 419.] was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) stood still with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, . . .

It is now "darke night" (l. 80). Richmond is in his tent, which has been pitched at the other side of the field. He is secretly visited by Stanley, who promises, "in this doubtfull shocke of Armes," such aid as may not endanger George Stanley (ll. 91-96). Stanley then says (ll. 97-100):

Farewell! the leysure and the fearfull time
Cuts off the ceremonious Vowes of Loue,
And ample enterchange of sweet Discourse,
Which so long sundred Friends should dwell vpon;

and goes out with the lords who have the charge of conducting him to his "Regiment." Richmond, left alone, prays and sleeps (ll. 108-117).

On or about August 20, 1485,[1] in the daytime, Richmond went

The lord Stanleie, the earle of Richmond, & others meet, embrace, and consult.

[*Hol.* iii. 755/1/17. *Halle*, 413.] to the towne of Aderston, where the lord Stanleie and sir William his brother with their bands were abiding. There the erle came first to his father in law, in a litle close, where he saluted him, and sir William his brother: and after diuerse and freendlie imbracings, each reioised of the state of other, and suddenlie were surprised with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and dooings. Afterward they consulted togither how to giue battell to king Richard if he would abide, whome they knew not to be farre off with an huge host. . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 755/2/22. *Halle*, 414.] After that the earle of Richmond was departed from the communication of his freends (as you haue heard before) he began to be of a better stomach,

[1] *Polyd. Verg.*, 562/16, 24, 42.

and of a more valiant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enimies, and there he lodged that night. [Richmond encamped near Richard.]

Richard and Richmond sleep, each in his tent. Their dreams bring before them Prince Edward, Henry VI., Clarence, Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, Hastings, the young Princes, Anne, and Buckingham, who—visible and audible to those present at the play—enter successively the space between the armies. While promising victory to Richmond, the ghosts bid their murderer despair and die. When Buckingham vanishes, "Richard starts out of his dreame" (l. 176).

Richard encamped near the village of Bosworth on August 21, 1485 (p. 410 above).

[*Hol.* iii. 755/1/45. *Halle*, 414.] The fame went, that he had the same night a dreadfull and terrible dreame: for it seemed to him being asleepe, that he did see diuerse images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddenlie strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chance of the battell to come; *not* vsing the *alacritie* and mirth *of mind*[1] and countenance as he *was* accustomed to doo before he came toward the battell. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enimies, and for that cause looked so pitiouslie; he recited and declared to his familiar freends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearefull dreame. *The dreame of king Richard the third, foretelling him of his end.* [Richard was dejected by his dream.]

The night is past. "Enter the Lords to Richmond, sitting in his Tent" (l. 222). He asks (l. 234):

> How farre into the Morning is it, Lords?
> *Lor.* Vpon the stroke of foure.
> *Rich.* Why, then 'tis time to Arme, and giue direction.

Richmond's procedure before the battle is thus described:

[*Hol.* iii. 755/2/27. *Halle*, 414.] In the morning betimes, he caused his men to put on their armour, and apparell themselues readie to fight and giue battell; . . . [Richmond's soldiers armed themselves betimes.]

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[1] Before he sleeps Richard says (V. iii. 73, 74):

> "I haue *not* that *Alacrity* of Spirit,
> Nor cheere *of Minde* that I *was* wont to haue."

"His Oration to his Souldiers" ensues (ll. 237-270):

God, and our good *cause*, *fight* vpon our side; . . . 240
Richard except, those whom we fight against 243
Had *rather* haue vs win then him they follow:
For what is he they follow? Truly, Gentlemen,
A bloudy Tyrant and *a Homicide*; . . .
One that made meanes to come by what he hath, 248
And slaughter'd those that were the meanes to help him; . . .
If you do *sweate* [1] to put a Tyrant downe, 255
You sleepe in peace, the Tyrant being slaine;
If you do fight against your Countries Foes,
Your Countries Fat shall pay *your paines* the hyre; . . .
Then, *in the name of God* and all these rights, 263
Aduance your *Standards*, draw your willing Swords!
For me, the ransome of my bold attempt
Shall be this cold Corpes *on the* earth's *cold* face; . . .
God *and Saint George!* Richmond and Victory! 270

I give excerpts from "The oration of king Henrie the Seauenth to his armie," [2] for comparison with V. iii. 240-270:

[*Hol.* iii. 757/2/14. *Halle*, 416.] I doubt not, but *God* will rather aid vs (yea and *fight* for vs) than see vs vanquished and ouerthrowne by such as neither feare him nor his laws, nor yet regard iustice or honestie.

The earles cause iust and right, & therefore likelie of good successe.

Our *cause* is so iust, that no enterprise can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. *For what* can be a more honest, goodlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight against a capteine, being *an homicide* and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame destroier of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poore subiects of the same a deadlie mallet, a firie brand, and a burthen intollerable? . . .

[Richard cannot trust his soldiers.]

[*Hol.* iii. 757/2/49. *Halle*, 417.] Beside this, I assure you, that there be yonder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; souldiers by force compelled, and not with good will assembled; persons which desire *rather* the destruction than saluation of their maister and capteine: . . .

[Richard slew his friends.]

[*Hol.* iii. 758/1/7. *Halle*, 417.] What mercie is in him that sleieth his trustie freends as well as his extreame enimies? . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 758/1/59. *Halle*, 417.] Therefore labour for your gaine, & *sweat* for your right. While we were in Britaine, we had

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[1] *sweate*] Q. *sweare* F.

[2] *The . . . armie.*] Hol. om. Halle.

small liuings and little plentie of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get aboundance of riches, and copie of profit; which is the reward of your seruice, and merit of *your paines*. . . . [The reward of victory.]

[*Hol.* iii. 758/2/23. *Halle*, 418.] And this one thing I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you *shall* find me this daie rather a dead carrion vp*on the cold* ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber. . . . [Richmond preferred death to captivity.]

[*Hol.* iii. 758/2/50. *Halle*, 418.] And therefore, *in the name of God and S. George*, let euerie man couragiouslie *aduance* foorth his *standard!* [God and S. George!]

In the opposite camp Norfolk enters exclaiming (l. 288):

Arme, arme, my Lord! the foe vaunts in the field!

Richard thereupon declares how the royal troops are to be marshalled (ll. 291-300):

I will leade forth my Soldiers to the plaine,
And thus my Battell shal be orderëd:
My Foreward shall be drawne out all[1] in length,
Consisting equally of Horse and Foot;
Our Archers shall be placëd in the mid'st:
Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Surrey,
Shall haue the leading of the Foot and Horse.
They thus directed, we will follow
In the maine Battell, whose puissance on either side
Shall be well-wingëd with our cheefest Horse.

On August 22, 1485,

King Richard bringeth all his men into the plaine.

[*Hol.* iii. 755/2/7. *Halle*, 414.] king Richard, being furnished with men & all ablements of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his fore-ward in a maruellous length, in which he appointed both horsmen and footmen, to the intent to imprint, in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a sudden terror and deadlie feare, for the great multitude of the armed souldiers: and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bulworke. Ouer this battell was capteine, Iohn duke of Norffolke, with whome was Thomas earle of Surrie, his sonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himselfe with a strong companie of chosen and approued men of warre, hauing horssemen for wings on both sides of his battell.

The duke of Norffolke and the earle of Surrie on K. Richards side.

[1] *out all*] Q1. The rest omit.

Norfolk shows the King a paper, saying (l. 303):

This found I on my Tent this Morning.

The paper contains the ensuing couplet (ll. 304, 305):

Iockey *of Norfolke, be not too bold,*[1]
For Dickon thy maister is bought and sold.

From Halle (419) Holinshed copied a story that Norfolk

[Norfolk warned by a rime to refrain from the field.]

[*Hol.* iii. 759/2/3.] was warned by diuerse to refrain from the field, in so much that the night before he should set forward toward the king, one wrote this rime vpon his gate:

Iacke *of Norffolke be not too bold,*
*For *Dikon thy maister is bought and sold.*

* *Richard.*

Yet all this notwithstanding, he regarded more his oth, his honor, and promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and, as a faithfull subiect to his prince, absented not himselfe from his maister; but as he faithfullie liued vnder him, so he manfullie died with him, to his great fame and laud.

[Norfolk's fidelity to Richard.]

Soon Richard's "*Oration to his army*"[2] is delivered. From this speech (ll. 314-341) I give the following extracts:

Remember whom you are to cope withall; 315
A sort of Vagabonds, Rascals, *and Run-awayes,*
A scum of *Brittaines,* and base Lackey Pezants, . . .
You hauing Lands, and blest with beauteous *wiues,* 321
They would restraine the one, distaine the other.
And who doth leade them but a paltry Fellow, 323
Long kept *in Britaine* at our *Mothers* cost?
A Milke-sop, . . .
If we be conquered, let men conquer vs, 332
And not these bastard *Britaines;* whom *our* Fathers
Haue, in their owne Land, beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
And, on Record, left them the heires of shame.

"The *oration* of king Richard the third *to* the chiefteins of *his armie*" contains the subjoined passages, which should be compared with the lines quoted above:

[Richard disparaged Richmond's followers.]

[*Hol.* iii. 756/1/60. *Halle,* 415.] Ye see . . . , how a companie of traitors, theeues, outlawes, *and runnagates* of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his [Richmond's] feat and enterprise, readie at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs.

You see also, what a number of beggerlie *Britans* and faint-

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[1] *too*] Capell. *to* Qq. 6-8. *so* Qq. 1-5 Ff.
[2] *His . . . army.*] Q. om. F.

hearted Frenchmen be with him arriued to destroie vs, our *wiues* and children. . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 756/2/17. *Halle*, 415.] And to begin with the erle of Richmond, capteine of this rebellion, he is *a* Welsh *milkesop*, a man of small courage, and of lesse experience in martiall acts and feats of warre; brought vp by my *moothers*[1] meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a close cage, *in* the court of Francis duke of *Britaine*; . . . *The K. would persuade his capteins that the earle of Richmond is no warrior.*

[*Hol.* iii. 756/2/43. *Halle*, 415.] And as for the Frenchmen and *Britans*, their valiantnesse is such, that *our* noble progenitors, and your valiant par*e*nts[2] haue them oftener vanquished and ouercome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined possible to compasse and finish in a whole yeare. *Frenchmen & Britans great bosters small rosters.*

Almost immediately after Norfolk's last entrance, Richard sent for Stanley's contingent (l. 290). The King demands of a messenger who now enters (l. 341):

What sayes Lord Stanley? will he bring his power?
Mes. My Lord, he doth deny to come.
King. Off with his sonne Georges head! 344
Nor. My Lord, the Enemy is past the Marsh:
After the battaile let George Stanley dye.

Halle, Holinshed's authority, says:

[*Hol.* iii. 760/1/59. *Halle*, 420.] When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a purseuant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence; which thing if he refused to doo, he sware, by Christes passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie answered the purseuant that, if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue; and, as to come to him, he was not then so determined. When king Richard heard this answer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded: which was at that verie same season, when both the armies had sight ech of other. But the councellors of king Richard pondered the time and cause, (knowing also the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offense,) & persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute. *The lord Stanleies bold answer to K. Richards purseuants.* [Richard persuaded to defer George Stanley's execution till after the battle.]

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[1] *moothers*] Hol. (ed. 2). *brothers* Halle. Hol. (ed. 1).
[2] *parents*] Hol. ed. 1. *parts* Hol. ed. 2.

Besides that, they aduised him to keepe the lord Strange as prisoner till the battell were ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might be accomplished. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oth, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner.

Richard attacked as soon as Richmond's right flank was no longer protected by the marsh of which Norfolk speaks.

[The marsh on Richmond's right flank.]

[*Hol.* iii. 758/2/65. *Halle*, 418.] Betweene both armies there was a great marish then (but at this present, by reason of diches cast, it is growne to be firme ground) [1] which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so dooing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When king Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish, he did command with all hast to set vpon them.

The policie of the earle.

[Richmond was attacked when he had passed the marsh.]

Accepting Norfolk's counsel Richard cries (ll. 348-350):

> Aduance our Standards, *set* vpon our Foes;
> Our Ancient word of Courage, faire *S. George*,
> Inspire vs with the spleene of fiery Dragons!

Compare some closing words in the speech attributed by Halle to Richard, from which I have given excerpts above (pp. 416, 417).

[*Hol.* iii. 757/1/16. *Halle*, 416.] Now *saint George* to borow, let vs *set* forward, . . .

Act V. sc. iv.—Fortune has turned against Richard, and, when the King enters calling for a horse, Catesby answers (l. 8):

> Withdraw, my Lord; Ile helpe you to a Horse.
> *Rich.* Slaue, I haue set my life vpon a cast,
> And I will stand the hazard of the Dye!

Richard might have fled, for

[*Hol.* iii. 759/2/73. *Halle*, 419.] when the losse of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a [*p.* 760] swift and a light horsse, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting awaie all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men saie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or else there finish his life.

[A swift horse was brought to him.]

[He refused to fly.]

Act V. sc. v.—In V. iv. 1-6, Catesby appealed to Norfolk for rescue:

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[1] *then . . . ground*] Not in *Polyd. Verg.*, 563/19.

Rescue, my Lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!
The King enacts more wonders then a man,
Daring an opposite to euery danger:
His horse is slaine, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.
Rescue, faire Lord, or else the day is lost!

The entry of scene v. (F.) runs thus: "Alarum. Enter Richard and Richmond; they fight. Richard is slaine." While the vanguards of the two armies were hotly engaged,

[*Hol.* iii. 759/1/26. *Halle*, 418.] king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a small number of men of armes) was not far off. And, as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectlie knew his personage by certeine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to giue him full information. Now, being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horsse, and rode out of the side of the range of his battell, leauing the vant-gard fighting; and like a hungrie lion ran with speare in rest toward him. The earle of Richmond perceiued well the king furiouslie comming toward him, and, bicause the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to incounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

[Richard ran with spear in rest toward Richmond.]

The earle of Richmond proffereth to incounter K. Richard bodie to bodie.

King Richard set on so sharplie at the first brunt, that he ouerthrew the earles standard, and slue sir William Brandon[1] his standard-bearer, (which was father to sir Charles Brandon, by king Henrie the eight created duke of Suffolke,) and matched hand to hand with sir Iohn Cheinie, a man of great force and strength, which would haue resisted him: but the said Iohn was by him manfullie ouerthrowen. And so, he making open passage by dint of sword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the swords point, without aduantage, longer than his companions either thought or iudged: which, being almost in despaire of victorie, were suddenlie recomforted by sir

Sir William Brandon slaine.

[Richmond kept Richard at the sword's point longer than might have been expected.]

[Richmond's army reinforced by Sir William Stanley.]

[1] Sir William Brandon was not slain at Bosworth. *Polyd. Verg.* (563/38) merely says that Richard overthrew both standard and standard-bearer. A petition presented by Brandon in the first Parliament of Henry VII. (November, 1485) shows that fear of Richard obliged him to keep sanctuary at Gloucester from Michaelmas 1484 "unto youre comeing into this Reame, Soveraine Lord."—*Rot. Parl.*, vi. 291/2.

William Stanleie, which came to his succors with three thousand tall men. At which verie instant, king Richards men were driuen backe and fled, & he himselfe, manfullie fighting in the middle of his enimies, was slaine; and (as he worthilie had deserued) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

The kings armie flieth [Richard slain].

A "Retreat and Flourish" precede the re-entry of Richmond, who went out after slaying Richard. Stanley follows "bearing the Crowne," which he offers to Richmond (ll. 4-7):

> Loe, heere, this long vsurpëd roialtie,[1]
> From the dead Temples of this bloudy Wretch
> Haue I pluck'd off, to grace thy Browes withall:
> Weare it, enioy it,[2] and make much of it!

Richmond's extemporaneous coronation was the last event of the day. At the close of his second speech to his army (see next page),

[*Hol.* iii. 760/1/42. *Halle*, 420.] the people reioised, and clapped their hands, crieng vp to heauen, "King Henrie, king Henrie!"

When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he tooke the crowne of king Richard, (which was found amongst the spoile in the field,) and set it on the earles head; as though he had beene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in diuerse realmes it hath beene accustomed; . . .

The lord Stanleie setteth y^e^ crowne on king Henries head.

After his coronation Richmond asks (l. 9):

> But, tell me, is yong George Stanley liuing?
> *Der.* [*Stan.*] He is, my Lord, and safe in Leicester Towne;
> Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw vs.[3]

George Stanley, Lord Strange, was, as we have seen (p. 418 above), "deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner."

[*Hol.* iii. 760/2/6. *Halle*, 420.] Which, when the field was doone, and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselues as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie receiued them, and brought them to the new proclamed king; where, of him and of his father, he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe remooued with bag and baggage.

Proclamation made to bring in the lord Strange.

[Henry entered Leicester on the evening after the battle.]

The same night, in the euening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; . . .

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[1] *this . . . roialtie*] Q. *these . . . Royalties* F.
[2] *enioy it*] Q. 1, 2. The rest omit.
[3] *if it please you we may now withdraw vs*] Q. (*if you please*) *we may withdraw vs* F.

To Richmond's enquiry (l. 12),

What men *of name* are *slaine on* either *side?* [see sidenote to 759/2/1].

Stanley replies:

Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Walter Lord Ferrers,[1]
Sir Robert Brakenbury,[2] and Sir William Brandon.[3]

Halle (419) and Holinshed record that

Duke of Norffolke slaine in the field.

[*Hol.* iii. 759/2/1.] of the nobilitie were slaine Iohn duke of Norffolke, . . .

What persons of name were slaine on king Richards side.

There were slaine beside him, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenberie, lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentleman more.

The play ends with a speech of Richmond, which represents in a measure his address to his soldiers before Stanley placed the crown on his head (p. 420 above). I quote two excerpts partly illustrating the commencement of the dramatic oration (ll. 15-17):

Interre their Bodies as become their Births:
Proclaime a pardon to the Soldiers fled,
That in submission will returne to vs: . . .

The victory won, Richmond

[Richmond praised his soldiers, and commanded that the slain should be delivered to sepulture.]

[*Hol.* iii. 760/1/35. *Halle*, 420.] ascended vp to the top of a little mounteine, where he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers, but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelitie and valiant facts; willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be deliuered to the sepulture.

[After their master's death Richard's soldiers submitted to Richmond.]

[*Hol.* iii. 759/2/32. *Halle*, 419.] Of captiues and prisoners there were a great number. For, after the death of king Richard was knowne and published, euerie man, in manner vnarming himselfe, & casting awaie his abiliments of warre, meekelie submitted themselues to the obeisance and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie so doone in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie escaped from king Richards espials, which, hauing as cleere eies as Lynx, and open eares as Midas, ranged & searched in euerie quarter.[4]

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[1] *Ferrers*] Capell. *Ferris* Qq. Ff.
[2] *Brackenbury*] F4. *Brokenbury* Qq. 3—8. Ff. 1—3.
[3] Brandon was not slain. See p. 419, n. 1, above.
[4] In V. iii. 221, 222, Richard goes out with Ratcliffe; saying,
"Vnder our Tents Ile play the eaves-dropper [F4. *Ease-dropper* F.],
To heare if any meane to shrinke from me."

Lastly I quote passages describing the characters and personal traits of Edward IV., George Duke of Clarence, Richard III., and Richmond.

Edward

Description of Edward the fourth.

[His character.]

[*Hol.* iii. 711/1/46. *More*, 2/17.] was a goodlie personage, and princelie to behold, of heart couragious, politike in counsell, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioifull than proud, in peace iust and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and natheles no further (than wisdome would) aduenturous; whose warres who so well considered, he shall no lesse commend his wisedome where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage louelie, of bodie mightie, strong, and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies, with ouer liberall diet,[1] somewhat corpulent and boorelie, and nathelesse not vncomelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to fleshlie wantonnesse:[2] . . .

[Personal appearance.]

[Over liberal diet in his latter days.]

[Fleshly wantonness in youth.]

George duke of Clarence.

[*Hol.* iii. 712/1/41. *More*, 5/9.] George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enimies * his brother against him.

* *had not set*

The description of Richard the third.

[Personal appearance.]

[Malicious, wrathful, and envious.]

[His portentous birth.]

[*Hol.* iii. 712/1/59. *More*, 5/25.] Richard, the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both; litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right,[3] *hard fauoured* of visage,[4] and such as is in states called warlie, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much adoo in hir trauell, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth also) not vntoothed.[5] . . .

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[1] Cp. *Rich. III.*, I. i. 139-141.

[2] Cp. 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. i. 41, 42; and the asides of Clarence and Richard in 3 *Hen. VI.*, III. ii.

[3] Cp. 3 *Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 153-162; *Rich. III.*, I. i. 14-23.

[4] "*Hard fauor'd* Richard" (3 *Hen. VI.*, V. v. 78).

[5] Cp. 3 *Hen. VI.*, V. vi. 49-54, 70-75; *Rich. III.*, II. iv. 27-29; IV. iv. 162—168.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & sometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse or politike order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast freendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie companiable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but ofter for ambition, and either for the suertie or increase of his estate.

[A good general.]

[Liberal in expenditure.]

[A dissembler.]

[Ambition made him cruell]

Friend and fo was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew; he spared no mans death whose life withstoode his purpose.

[and unscrupulous.]

Holinshed also contains the subjoined description of Richard, which was freely translated by Halle from Polydore Vergil (*Angl. Hist.*, 565/3):

The description of king Richard.

[*Hol.* iii. 760/2/52. *Halle*, 421.] As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would iudge it to sauour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether lip;[1] as who said, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chafed, stirred, and was euer vnquiet: beside that, the dagger which he ware, he would (when he studied) with his hand plucke vp & downe in the sheath to the midst, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, wilie to feine, and apt to dissemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant stomach, the which accompanied him euen to his death; rather choosing to suffer the same by dint of sword, than, being forsaken and left helplesse of his vnfaithfull companions, to preserue by cowardlie flight such a fraile and vncerteine life, which by malice, sicknesse, or condigne punishment was like shortlie to come to confusion.

[Personal appearance.]

[Was wont to bite his lip while musing.]

[Character.]

[Would not save his life by flight.]

Richard's remorse for his nephews' murder is thus pictured:

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[1] Cp. *Rich. III.*, IV. ii. 27. See p. 371 above.

[*Hol.* iii. 735/2/39. *More*, 85/19.] I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberleine, that, after this abhominable deed doone, he neuer had a quiet mind. . . .

[Richard's remorse for his nephews' murder.]

The outward and inward troubles of tyrants by meanes of a grudging conscience.

He neuer thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eies whirled about, his bodie priuilie fensed,[1] his hand euer vpon his dagger, his countenance and maner like one alwaies readie to strike againe; he tooke ill rest a nights, laie long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddenlie sometime start vp, lept out of his bed, and ran[2] about the chamber;[3] . . .

[He took ill rest a nights.]

Richmond

The person of the earle of Richmond described.

[*Hol.* iii. 757/1/53. *Halle*, 416.] was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelicall creature, than a terrestriall personage. His countenance and aspect was cheerefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burnished gold, his eies graie, shining, and quicke: prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in speaking (such was his temperance.)

XIII. HENRY VIII.

THE meeting of Henry and Francis—June, 1520[4]—is a recent event when *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eight* opens. The action is brought to an end on September 10, 1533, the day of Elizabeth's christening;[5] but Cranmer's appearance before the Council —July, 1544—is dramatized in a preceding scene (Act V. sc. iii.).

Act I. sc. i.—Enter Norfolk, Buckingham, and Abergavenny. Buckingham says (ll. 4-7):

> An vntimely Ague
> Staid me a Prisoner in my Chamber when
> Those Sunnes of Glory, those *two* Lights of Men,
> *Met in the vale of Andren.*
> *Nor.* 'Twixt Guynes and Arde:
> I was then present, saw them salute on Horsebacke;

[1] *fensed*] Hol. (More). *feinted* Halle.
[2] *ran*] Hol. (More). *loked* Halle.
[3] Cp. *Rich. III.*, V. iii. 159, 160.
[4] June 7, 1520, was the date of their first meeting (*Halle*, 608); and they took leave of each other on June 24 (*Halle*, 620).
[5] *Halle*, 805.

Beheld them, when they lighted, how they clung
In their Embracement, as they grew together; . . .

On June 7, 1520,

The interuiew of the two kings in the vale of Andren.

[*Hol.* iii. 858/1/33. *Halle*, 608.] the *two* kings *met in the vale of Andren*, accompanied with such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes, so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie iewels, as chaines, collars of S S, & other the like ornaments to set foorth their degrees and estates, that a woonder it was to behold and view them in their order and roomes, which euerie man kept according to his appointment.

The two kings meeting in the field, either saluted other in most louing wise, first on horssebacke, and after alighting on foot eftsoones imbraced with courteous words, to the great reioising of the beholders: and, after they had thus saluted ech other, they went both togither into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there set vp for the purpose, in the which they passed the time in pleasant talke, banketting, and louing deuises, till it drew toward the euening, and then departed for that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard.

[The two kings embraced.]

[They departed, Henry to Guisnes, Francis to Arde.]

The historical Buckingham was not his "Chambers Prisoner" (l. 13) on June 17, 1520; for on that day,—after Francis had taken leave of Queen Katharine and her ladies,—

[Buckingham was one of Francis's escort.]

The two kings meet [in the valley of Anderne].

[*Hol.* iii. 860/2/64. *Halle*, 616.] The lord cardinall, in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they incountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the vallie of Anderne, apparelled in their masking apparell; which gladded the French king.

But Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, was in England[1] while Henry and Francis were displaying the magnificence which the dramatic "Norfolk" saw and describes (ll. 16-38).

Though Buckingham asks who arranged the pageantry, he is able, on learning that Wolsey ordered all (ll. 45-51), to give the following proof of the Cardinal's absolute control therein (ll. 72-80):

Buc. Why the Diuell, 72
Vpon this French going out, tooke he vpon him
(Without the priuity o'th'King) t'appoint

[1] *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), III. i. 873, 895.

Who should attend on him? He makes vp the File
Of all the Gentry; for the most part such 76
To whom as great a Charge, as little Honor
He meant to lay vpon: and his owne Letter
(The Honourable Boord of Councell out)
Must fetch him in the Papers.

I quote passages illustrating Buckingham's words, and noticing his hatred of Wolsey:

[The nobles were displeased at being summoned to attend Henry without the council's sanction.]

[*Hol.* iii. 855/2/1. *Polyd. Verg.* 659/3.] The peeres of the realme (receiuing letters to prepare themselues to attend the king in this iournie, and no apparant necessarie cause expressed, why nor wherefore) seemed to grudge, that such a costlie iournie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole boord of the councell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham (being a man of a loftie courage, but not most liberall) sore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture foorth at this time, saieng: that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be ministred of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticked not to saie, that it was an intollerable matter to obeie such a vile and importunate person.[1]

[Buckingham was especially aggrieved.]

Great hatred betweene the cardinall, and the duke of Buckingham.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and speciallie he had of late conceiued an inward malice against him for sir William Bulmer's cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall; who first caused him to be cast in prison.[2] Now such greeuous words, as the duke thus vttered against him, came to the cardinalls care; wherevpon he cast before hand all waies possible to haue him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse.

In response to Norfolk's opinion that the peace is of little worth (ll. 87-89), Buckingham says (ll. 89-94):

Euery man,
After the hideous storme that follow'd, was

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[1] *Halle* merely says (600) that the project of an interview "was often tymes hard and litle regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of February [1520] it was agreed that the kyng in person should passe the sea to his castell and lordshyp of Guisnes, & there in Maie next comming, betwene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete."

[2] See p. 438, n. 1, below.

A thing Inspir'd; and, not consulting, broke
Into a generall Prophesie: That this Tempest,
Dashing the Garment of this Peace, aboaded
The sodaine breach on't.

This supposed portent occurred about a week before the final leave-taking of Henry and Francis.

A great and tempestuous wind prognosticating trouble.

[*Hol.* iii. 860/2/74. *Halle*, 616.] On mondaie, the eighteenth of Iune, was such an hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie coniectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortlie after to follow betweene princes.

"Which," adds Norfolk, referring to the portent,

is budded out;
For France hath flaw'd the League, and hath attach'd
Our Merchants goods at Burdeux.
Abur. Is it therefore
Th'Ambassador is silenc'd?
Nor. Marry, is't.

The historic Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was beheaded on May 17, 1521; some ten months before the event here spoken of. On March 6, 1522,

The French K. attacheth the Englishmens goods in Burdeaux.

[*Hol.* iii. 872/2/47. *Halle*, 632.] the French king commanded all Englishmens goods, being in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder arrest, . . . [*Halle*, 633.] The Merchauntes of England, that had factors at Burdeaux, complayned to the King of England, and shewed hym how the French king, contrary to his league and his safeconduyte vnder hys seal, by hys people, had taken their goodes, and emprisoned their factors and frendes, and can haue no remedy.[1]

This outrage was met by retaliatory measures; and the French

[The French ambassador silenced.]

[*Halle*, 634.] Ambassador was commaunded to kepe his house in silence,[2] and not to come in presence till he was sent for, . . .

Wolsey crosses the stage; and, "in his passage, fixeth his eye on Buckingham, and Buckingham on him, both full of disdaine" (l. 114). Fearing that the Cardinal is gone to Henry for some malicious purpose, Buckingham is about to follow, but Norfolk detains the angry Duke, who then asserts (ll. 163-167) that Wolsey

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[1] The substance of this excerpt from *Halle* and the words "league" and "merchants" are in *Hol.'s* epitome (872/2/73) of *Halle* 633, but not in one passage.

[2] *in silence*] Halle. om. Hol.

Only to shew his pompe, as well in France
As here at home, suggests the King our Master 164
To this last costly Treaty, th'enteruiew,
That swallowed so much treasure, and like a glasse
Did breake i'th'wrenching.
Norf. Faith, and so it did.
Buck. Pray giue me fauour, Sir! This cunning Cardinall, 168
The *Articles* o'th'Combination drew
As himselfe pleas'd; . . .

According to Polydore Vergil (658/34), whom Holinshed translated, Francis,

[*Hol.* iii. 853/1/11.] desirous to continue the friendship latelie begun betwixt him and the king of England, made meanes vnto the cardinall, that they might in some conuenient place come to an interuiew togither, that he might haue further knowledge of king Henrie, and likewise king Henrie of him. But the fame went that the cardinall desired greatlie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet; who, mesuring by his will what was conuenient, thought it should make much with his glorie, if in France also, at some high assemblie of noble men, he should be seene in his vaine pompe and shew of dignitie: hee therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring how honourable, necessarie, and conuenient it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein; and thus with his persuasions the K. began to conceiue an earnest desire to see the French king, and therevpon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and so in the marches of Guisnes to meet with him.

[Wolsey's love of pomp made him desire to bring about the interview of Henry and Francis.]

Note the ambitious humor of the cardinal of yorke.

[Henry was persuaded by Wolsey to meet Francis.]

It having been

[*Hol.* iii. 853/2/10. *Halle*, 601.] concluded, that the kings of England and France should meet (as yee haue heard), then both the kings committed the order and manner of their meeting, and how manie daies the same should continue, & what preheminence each should giue to other, vnto the cardinall of Yorke, which, to set all things in a certeintie, made an instrument,[1] conteining an order and direction concerning the premisses by him deuised and appointed.

The whole maner of the interuiew cõmitted to the cardinall.

[1] In the instrument Wolsey uses these words: "we haue made, declared, and ordeined certaine *articles* accepted & approoued by the same princes respectiuelie," &c.—*Hol.* iii. 853/2/64. *Halle*, 601.

After attributing the costly and useless interview to Wolsey's love of ostentation, Buckingham makes a more serious charge (ll. 176-190):

Charles the Emperour,
Vnder pretence *to see the Queene his Aunt*,
(For 'twas indeed his colour, but he came
To whisper Wolsey,) here makes visitation:
His feares were, that the Interview betwixt
England and France might, through their amity,
Breed him some preiudice; for from this League
Peep'd harmes that menac'd him: he[1] priuily
Deales with our Cardinal; and, as I troa,—
Which I doe well; for, I am sure, the Emperour
Paid ere he promis'd; whereby his Suit was granted
Ere it was ask'd;—but, when the way was made
And pau'd with gold, the Emperor thus desir'd:
That he would please to alter the Kings course,
And breake the foresaid peace. Let the King know
(As soone he shall by me) that thus the Cardinall
Does buy and sell his Honour as he pleases,
And for his owne aduantage.

On the Eve of Whit Sunday (May 26, 1520) Charles landed at Dover, where, on the following day, Henry met him.

The emperor and K. Henrie keepe whitsuntide at Canturburie.

[*Hol.* iii. 856/1/51. *Halle*, 604.] On Whitsundaie, earlie in the morning, they tooke their horsses, and rode to the citie of Canturburie, the more to keepe solemne the feast of Pentecost, but speciallie *to see the queene* of England *his aunt* was the emperour his intent; of whome ye may be sure he was most ioifullie receiued and welcomed. . . .

[Charles wished to see the Queen, his aunt.]

[*Hol.* iii. 856/1/70. *Polyd. Verg.* 660/45.] The chiefe cause, that mooued the emperour to come thus on land at this time, was to persuade that by word of mouth, which he had before done most earnestlie by letters; which was, that the king should not meet with the French king at anie interuiew: for he doubted least, if the king of England & the French king should grow into some great friendship and faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to displeasure.

The emperor laboureth to hinder the purposed interuiew.

But, now that he perceiued how the king was forward on his iournie, he did what he could to procure that no trust should be committed to the faire words of the Frenchmen: and that, if it were possible, the great friendship, that was now in breeding betwixt the two kings, might be dissolued. And, forsomuch as he

[1] *he*] F2. om. F1.

knew the lord cardinall to be woone with rewards, as a fish with a bait, he bestowed on him great gifts, and promised him much more; so that hee would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to passe. The cardinall (not able to susteine the least assault by force of such rewards as he presentlie receiued, and of such large promises as on the emperours behalfe were made to him) promised to the emperour, that he would so vse the matter, as his purpose should be sped: onelie he required him not to disalow the kings intent for interuiew to be had; which he desired in anie wise to go forward, that he might shew his high magnificence in France, according to his first intention.

[Wolsey insisted that the interview should go forward, but accepted Charles's bribe to dissolve the friendship of Henry and Francis.]

An officer named Brandon[1] now enters (l. 197), preceded by "a Sergeant at Armes" and "two or three of the Guard." At Brandon's bidding Buckingham and Abergavenny are arrested; it being Henry's pleasure that they shall both to the Tower (ll. 198-214). Brandon also (ll. 217—221) shows a warrant from

> The King, t'attach Lord Mountacute; and the Bodies
> Of the Dukes Confessor, Iohn de la Car,
> One Gilbert Pecke, his chancellor,[2]—
> *Buck.* So, so;
> These are the limbs o'th'Plot: no more, I hope. 220
> *Bra.* A Monke o'th'Chartreux.
> *Buck.* O! Nicholas Hopkins?[3]
> *Bra.* He.

Buckingham having been accused of treasonable designs

Edw. Hall [, 622].

[*Hol.* iii. 863/1/21.] was sent for vp to London, &, at his comming thither, was streightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by sir Henrie Marneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill [, 1521]. There was also attached the . . . Chartreux monke [, Nicholas Hopkins], maister Iohn de la Car *alias* de la Court, the dukes confessor, and sir Gilbert Perke, priest, the dukes chancellor.

[Arrest of Buckingham, Hopkins, Delacourt, and Perke.]

Anno Reg. 13.

After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diuerse shires of England of him; so that, by the knights and

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[1] Perhaps "sir Thomas Brandon, master of the kings horsse," who appeared in the royal train on the day before Henry VIII.'s coronation.—*Hol.* iii. 801/2/1. *Halle*, 508.

[2] *chancellor*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *Councellour* F. It appears from Buckingham's indictment that the chancellor's name was Robert Gilbert. By *Halle* (623) he was named Gylbert Perke.

[3] *Nicholas*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *Michaell* F.

gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certeine words spoken . . . by the same duke at Blechinglie, to the lord of Aburgauennie [1] and therewith was the same lord attached for concelement, and so likewise was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower.

The duke of Buckingham indicted of treason. [Lords Abergavenny and Montague attached and sent to the Tower.]

Act I. sc. ii.—Henry enters, "leaning on the Cardinals shoulder," whom he thanks for detecting Buckingham's treason (ll. 1-4). The King wishes to hear in person the evidence which Buckingham's surveyor has laid before Wolsey (ll. 4-8); but at this moment Queen Katharine enters, ushered by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. She is a petitioner for Henry's subjects, who

> Are in great grieuance: there haue beene Commissions
> Sent downe among 'em, which hath flaw'd the heart
> Of all their Loyalties: wherein, although,
> My good Lord Cardinall, they vent reproches
> Most bitterly on you, as putter on
> Of these exactions, yet the King, our Maister,
> (Whose Honor Heauen shield from soile!) euen he escapes not
> Language vnmannerly, yea, such which breakes
> The sides of loyalty, and almost appeares
> In lowd Rebellion.
> *Norf.* Not "almost appeares,"
> It doth appeare; for, vpon these Taxations,
> The Clothiers all, not able to maintaine
> The many to them longing, haue put off
> The Spinsters, Carders, Fullers, Weauers, who,
> Vnfit for other life, compeld by hunger
> And lack of other meanes, in desperate manner
> Daring th'euent to th'teeth, are all in vprore,
> And danger serues among them.

Resuming her petition Queen Katharine explains (ll. 56-60) that

> The Subiects griefe
> Comes through Commissions, which compels from each
> The sixt part of his Substance, to be leuied
> Without delay; and the pretence for this
> Is nam'd, your warres in France: . . .

Previous to her entry historic time has not reached the date of Buckingham's trial (May 13, 1521),[2] but as soon as she begins to speak we are transported to the historic year 1525,[3] when Henry,

[*Hol.* iii. 891/1/31. *Halle*, 694.] being determined . . . to make wars in France, & to passe the sea himselfe in person, his councell considered that aboue all things great treasure and plentie of monie must needes be prouided. Wherfore, by the

[1] See pp. 434, 435, below. [2] *Stow*, 862. [3] *Halle*, 694.

[Wolsey's commissions.] cardinall there was deuised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into euerie shire, and commissioners appointed, and priuie instructions sent to them how they should proceed in their sittings, and order the people to bring them to their purpose: which was, that the sixt part of euerie mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delaie, for the furniture of his war. Hereof followed such cursing, weeping, and exclamation against both king & cardinall, that pitie it was to heare. . . .

The sixt part of euerie mans substance demanded.

[Wolsey laboured to obtain the money.] [*Hol.* iii. 891/1/70. *Halle*, 697.] The cardinall trauelled earnestlie with the maior and aldermen of London, about the aid of monie to be granted, and likewise the commissioners, appointed in the shires of the realme, sat vpon the same: but the burthen was so greeuous, that it was generallie denied, and the commons in euerie place so mooued, that it was like to grow to rebellion. . . .

[The commons were moved to rebellion.]

[*Hol.* iii. 891/2/8. *Halle*, 699.] The duke of Suffolke, sitting in commission about this subsidie in Suffolke, persuaded by courteous meanes the rich clothiers to assent therto: but, when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carders, fullers, weauers, and other artificers, (which they kept in worke afore time,) the people began to assemble in companies. . . . And herewith there assembled togither, after the maner of rebels, foure thousand men of Lanam [Lavenham], Sudberie, Hadleie, and other townes thereabouts; which put themselues in harnesse, and rang the bels alarme, and began still to assemble in great number. . . :

A rebellion in Suffolke by the grieuousnesse of the subsidie.

The duke of Norffolke cõmeth with a power against the rebels in Suffolke.

The duke of Norffolke,[1] being therof aduertised, gathered a great power in Norffolke, and came towards the commons, &, sending to them to know their intent, receiued answer, that they would liue and die in the kings causes, and be to him obedient. Hereypon he came himselfe to talke with them, and, willing to know who was their capteine, that he might answer for them all, it was told him by one Iohn Greene, a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Pouertie was their capteine, the which, with his cousin Necessitie, had brought them to that dooing.

Pouertie and Necessitie capteins of the rebellion.

Henry exclaims (ll. 67, 68):

[1] The third Duke. The second Duke died in June, 1524.—*Halle*, 697.

By my life,
This is against our pleasure!
Card. And for me,
I haue no further gone in this, then by
A single voice; and that not past me, but
By learnëd approbation of the Iudges. . . .

Turning to Wolsey the King says (ll. 91-102):

Haue you a President[1]
Of this Commission? I beleeue, not any.
We must not rend our Subiects from our Lawes,
And sticke them in our Will. Sixt part of each?
A trembling Contribution! . . .
. . . To euery County
Where this is question'd, send our Letters, with
Free pardon to each man that has deny'de
The force of this Commission! pray looke to't;
I put it to your care!
Card. [*aside to his Secretary*] A word with you!
Let there be Letters writ to euery Shire,
Of the Kings grace and pardon. The greeued Commons
Hardly conceiue of me: let it be nois'd
That, through our Intercession, this Reuokement
And pardon comes: . . .

The Suffolk rebels having dispersed, Henry

[*Hol.* iii. 891/2/64. *Halle*, 700.] came to Westminster to the cardinals palace, and assembled there a great councell, in the which he openlie protested, that his mind was neuer to aske anie thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes; wherefore he willed to know by whose meanes the commissions were so streictlie giuen foorth, to demand the sixt part of euerie mans goods.

[Henry protested that he meant not to tax his subjects unlawfully, and demanded who had pressed the commission.]

The cardinall of yorke excuseth himselfe touching the streict commission for the tax.

The cardinall excused himselfe, and said, that when it was mooued in councell how to leuie monie to the kings vse, the kings councell, and namelie the iudges, [*p.* 892] said, that he might lawfullie demand anie summe by commission, and that by the consent of the whole councell it was doone; and tooke God to witnes that he neuer desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true councellor deuised how to inrich the king. The king indeed was much offended that his commons were thus intreated, & thought it touched his honor, that his councell should attempt such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the

[The judges said that the commissions were lawful.]

[Henry was displeased at the wrong done to the commons.]

[1] "President" = precedent.

[He annulled the commissions by letter, and pardoned those who had refused to pay the tax.]

spiritualtie and temporaltie. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinall, to deliuer himselfe of the euill will of the commons, purchased by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bruted abrode,[1] that through his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things.

[Wolsey spread a report that this grace was due to his intercession.]

Historic time runs back to the year 1521 when Charles Knyvet, Buckingham's surveyor, enters, and, at Henry's command, proceeds to give evidence of the Duke's treason:

Sur. First, it was vsuall with him, euery day
It would infect his Speech, that *if* the *King*
Should *without issue dye*, hee'l carry it so
To make the Scepter his: these very words
I'ue heard him vtter to his Sonne in Law,
Lord Aburgany; to whom by oth he menac'd
Reuenge vpon the Cardinall. . . .
Kin. Speake on!
How grounded hee his Title to the Crowne,
Vpon our faile? to this poynt hast thou heard him
At any time speake ought?
Sur. He was *brought* to this
By a vaine Prophesie of *Nicholas Henton.*
Kin. What was that Henton?
Sur. Sir, a Chartreux Fryer,
His Confessor, who fed him euery minute
With words of Soueraignty.

On the authority of Polydore Vergil (665/11) Holinshed relates that

The cardinall deuiseth the destruction of the duke of Buckingham [, by means of Knyvet].

[*Hol.* iii. 862/2/53.] the cardinall, boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his bloud, deuised to make Charles Kneuet (that had beene the dukes surueior, and put from him[2] . . .) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Kneuet, being had in examination before the cardinall, disclosed

[1] *Halle* says (701) that "letters were sent to all commissioners to cease, with instruccions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion was shewed that the Cardinal neuer assented to the first demaunde [for a sixth. Henry afterwards asked for what his subjects would willingly give him.—*Halle*, 697]; and in the instruccions was comprehended that the lordes and the Iudges, and other of the kynges counsaill, diuised the same demaunde, and that the Cardinall folowed the mynd of the whole counsaill: these two poyntes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instruccions were that, at the humble peticion and supplicacion of the Cardinall, the saied greate sommes, whiche were demaunded by the kyngs auctoritie royall, were clerely pardoned and remitted," . . .

[2] See p. 437 below.

all the dukes life. And first he vttered, that the duke was accustomed, by waie of talke, to saie how he meant so to vse the matter, that he would atteine to the crowne, *if king* Henrie chanced to *die without issue:* & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Neuill, lord of Aburgauennie, vnto whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatned to punish the cardinall for his manifold misdooings, being without cause his mortall enimie.

[Buckingham talked of succeeding to the crown if Henry died without issue.]

The cardinall, hauing gotten that which he sought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Kneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance obiect and laie these things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kneuet [*p.* 863], partlie prouoked with desire to be reuenged, and partlie mooued with hope of reward, openlie confessed, that the duke had once fullie determined to deuise meanes how to make the king away, being *brought* into a full hope that he should be king, *by a vaine prophesie* which one *Nicholas* Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Bristow, called *Henton*, sometime his confessor, had opened vnto him.

The cardinall imboldeneth Kneuet against the duke.

[Buckingham was influenced by a prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.]

The cardinall, hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, went vnto the king, and declared vnto him, that his person was in danger by such traitorous purpose, as the duke of Buckingham had conceiued in his heart, and shewed how that now there is manifest tokens of his wicked pretense: wherefore, he exhorted the king to prouide for his owne suertie with speed. The king, hearing the accusation, inforced to the vttermost by the cardinall, made this answer: "If the duke haue deserued to be punished, "let him haue according to his deserts."

The cardinall accuseth the duke of Buckingham to the king.

Knyvet then explains how he knew of Nicholas Hopkins's prophecy (ll. 151-171):

Sur. Not long before your Highnesse sped to France,
The Duke being at *the Rose, within the Parish* 152
Saint Laurence Poultney, did *of* me *demand*
What was the speech *among the Londoners,*
Concerning the French *Iourney:* I replide,
Men fear'd [1] *the French* would proue perfidious, 156

[1] *fear'd*] Pope. *feare* F.

To the Kings danger. Presently, the Duke
Said, 'twas the feare, indeed; and that he doubted
'Twould proue the verity of certaine *words*
Spoke by *a holy Monke*; "*that* oft," sayes he,
"*Hath sent to me*, wishing *me* to permit
"*Iohn de la Car, my Chaplaine*, a choyce howre
"To heare from him a matter of some moment:
"*Whom* after, vnder the Confessions[1] Seale,
"*He* sollemnly *had sworne*, that, *what* he spoke,
"My Chaplaine to *no Creature liuing*, but
"*To me*, should vtter, with demure Confidence
"This pausingly ensu'de: '*Neither the King, nor's Heyres*
'(Tell you the Duke) shall *prosper:* bid him striue
'To gain[2] *the* loue *o'th'Commonalty: the Duke*
'Shall gouerne England.'"

One of the charges in Buckingham's[3] indictment[4] was that

[Buckingham asked Knyvet what the Londoners said of Henry's journey.]

[*Hol.* iii. 864/2/12. *Stow*, 861.] *the* same *duke*, the tenth of Maie, in the twelfe yeare of the kings reigne [1520], at London in a place called *the Rose, within the parish* of *saint Laurence Poultnie* in Canwike street ward, *demanded of* the said Charles Kneuet esquier, *what was the* talke *amongest the Londoners concerning the* kings *iourneie* beyond the seas? And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that iourneie, least *the Frenchmen* meant some deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke answered, that it was to be feared least it would come to passe according to the *words* of *a* certeine *holie moonke:* "For there is" (saith he) "a Chartreux moonke, *that* diuerse times *hath sent to me*, willing "*me* to send vnto him my chancellor: and I did send vnto him "*Iohn de la Court my chapleine*, vnto *whome he* would not declare "anie thing, till de la Court *had sworne* vnto him to keepe all "things secret, and to tell *no creature liuing what* hee should "heare of him, except it were *to me*.

[Knyvet's answer.]

The duke discouereth the secrecie of all the matter to his owne vndooing.

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[1] *Confessions*] Theobald. *Commissions* F. Theobald justified his emendation by quoting *Hol.* iii. 863/2/52: "The duke in talke told the monke [Hopkins] that he had doone verie well to bind his chapleine Iohn de la Court, *vnder the seale* of *confession*, to keepe secret such matter": . . .

[2] *gain*] F4. om. F. Malone supported this insertion by quoting "that I should indeuor my selfe to purchase the good wils of the communaltie of England" (see close of next excerpt).

[3] On July 20, 1517, Hopkins prophesied "that before Christmas next there should be a change, & that the duke should haue the rule and gouernement of all England."—*Hol.* iii. 864/1/31. *Stow*, 860.

[4] The indictment, as it appears in *Stow*, is prefaced by the remark that he had "seen and read" it (859).

"And then the said moonke told de la Court, that *neither the* [Hopkins's prophecy.]
"*king nor his heires* should *prosper*, and that I should indeuour my
"selfe to purchase *the* good wils *of the communaltie* of England;
"for I *the* same *duke* and my bloud should prosper, and haue the
"rule of the realme of *England*."

At this point Queen Katharine interposes with an appeal to Knyvet's conscience (ll. 171-175):

If I know you well,
You were the Dukes Surueyor, and lost your Office 172
On the complaint o'th'Tenants: take good heed
You charge not in your spleene a Noble person,
And spoyle your nobler Soule!

In 1520

[*Hol.* iii. 856/1/7. *Polyd. Verg.* 660/33.] it chanced that the duke, comming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent vnto a manor place which he had there. And, whilest he staid in that countrie till the king set forward, greeuous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmars and tenants against Charles Kneuet his surueiour, for such bribing as he had vsed there amongest them. Wherevpon the duke tooke such displeasure against him, that he depriued him of his office; not knowing how that in so dooing he procured his owne destruction, as after appeared.[1] [Buckingham's tenants complained of Knyvet, and the duke discharged him.]

Resuming his evidence Knyvet says (ll. 178-186):

I told my Lord the Duke, by *th'Diuels illusions*
The Monke might *be deceiu'd*; and that 'twas dangerous for him[2]
To ruminate on this so farre, vntill 180
It forg'd him some designe, which, being beleeu'd,
It was much like to doe: he answer'd, "Tush!
"It can doe me no damage"; adding further,
That, had the King in his last Sicknesse faild, 184
The Cardinals and *Sir Thomas Louels heads*
Should *haue* gone *off*.

To illustrate these lines I quote the rest of the charge concerning Buckingham's talk with Knyvet on May 10, 1520:

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[1] The excerpt "it chanced . . . appeared" is preceded by the following passage: "Now in this meane while [Spring of 1520], the cardinall ceassed not to bring the duke out of the kings fauour by such forged tales and contriued surmises as he dailie put into the kings head: insomuch that (through the infelicitie of his fate) diuerse accidents fell out to the aduantage of the cardinall; which he not omitting, atchiued the thing whereat he so studiouslie (for the satisfieng of his canckered & malicious stomach) laid full aime."—*Hol.* iii. 855/2/73.

[2] *him*] Rowe. *this* F.

[Knyvet said that Hopkins might be deceived by the devil.] *But the end of that ioy* [of Buckingham] *was heauinesse* [; though he said that the propheey could do him no harm].

[If Henry had died, Buckingham would have chopped off the heads of Wolsey and Lovel.]

[*Hol.* iii. 864/2/37. *Stow*, 862.] Then said Charles Kneuet: "*The moonke* maie *be deceiued* through *the diuels illusion:*" and that it was euill to meddle with such matters. "Well" (said the duke) "it cannot hurt me;" and so (saith the indictment) the duke seemed to reioise in the moonks woords. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, *that*, if *the king had* miscaried now *in his last sickneese*, he would *haue* chopped *off* the heads of *the cardinall*, of *sir Thomas Louell* knight, and of others: and also said, that he had rather die for it, than to be vsed as he had beene.

Questioned by Henry, Knyvet gives an instance of Buckingham's truculent mood:

Sur. Being *at Greenwich,*
After your Highnesse *had reprou'd the Duke*
About Sir *William Bulmer*,[1]—
Kin. I remember
Of such a time: being my sworn seruant,
The Duke *retein*'d him his. But on! what hence?
Sur. "*If*" (quoth he) "I for this had *beene committed,*
"As, *to the Tower*, I thought, I *would haue plaid*
"*The Part* my *Father* meant to act vpon
"Th'Vsurper *Richard; who*, being *at Salsbury,*
"*Made suit to come* in's *presence; which if* granted,
"(*As he made semblance* of his duty,) *would*
"*Haue* put his *knife into* him."
Kin. A Gyant Traytor!
Card. Now, Madam, may his Highnes liue in freedome,
And this man out of Prison?
Queen. God mend all!
Kin. Ther's somthing more would out of thee; what say'st?
Sur. After "the Duke his Father," with "the knife,"
He stretch'd him, and, with one *hand on his dagger,*
Another spread on's breast, mounting his eyes,
He did discharge a horrible Oath; whose tenor
Was, *were he euill vs'd, he would* outgoe
His Father, by as much as a performance
Do's an irresolute *purpose.*

In his indictment Buckingham was accused of having,

[Henry reproved Buckingham for retaining Sir William Bulmer.]

[*Hol.* iii. 864/1/64. *Stow*, 861.] on the fourth of Nouember, in the eleuenth yere of the kings reigne [1519], *at* east *Greenwich* in the countie of Kent, said vnto one Charles Kneuet esquier, (*after* that the king *had reproued the duke* for *reteining William Bulmer*, knight, into his seruice,[2] that, *if* he had perceiued that he

[1] *Bulmer*] Hol. *Blumer* F.
[2] In November, 1519, "the king specialliie rebuked sir William Bulmer,

should haue *beene committed to the Tower* (as he doubted hee should haue beene), hee would haue so wrought, that the principall dooers therein should not haue had cause of great reioising: for he *would haue plaied the part* which his *father* intended to haue put in practise against king *Richard* the third *at Salisburie; who made* earnest *sute to* haue *come* vnto the *presence* of the same king Richard: *which* sute *if* he might haue obteined, he hauing a *knife* secretlie about him, *would haue* thrust it *into* the bodie of king Richard, *as he* had *made semblance* to kneele downe before him. And, in speaking these words, *he* maliciouslie laid his *hand* vpon *his dagger*, and said, that, if *he were* so *euill vsed, he would* doo his best to accomplish his pretensed *purpose;* swearing to confirme his word by the bloud of our Lord.

[Buckingham expected to be committed to the Tower.]

See the historie of Richard the third, pag. 744.

[He would then have done to the king what Henry duke of Buckingham meant to do to Richard III.]

Act I. sc. iii.—The Lord Chamberlain and Lord Sandys censure the Gallic airs of those courtiers who went to France with Henry in 1520. The Lord Chamberlain says (ll. 5-10):

> As farre as I see, all the good our English
> Haue got by the late Voyage, is but meerely
> A fit or two o'th' face; (but they are shrewd ones;)
> For when they hold 'em, you would sweare directly,
> Their very noses had been Councellours
> To Pepin or Clotharius, they keepe State so.

Sir Thomas Lovell entering brings tidings of a new Proclamation

> That's clapt vpon the Court Gate.
> *L. Cham.* What is't for?
> *Lou.* The *reformation* of our trauel'd Gallants,
> That fill the Court with quarrels, talke, and Taylors.
> *L. Cham.* I'm glad 'tis there: now I would pray our Monsieurs
> To thinke an English Courtier may be wise,
> And neuer see the Louure.

Mr. Boyle supposes the "trauel'd Gallants" of James I.'s reign to be ridiculed in this scene (*Henry VIII.* in *New Sh. Soc.'s Trans.*, 1880-86, p. 461), but the following excerpt shows that they had their predecessors. When, in 1519,[1] "diuerse yoong gentlemen of England," who resided awhile at the French Court,

[*Hol.* iii. 850 1/17. *Halle*, 597.] came againe into England,

knight, bicause he, *being* his *seruant sworne*, refused the kings seruice, and became seruant to the Duke of Buckingham."—*Hol.* iii. 852/2/72. *Halle*, 599.

[1] After recording our surrender of Tournay on February 8, 1519. *Halle* describes the conduct of these young gentlemen at Paris, "during this time"; and then speaks of their behaviour when they returned to England (597).

they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at, the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised; so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne; which after turned them to displesure, as you shall heare.

[Gallicized Englishmen.]

In May 1519 Henry's Council complained to him of "certeine yoong men in his priuie chamber," who, "not regarding his estate or degree, were so familiar and homelie with him, that they forgat themselues."

[*Hol.* iii. 852/2/7. *Halle*, 598.] To whome the king answered, that he had chosen them of his councell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defense of all things that might blemish the same: wherefore, if they saw anie about him misuse themselues, he committed it vnto their *reformation.* Then the kings councell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diuerse of the priuie chamber, (which had beene in the French court,) and banished them the court for diuerse considerations; laieng nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which discharge out of court greeued sore the hearts of these yoong men, which were called the kings minions.

Certeine of the priuie chamber [,—who had been in the French Court,—] *remooued and others in their roome appointed.*

In a passage omitted by Holinshed, Halle adds (598):

These young minions, which was thus seuered from the kyng, had bene in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his courte, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court in comparison of the other, they were so high in loue with the Frenche court; wherefore their fall was litle moned emong wise men.

[Henry's minions were high in love with the French Court.]

Act I. sc. iv.—Towards the close of sc. iii., Act I., the Lord Chamberlain remembers an invitation of Wolsey:

> This night he makes a Supper, and a great one, 52
> To many Lords and Ladies; there will be
> The Beauty of this Kingdome, Ile assure you.

While going out to his barge, accompanied by Lord Sandys, the Lord Chamberlain says (ll. 66, 67):

> For I was spoke to, with Sir Henry Guilford,
> This night to be Comptrollers.

Sc. iv., Act I., opens thus:

"Hoboies. A small Table vnder a State for the Cardinall, a longer Table for the Guests. Then Enter Anne Bullen, and diuers other Ladies, & Gentlemen, as Guests, at one Doore; at an other Doore, enter Sir Henry Guilford."

After l. 34: "Hoboyes. Enter Cardinall Wolsey, and takes his State."

The historical date of sc. iv. was January 3, 1527.[1] The excerpts illustrating sc. iv. were taken by Stow from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, and transferred from Stow to the pages of Holinshed. Cavendish—who was present when Henry came disguised to Wolsey's banquet—thus describes the ceremony observed:

The cardinals statelie sitting at table like a prince.

[*Hol.* iii. 922/1/1. *Stow*, 845.] First, yee shall vnderstand that the tables were set in the chamber of presence banquetwise couered,[2] & the lord cardinall sitting vnder the cloth of estate, there hauing all his seruice alone: and then was there set a ladie with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman, throughout all the tables[3] in the chamber on the one side, which were made and ioined as it were but one table: all which order and deuise was doone by the

[Lord Sandys and Sir Henry Guildford

[1] This banquet is noticed by *Halle* (719), who tells us that, on the night of January 3, 1527, "the kyng and many young gentelmen with hym came to Bridewell, & there put hym and xv. other all in Maskyng apparell, and then toke his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinalles place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lordes and ladies; and then the Maskers daunced, and made goodly pastyme, and, when they had well danced, the Ladies plucked away their visors, and so they were all knowen, and to the kyng was made a great banket." Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, writing to his brother Ludovico on January 4, 1527, says: "Last evening I was present at a very sumptuous supper given by Cardinal Wolsey, there being amongst the guests the Papal, French, and Venetian ambassadors, and the chief nobility of the English Court . . . During the supper the King arrived, with a gallant company of masqueraders, and his Majesty, after presenting himself to the Cardinal, threw a main at dice and then unmasked, as did all his companions; whereupon he withdrew to sup in one of the Cardinal's chambers, the rest of the guests continuing their repast, with such variety of the choicest viands and wines as to be marvellous." After supper the *Menaechmei* was acted in another hall, and Latin verses were recited to Henry by the actors. "Having listened to them all, the King betook himself with the rest of the guests to the hall where they had all supped, the tables (at which they seated themselves in the same order as before) being spread with every sort of confection, whereof they partook." A pageant was then displayed, in which six damsels appeared, each of whom was subsequently "taken by the hand by her lover, and to the sound of trumpets they performed a very beautiful dance. On its termination the King and his favourites commenced another with the ladies there present, and with this the entertainment and the night ended, for it was already day-break."—*Ven. State PP.*, IV. 4.

[2] *banquetwise covered*] Cavendish. *iust couered* Hol. and Stow.

[3] The Lord Chamberlain to Lord Sandys (I. iv. 22, 24):

"Two women, plac'd together, makes cold weather: . . .
Pray, sit betweene these Ladies."

[regulated Wolsey's banquet.] lord Sandes, then lord chamberleine to the king, and by sir Henrie Gilford, comptrollor of the kings maiesties house.

Soon after Wolsey's entrance comes the stage direction: "Drum and Trumpet, Chambers dischargd" (l. 49). Attendants leave the stage in obedience to the Lord Chamberlain's command, "Looke out there, some of ye"; and one of them, re-entering, announces

A noble troupe of *Strangers;*
For so *they seeme:* th'haue left their Barge and landed,
And hither make, *as* great *Embassadors*
From forraigne Princes.
Card. Good Lord Chamberlaine,
Go, giue 'em welcome! *you can speake* the *French* tongue;
And, pray, *receiue 'em* Nobly, *and conduct 'em*
Into our presence, *where* this heauen of beauty
Shall shine at full vpon them.—Some attend him!
[Exit Chamberlain, attended.] [All rise, and Tables remou'd.
—You haue now a broken Banket; but wee'l mend it.
A good digestion to you all! and once more
I showre a welcome on yee; welcome all!

Hoboyes. Enter *King* and others, as *Maskers,* habited *like Shepheards,* vsher'd by the Lord Chamberlaine. *They* passe *directly before the Cardinall, and* gracefully *salute him.*
A noble Company! what are their pleasures?
Cham. Because *they speak* no *English,* thus they praid
To tell your Grace: *That, hauing* heard by fame
Of this so Noble and so faire assembly,
This night to meet heere, *they could doe no lesse,*
(Out of the great respect they beare to *beauty,*)
But leaue their Flockes; and, *vnder your* faire Conduct,
Crave leaue *to view* these Ladies, and entreat
An houre of Reuels *with 'em.*
Card. Say, Lord Chamberlaine,
They haue done my poore house grace; for which I pay 'em
A thousand thankes, and pray 'em take their pleasures!

Wolsey's

The cardinals house like a princes court for all kind of brauerie and sumptuousnesse. [*Hol.* iii. 921/2/45. *Stow,* 844.] house was resorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feasting and banketting ambassadors diuerse times, and all other right noblie. And when it pleased the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals house, (as he did diuerse times in the yeare,) there wanted no preparations or furniture: bankets were set foorth with maskes and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort and costlie maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damosels meet or apt to danse with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time: then

was there all kind of musike and harmonie, with fine voices both of men and children.

A maske and banket, the king in person present at the cardinals house.

On a time the *king* came suddenlie thither[1] in a maske, with a dozen *maskers* all in garments *like sheepheards*, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimosin sattin paned, & caps of the same, with visards of good physnomie, their haires & beards either of fine goldwire silke, or blacke silke; hauing sixteene torch-bearers, besides their drums and other persons with visards, all clothed in sattin of the same color. And, before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noise; where were laid diuerse chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should meane, comming so suddenlie, they sitting quiet at a solemne banket, . . .

[Chambers shot off.]

[*Hol.* iii. 922/1/11. *Stow*, 845.] Then immediatlie after, the great chamberleine and the said comptrollor [were] sent to looke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter); who, looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it *seemed they* were noblemen and *strangers* that arriued at his bridge, comming *as ambassadours from* some *forren prince.*

The cardinall knew not that the king was in the number.

With that, quoth the cardinall, "I desire you, bicause *you* "*can speake French*, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to "*receiue them* according to their estates, *and* to *conduct them into* "this chamber, *where* they *shall* see vs, and all these noble person- "ages being merie at our banket; desiring them to sit downe with "vs, and to take part of our fare." Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldome had beene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber, two and two togither, *they* went *directlie before the cardinall*, where he sate, *and saluted him* reuerentlie.

[They were received by the Lord Chamberlain.]

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[1] *On . . . thither*] Hol. (Stow). *I have seen the king suddenly come in thither* Cavendish, i. 49.

The cardinall reuerentlie saluted of the maskers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: "Sir, for as "much as *they* be strangers, and can not *speake English*, they haue "desired me *to* declare vnto you, *that* they, *hauing* vnderstanding "*of this* your triumphant banket, where was assembled such a "number of excellent dames, *they could doo no lesse, vnder* support "of *your* grace, *but* to repaire hither, *to view* as well their incom- "parable *beautie*, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and "then to danse *with them:* and, sir, they require of your grace "licence to accomplish the said cause of their comming." To whom the cardinall said he was verie well content they should so doo.

[Their request, made through the Lord Chamberlain.]

The masquers "choose Ladies." Henry takes Anne Boleyn's hand (l. 75). "Musicke, Dance" is the next stage direction. Then Wolsey addresses the Lord Chamberlain (ll. 77-81):

Card. My Lord!
Cham. Your Grace?
Card. Pray tell *'em* thus much from me:
There should be one *amongst 'em*, by his person,
More worthy *this place then* my selfe; *to whom*
(*If I* but *knew him*) with *my* loue and *duty* 80
I would surrender it.
Cham. I will, my Lord. Whisper[s the Maskers.]
Card. What say they?
Cham. Such a one, *they* all *confesse*,
There is indeed; which they would haue *your Grace*
Find *out*, and *he* will take it.
Card. Let me see, then.— 84
By all your good leaues, Gentlemen; heere Ile make
My royall choyce.
Kin. Ye haue found him, Cardinall: . . .

Having played at mumchance with the guests, the masquers poured out what coin they had before Wolsey, who won it all by a single cast of the dice.

He [Wolsey] *suspecteth that the king is present and abateth his estate.*

[*Hol.* iii. 922/1/57. *Stow*, 846.] Then quoth the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, "I praie you" (quoth he) "that you would "shew them, that me seemeth *there should be* a nobleman *amongst* "them, who is *more* meet to occupie *this* seat and *place than* I am; "*to whome I would* most gladlie *surrender* the same according to "*my dutie, if I knew him.*"

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberlein said to my lord

cardinall: "Sir" (quoth he) "*they confesse*, that among them *there* "*is* such a noble personage, whome, if *your grace* can appoint him "*out* from the rest, *he* is content to disclose himselfe, and to "accept your place." With that the cardinall taking good aduisement among them, at the last (quoth he) "me seemeth, the gentle-"man with the blacke beard should be euen hee":[1] and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the blacke beard, with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Neuill, a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske than anie other.

[Wolsey was desired to point him out.]

He taketh his marks amiss and is deceiued.

The king, perceiuing the cardinall so deceiued, could not forbeare laughing, but pulled downe his visar and master Neuels also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiuing the king to be there among them, reioised verie much.

The king disuisardeth his face and is verie pleasant.

Henry learns that his partner is the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, "Viscount Rochford" (l. 93). The King kisses her and demands a health; whereupon Wolsey speaks (ll. 98, 99):

Sir Thomas Louell, is the Banket ready
I'th' Priuy Chamber?
Lou. Yes, my Lord.
Card. Your Grace
I feare, with dancing, is a little heated. 100
Kin. I feare, too much.
Card. There's fresher ayre, my Lord,
In the next Chamber.

Henry proposes to drink the healths of the ladies, and dance again (ll. 105-107). Then they all go out, "with Trumpets."

The historical Wolsey, after failing to detect the King,

[*Hol.* iii. 922/2/11. *Stow*, 846.] eftsoons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinals chamber, and there new apparelled him: in which time the dishes of the banket were cleane taken vp, and the tables spred againe with new cleane perfumed cloths; euerie man and woman sitting still, vntill the king with all his maskers came among them againe all new apparelled.

[Henry withdrew to change his apparel.]

[1] *hee*] Stow. *be* Hol.

A new banket vpon the sudden of 200 dishes[, brought in when Henry returned].

Then the king tooke his seat vnder the cloth of estate, commanding euerie person to sit still as they did before: in came a new banket before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were serued two hundred diuerse dishes, of costlie deuises and subtilties. Thus passed they foorth the night with banketting, dansing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled.

Act II. sc. i.—Two gentlemen enter, one of whom (Sec. Gent.) is on his way to Westminster Hall. There—as he learns from the other gentleman (First Gent.)—Buckingham has already been tried and condemned (ll. 1-8). The First Gentleman gives a brief account of the trial, at which he was present (ll. 11-22):

> *The* great *Duke*
> Came *to the Bar;* where, to *his* accusations,
> He *pleaded* still, *not guilty, and alleadged*
> Many sharpe *reasons* to defeat the Law.
> *The Kings Atturney*, on the contrary,
> Vrg'd on *the Examinations, proofes, confessions*
> *Of* diuers *witnesses;* which *the Duke desir'd*
> To haue[1] *brought*, viua voce, to his face:
> At which appear'd against *him*, his Surueyor;
> Sir Gilbert Pecke his Chancellour; and Iohn Car,
> Confessor to him; with that Diuell *Monke*,
> *Hopkins*, that made this mischiefe.
> 2. That was hee
> That fed him *with his Prophecies?*
> 1. The same.
> All these accus'd *him* strongly; *which he faine*
> *Would haue* flung from him, but, indeed, he could not:
> And so his Peeres, vpon this euidence,
> Haue *found* him *guilty of high Treason.* Much
> He spoke, and learnedly, for life; but all
> Was either pittied in him, or forgotten.
> 2. After all this, how did he beare himselfe?
> 1. When he *was brought* agen *to th' Bar*, (to heare
> His Knell rung out, his Iudgment,) he was stir'd
> With such an Agony, he *sweat* extreamly,
> And somthing spoke in choller, ill, and hasty:
> But he fell to himselfe againe, and, sweetly,
> In all the rest shew'd a most Noble patience.

The judges appointed to try Buckingham met at Westminster Hall on May 13, 1521.[2] Their president was Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk.

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[1] *have*] F4. *him* F.

[2] The date from *Stow*, 862. The other particulars from *Halle*, 623.

[*Hol.* iii. 865/1/20. *Halle*, 623.] When the lords had taken their place, *the duke* was brought *to the barre*, and, vpon *his* arreignement, *pleaded not guiltie*, and put himselfe vpon his peeres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, *and* (as he was an eloquent man)[1] *alledged reasons* to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne iustification verie pithilie and earnestlie. *The kings attourneie*, against the dukes reasons, alledged *the examinations, confessions*, and *proofes of witnesses*.

[Buckingham pleaded not guilty, and made an eloquent defence.]

Polydor. Edw. Hall.

[The king's attorney alleged the evidence against him.]

The duke desired that the witnesses might bee *brought* foorth. And then came before *him* Charles Kneuet, Perke, De la Court, & *Hopkins* the *monke* of the priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason *with his* false forged *prophesies*. Diuerse presumptions and accusations were laid vnto *him* by Charles Kneuet; *which he would faine haue* couered. The depositions were read, & the deponents deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower. Then spake the duke of Norffolke, and said: "My lord, the king our souereigne "lord hath commanded that you shall haue his lawes ministred "with fauour and right to you.[2] Wherefore, if you haue anie other "thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard." Then he was commanded to withdraw him, and so was led into Paradise, a house so named. The lords went to councell a great while, and after tooke their places.

[The witnesses whom Buckingham desired to be brought forth.]

Edw. Hall. in H. 8. fol. lxxxvj.

Then said the duke of Norffolke to the duke of Suffolke: "What say you of sir Edward duke of Buckingham, touching the "high treasons?" The duke of Suffolke answered: "He is giltie": & so said the marques [of Dorset] and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this prince, duke of Buckingham, *found giltie of high treason*, by a duke, a marques, seuen earles, & twelue barons.[3] The

The duke of Buckingham conuinced of high treason.

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[1] "he . . . man."—*Polyd. Verg.*, 665/34. In I. ii. 111, Henry says of Buckingham:

"The Gentleman is Learn'd, and a most rare Speaker"; . . .

[2] Cp. Henry's last words anent Buckingham (I. ii. 211, 212):

"if he may
Finde mercy in the Law, 'tis his"; . . .

[3] Cp. Buckingham's admission (II. i. 118, 119):

"I had my Tryall,
And, must needs say, a Noble one"; . . .

duke *was brought to the barre* sore chafing, and *swet* maruellouslie; &, after he had made his reuerence, he paused a while. The duke of Norffolke, as iudge, said: "Sir Edward, you haue heard how you "be indicted of high treason; you pleaded thereto not giltie, "putting your selfe to the peeres of the realme, which haue found "you giltie."

The Second Gentleman's remark—(l. 40) "the Cardinall is the end of this"—may be compared with the words of Holinshed, who, declining to examine the truth or falsehood of Buckingham's indictment, adds:

[Wolsey believed to have procured Buckingham's death.]

[*Hol.* iii. 864/2/68.] Sauing that (I trust) I maie without offense saie, that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall chieflie procured the death of this noble man, no lesse fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that season, than the cardinall himselfe was hated and enuied. Which thing caused the dukes fall the more to be pitied and lamented, sith he was the man of all [*p.* 865] other that chieflie went about to crosse the cardinall in his lordlie demeanor, & headie proceedings.

In responsè to the Second Gentleman's positive assertion that Wolsey was "the end of this," the First Gentleman says (ll. 40-44):

1. Tis likely, 40
By all coniectures: first, Kildares Attendure,
Then Deputy of Ireland; who remou'd,
Earle Surrey was sent thither, and in hast too,
Least he should helpe his Father.

On the authority of Polydore Vergil (659/20) Holinshed relates that Wolsey, enraged by Buckingham's "greeuous words" (see p. 426 above), sought the Duke's destruction, but

[Wolsey resolved to send Surrey out of the way.]

[*Hol.* iii. 855/2/25.] bicause he doubted his freends, kinnesmen, and alies, and cheeflie the earle of Surrie, lord admerall, (which had married the dukes daughter,) he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enimitie betwixt the cardinall and the earle,[1] for that, on a time, when the cardinall tooke vpon him to checke the earle, he had like to haue thrust his dagger into the cardinall.

[Enmity between Wolsey and Surrey.]

[1] Afterwards (1524) 3rd Duke of Norfolk. In III. ii. 275-277, the dramatic "Surrey" (see p. 474, n. 1, below) professes to be deterred by naught save Wolsey's priesthood from answering the Cardinal's rebuke with the sword.

At length there was occasion offered him to compasse his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall, knowing he was well prouided of monie, sought occasion to fleece him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare, being vnmarried, was desirous to haue an English woman to wife; and, for that he was a suter to a widow, contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accused him to the king, of that he had not borne himselfe vprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him, when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare; there to remaine rather as an exile than as lieutenant to the king, euen at the cardinals pleasure, as he himselfe well perceiued.[1]

[Kildare's visit to England.]

The earle of Kildare committed to ward [; and Surrey sent to Ireland as deputy].

[Surrey knew that he was exiled by Wolsey.]

The two gentlemen's converse is interrupted by the entrance of "Buckingham from his Arraignment; Tipstaues before him; the Axe with the edge towards him; Halberds on each side: accompanied with Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir William[2] Sands, and common people, &c." Addressing those who are following him the Duke says (II. i.):

I haue this day receiu'd a Traitors iudgement,
And by that name must dye: yet, Heauen beare witnes,
(And if I haue a Conscience, let it sincke me
Euen as the Axe falls,) if I be not faithfull!
The Law I beare no mallice for my death;
T'has done, vpon the premises, but Iustice:
But those that sought it I could wish more Christians:
Be what they will, I heartily forgiue 'em: . . .
For further life in this world I ne're hope,
Nor will I sue, although the King haue mercies
More then I dare make faults. You few that lou'd me,
And dare be bold to weepe for Buckingham,
His Noble Friends and Fellowes, whom to leaue
Is only bitter to him, only dying,
Goe with me, like good Angels, to my end;
And, as the long diuorce of Steele fals on me,
Make of your Prayers one sweet Sacrifice,
And lift my Soule to Heauen!

[1] In III. ii. 260-264, "Surrey" accuses Wolsey of this.

[2] *William*] Theobald. *Walter* F. Created Lord Sandys on April 27, 1523. — *Stow*, 874. In Act I., scenes iii. and iv., he appears as Lord Sandys.

A speech to this effect was made by Buckingham[1] on May 13, after Norfolk had pronounced sentence of death.

[Buckingham's speech after sentence.]

[*Hol.* iii. 865/1/68. *Halle*, 624.] The duke of Buckingham said, "My lord of Norffolke, you haue said as a traitor should be "said vnto, but I was neuer anie: but, my lords, I nothing maligne "for that you haue doone to me, but the eternall God forgiue you "my death, and I doo. I shall neuer sue to the king for life, how-"beit he is a gratious prince, and more grace may come from him "than I desire. I desire you, my lords, and all my fellowes, to "pray for me." Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he led into a barge.

[The edge of the axe was turned towards him.]

Sir Thomas Lovell resigns the custody of Buckingham (ll. 95-97):

To th' water side I must conduct your Grace;
Then giue my Charge vp to Sir Nicholas Vaux, 96
Who vndertakes you to your end.
Vaux. Prepare there,
The Duke is comming: see the Barge be ready;
And fit it with such furniture as suites
The Greatnesse of his Person.
Buck. *Nay*, Sir Nicholas, 100
Let it alone; my State now will but mocke me.
When I came hither, *I was* Lord High Constable
And *Duke of Buckingham; now*, poore *Edward Bohun*: . . .

When Buckingham was "led into a barge"

[Buckingham said: "Now I am but Edward Bohun." He was received at the Temple stairs by Vaux and Sandys. He desired the people to pray for him.]

[*Hol.* iii. 865/2/4. *Halle*, 624.] Sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the cushins and carpet ordeined for him. He said, "*nay*; for *when I* went to Westminster *I was duke of Buckingham*; "*now* I am but *Edward Bohune*,[2] the most caitife of the world." Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Vawse & sir William Sands, baronets, and led him through the citie; who desired euer the people to pray for him, . . .

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[1] He was beheaded on May 17, 1521.—*Halle*, 624. As the "last houre" of the dramatic Buckingham has come in this scene (II. i. 132), it is evident that the dates of his sentence and execution have been unified.

[2] Buckingham's surname was Stafford. His descent from the Bohuns is thus traced by Francis Thynne: "Humfrie de Bohune, the eight [seventh] & last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune, . . . had issue two daughters and heires, Eleanor the eldest, maried to Thomas of Woodstocke; and Marie the second, married to Henrie of Bollingbrooke, after king of England, . . . He [Thomas] had issue [by his marriage with Eleanor de Bohun] . . . foure daughters: . . . The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodstocke, . . . were Anne the eldest, married to Edmund Stafford erle Stafford," . . . *Hol.* iii. 867/2/25. Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was the great-great-grandson of Edmund Earl Stafford.—*Collins*, ii. 37-40.

Buckingham compares his lot with that of his father Henry, who was also betrayed by a servant, but was not, like the speaker, tried by his peers (II. i. 107-111; 118-123).

After the desertion of his troops (p. 404 above), Henry Duke of Buckingham

[*Hol.* iii. 743/2/49. *Halle*, 394.] conueied himselfe into the house of Humfreie Banaster, his seruant, beside Shrewesburie; whome he had tenderlie brought vp, and whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and trusted: now not doubting but that in his extreame necessitie he should find him faithfull, secret, and trustie; . . . [Henry Duke of Buckingham trusted his servant Banaster.]

[*Hol.* iii. 744/1/50. *Halle*, 395.] Humfreie Banaster (were it more for feare of life and losse of goods, or allured & prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand pounds)[1] . . . bewraied his guest and maister to Iohn Mitton, then shiriffe of Shropshire; . . . *Humfrie Banaster, seruant vnto the duke of Buckingham, betraied his maister.*

Contrasting his treatment by his late sovereign and present King, Buckingham notes that Henry VII. had restored him to his honours, but Henry VIII. deprived him of life and all which belonged to it (ll. 112-118).

In the first Parliament of Henry VII. (November, 1485),

[*Hol.* iii. 763/1/25. *Halle*, 424.] Edward Stafford, eldest sonne to Henrie late duke of Buckingham, he [Henry VII.] restored to his name, dignitie, & possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat and atteinted. [Edward Stafford restored to his dukedom of Buckingham.]

When Buckingham and his Train have departed, the two gentlemen resume their discourse. The Second Gentleman asks (ll. 147-149):

Did you not of late dayes heare
A buzzing, of a Separatiön
Betweene the King and Katherine?
1. Yes, but it held not:
For when the King once heard it, out of anger
He sent command to the Lord Mayor straight
To stop the rumor, and allay those tongues
That durst disperse it.

In the Summer of 1527[2]

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[1] See p. 404 above.

[2] On June 2, 1527, news of the sacking of Rome reached Windsor. On July 3, Wolsey, who had been appointed ambassador to France, passed through London.—*Halle*, 727, 728. Between these dates occurs mention in *Halle* (728) of the rumour touching Henry's marriage, prefaced by the words: "This season began a fame in London that the kinges confessor," &c.

[*Hol.* iii. 897/1/65. *Halle*, 728.] rose a secret brute in London that the kings confessor, doctor Longland, and diuerse other great clerks, had told the king that the marriage betweene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, was not lawfull: wherevpon the king should sue a diuorse, and marrie the duchesse of Alanson, sister to the French king, at the towne of Calis, this summer: and that the vicount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales, and sent for sir Thomas Seimor, maior of the citie of London, secretlie charging him to see that the people ceassed from such talke.

The kings marriage brought in question.

[Henry bade the Mayor prevent people from talking of the marriage.]

The Second Gentleman replies (ll. 153-161):

2. But that slander, Sir,
Is found a truth now: for it growes agen
Fresher than e're it was; and held for certaine
The King will venture at it. Either the Cardinall,
Or some about him neere, haue, out of malice
To the good Queene, possest him with a scruple
That will vndoe her: to confirme this too,
Cardinall Campeius is arriu'd, and lately;
As all thinke, for this busines.
1. Tis the Cardinall;
And meerely to reuenge him on the Emperour,
For not bestowing on him, at his asking,
The Archbishopricke of Toledo, this is purpos'd.

In the first of the ensuing paragraphs Holinshed records—as though it were a suspicion generally entertained—Polydore Vergil's unfounded assertion (685/9) that Wolsey was the author of Henry's matrimonial scruple:

[*Hol.* iii. 906/2/24.] Ye haue heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France, the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland, bishop of Lincolne, and others, that his marriage with queene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that, whether this doubt was first mooued by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to haue the case examined, cleered, and adiudged by learning, law, and sufficient authoritie. The cardinall verelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he

Doctor Longland, bishop of Lincolne [, denied the legality of Henry's marriage].

Why the cardinall was suspected to

bare to the emperor, bicause he would not grant to him the archbishoprike of Toledo, for the which he was a suter. And therefore he did not onelie procure the king of England to ioine in freendship with the French king, but also sought a diuorse betwixt the king and the queene,[1] that the king might haue had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister vnto the French king: and (as some haue thought) he trauelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not giue eare therevnto.[2]

be against the marriage.

[Wolsey wished Henry to marry the Duchess of Alençon.]

Polydor.

But howsoeuer it came about that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his mariage, this followed, that, like a wise & sage prince, to haue the doubt cleerelie remooued, he called togither the best learned of the realme; which were of seuerall opinions. Wherfore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, least peraduenture the Spaniards, and other also in fauour of the queene, would saie, that his owne subiects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the vniuersities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a preest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience,[3] . . . and with him was

Edw. Hall. [, 753].

The king is desirous to be resolued by the opinions of the learned touching his marriage.

Cardinall Campeius sent into England.

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[1] *Polyd. Verg.* does not say that Wolsey's revenge was to counsel Henry's divorce, but asserts that the Cardinal wanted a Queen whose disposition resembled his own, since Katharine, although she had done him no harm, "eius . . . malos oderat mores, quos ut continentia emendaret, identidem benignè monebat."—685/12.

[2] Wolsey was ambassador to France in July—September, 1527.—*Halle*, 728-733. Margaret Duchess of Alençon married Henry King of Navarre in January, 1527.—*Ven. State PP.*, IV. 7, 17. These dates are irreconcilable with *Polyd. Verg.'s* supposition (687/1) that Wolsey endeavoured while at Amiens to arrange a marriage between Henry and Margaret.

[3] Cp. Wolsey's praise of the course which Henry took in regard to Katharine (II. ii. 90-97):

> "The Spaniard, tide by blood and fauour to her,
> Must now confesse, if they haue any goodnesse,
> The Tryall iust and Noble. All the Clerkes
> (I meane the learnëd ones) in Christian Kingdomes
> Haue their free voyces: Rome, the Nurse of Iudgement,
> Inuited by your Noble selfe, hath sent

ioined in commission the cardinall of Yorke and legat of England.[1]

This cardinall came to London in October,[2] and did intimate both to the king & queene the cause of his comming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof.

Act II. sc. ii.—I find no historical authority for the letter (ll. 1—10) which the Lord Chamberlain is reading as he enters. After l. 73 the Cardinals enter and have a private audience of Henry. Wolsey assumes that Katharine is not to be denied what

> A Woman of lesse Place might aske by Law : 112
> Schollers allow'd freely to argue for her.
> *Kin.* I, and the best she shall haue ; and my fauour
> To him that does best : God forbid els ! . . .

We learn from Halle (756) that, after Christmas 1528, and till Easter 1529, "was none other thing commoned of but onely of the kinges mariage."

[Henry wished Katharine to have the best clerks for her counsel.]

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/2. *Halle,* 756.] And bicause the king meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew well that the queene was somewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he bad hir choose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to doo the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth.

Addressing Wolsey, Henry says (ll. 115-117):

> Cardinall,
> Prethee call Gardiner to me, my new Secretary:
> I find him a fit fellow.

Henry and Gardiner go aside and converse in whispers. Drawing Wolsey's attention to the King's new secretary, Campeggio asks (ll. 122, 123):

> *Camp.* My Lord of Yorke, was not one Doctor Pace
> In this mans place before him?

> One generall Tongue vnto vs, this good man,
> This iust and learnëd Priest, Cardnall Campeius"; . . .

With "the Clerkes . . . Christian Kingdomes" cp. "profound clerkes . . . all christendome" (p. 479 below).

[1] In II. ii. 104-107, Campeggio tenders to Henry the

> . . . "Commission; by whose vertue,
> The Court of Rome commanding, you, my Lord
> Cardinall of Yorke, are ioyn'd with me their Seruant
> In the vnpartiall iudging of this Businesse."

[2] Campeggio had his first audience of Henry on October 22, 1528.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. ii. p. 2100 (cp. no. 4879, p. 2111).

Wol. Yes, he was.
Camp. Was he not held a learnëd man?
Wol. Yes, surely.
Camp. Beleeue me, there's an ill opinion spread, then,
Euen of your selfe, Lord Cardinall.
Wol. How! of me?
Camp. They will not sticke to say, you enuide him;
And, fearing he would rise, (he was so vertuous,)
Kept him a forraigne man still; which so greeu'd him,
That he ran mad, and dide.

About the year 1529,[1]

Doctor Stephã Gardner. 1529

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/20. *Polyd. Verg.* 687/20.] the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Gardiner, whose seruice he vsed in matters of great secrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which, being continuallie abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the cardinals appointment,[2] at length he tooke such greefe therewith, that he fell out of his right wits.

Doctor Pace falleth out of his wits.

Act II. sc. iii.—In this scene the Lord Chamberlain announces to Anne Boleyn that

the Kings Maiesty
Commends his good opinion of you to you;[3] and
Doe's purpose honour to you no lesse flowing
Then Marchionesse of Pembrooke; to which Title,
A Thousand pound a yeare, Annuall support,
Out of his Grace he addes.

Halle (790) was Holinshed's authority for the following passage:

The ladie Anne Bullongne created marchionesse of Penbroke.

[*Hol.* iii. 928/2/30.] On the first of September [, 1532,] being sundaie, the K., being come to Windsor, created the ladie Anne Bullongne marchionesse of Penbroke, and gaue to hir one thousand pounds land by the yeare.

Act II. sc. iv.—In Act II., sc. ii., ll. 138-141, Henry directs that the trial of his marriage shall be held at Black-Friars, and he bids

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[1] After November 17, 1529, Gardiner is spoken of as Henry's "newly made Secretary."—*Halle*, 760.

[2] *Foxe* says (ii. 963/1): "But as the laude, and the renowmed prayse of men, for their worthy proweses, commonly in this world neuer go vnaccompanyed without some priuye canker of enuy & disdayne folowyng after, so the singular industry of Pacie, as it wanne much commendation with many, so it could not auoyde the secret stynge of some Serpentes. For the conceaued hatred of this Cardinall so kyndled against him that he neuer ceased till first he brought him out of the kynges fauour, and at last also, out of his perfect wittes."

[3] *of you, to you*] F. *to you* Pope. *of you* Capell.

Wolsey see that the place be "furnish'd." Scene iv. opens with the ensuing stage direction:

Trumpets, Sennet, and Cornets.

Enter two Vergers, with short siluer wands; next them, two Scribes, in the habite of Doctors; after them, the Bishop of Canterbury alone; after him, the Bishops of Lincolne, Ely, Rochester, and S. Asaph: Next them, with some small distance, followes a Gentleman bearing the Purse, with the great Seale, and a Cardinals Hat: Then two Priests, bearing each a Siluer Crosse: Then a Gentleman Vsher bareheaded, accompanyed with a Sergeant at Armes, bearing a Siluer Mace: Then two Gentlemen bearing two great Siluer Pillers: After them, side by side, the two Cardinals; two Noblemen, with the Sword and Mace. *The King* takes place vnder the *Cloth of State.* The two Cardinalls sit vnder him as Iudges. *The Queene* takes place *some distance from* the King. The Bishops place themselues on each side *the Court, in manner of a Consistory;* Below them, the Scribes. The Lords sit next the Bishops. The rest of the Attendants stand in *conuenient* order about the Stage.

The arrangements made for the trial are thus described:

Anno Reg. 21. *Edw. Hall* [, 751].

[A hall at Black-Friars furnished for the trial.]

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 959.

The maner of the session, euerie personage of account in his place.

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/27.] The place where the cardinals should sit, to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and the queene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London; where in the great hall was preparation made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemne session and roiall apparance. *The*[1] *court* was platted in tables and benches *in manner of a consistorie*, one seat raised higher for the iudges to sit in. Then as it were in the midst of the said iudges, aloft, aboue them three degrees high, was a *cloth of estate* hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder the same, wherein sat the king; and, besides him, *some distance from* him sat *the queene*, and vnder the iudges feet sat the scribes and other officers: the cheefe scribe was doctor Steeuens,[2] and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Then before the king and the iudges, within the court, sat the

[1] *The . . . furnished* (pp. 456, 457).] Stow, 912 (Cavendish, i. 147).

[2] Stephen Gardiner. "The chief scribe there was Dr. Stephens, (who was after Bishop of Winchester);" . . .—*Cavendish*, i. 147. As to Gardiner being known as Stevens or Steven, see a note in *Cavendish* (*loc. cit.*). *Brewer* says (ii. 245, note 1): "Gardiner always writes his own name Steven Gardiner, but Wolsey and others call him by his Christian name Stevens (*i. e.* Stephanus), Steven or Stevens being the same name."

archbishop of Canturburie, Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends within, the counsellors learned in the spirituall laws, as well the kings as the queenes. The doctors of law for the king . . . had their *conuenient* roomes. Thus was the court furnished.

In obedience to Henry's command, that she should "choose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell" (p. 454 above), Katharine

The queene chooseth lawyers for hir part.

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/9. *Halle*, 756.] elected William Warham, archbishop of Canturburie, and Nicholas West, bishop of Elie, doctors of the laws; and Iohn Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Henrie Standish, bishop of St. Assaph, doctors of diuinitie; and manie other doctors and well learned men, which for suertie, like men of great learning, defended hir cause, as farre as learning might mainteine and hold it vp.

Part of the stage direction—"a Gentleman bearing . . . great Siluer Pillers"—is taken from a description of Wolsey's "order in going to Westminster hall dailie in the tearme."

The tokens and marks of his dignities borne before him.

[*Hol.* iii. 921/1/63. *Stow*, 844.] Before him was borne, first the broad seale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnlie: &, as soone as he was once entered into his chamber of presence, his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him: then cried the gentlemen vshers, going before him bare headed, and said: "On before, my lords and maisters, on before; make waie for "my lords grace!" Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of siluer, and two gentlemen carieing two great pillers of siluer.

After Wolsey had been appointed legate,

[Wolsey's cross-bearers.]

[*Hol.* iii. 920/1/14. *Stow*, 841.] had he his two great crosses of siluer, the one of his archbishoprike, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither soeuer he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realme.

When all who have entered are in their places, Wolsey says (II. iv. 1—10):

> Car. *Whil'st* our *commissiön* from Rome is *read*,
> Let *silence* be *commanded!*
> *King.* What's the need?
> It hath already publiquely bene read,

And on all sides th'Authority allow'd; 4
You may, then, spare that time.
Car. Bee't so.—Proceed!
Scri. Say, "*Henry, K. of England, come into the Court!*"
Crier. "*Henry, King of England,*" *&c.*
King. *Heere!*
Scribe. Say, "*Katherine, Queene of England, come into the Court!*"
Crier. "*Katherine, Queene of England,*" *&c.*
[The Queene makes *no answer*, rises *out of her Chaire*, goes *about the Court*, comes *to the King, and kneeles at his Feete; then speakes.*

On June 21, 1529, Henry and Katharine appeared personally before the Court.[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/50. *Stow*, 912.] The iudges *commanded silence whilest* their *commission* was *read*, both to the court and to the people assembled. That doone the scribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of "*king Henrie of England, come* "*into the court,*" *&c.* With that the king answered and said, "*Heere!*" Then called he the queene by the name of "*Katharine, queene of England, come into the court,*" *&c.* Who made *no answer*, but rose *out of hir chaire.*

The king and queene called into the court.

And, bicause shee could not come to the king directlie, for the distance seuered betweene them, shee went *about* by *the court, and* came *to the king, kneel*ing downe *at his feet*, to whome she said in effect as followeth:[2]

[Katharine knelt at Henry's feet.]

I exhibit in parallel columns Katharine's speech as it appears in Holinshed, and the version of it given in *Henry VIII.*, Act II. sc. iv. ll. 13-57:

Queene Katharines lamentable

[*Hol.* iii. 907/1/63. *Stow*, 912.] "*Sir*" (quoth she) "*I desire you* "to *doo me iustice and right, and*

Sir, I desire you do me Right and Iustice;
And to bestow your *pitty on me: for I am a* most *poore Woman, and a Stranger,*

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[1] The Court met for the first time on June 18, 1529, and adjourned to the 21st. Katharine was present on the 18th, but Henry was on that day represented by proxies.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5694, 5707.

[2] This speech was taken by *Stow* from *Cavendish* (i. 149-152). According to *Halle* (757), "the Quene departed without any thing saiyng." We learn, however, from a letter of Campeggio that on June 21—the day on which he was writing—Katharine "interposed a very full appeal and supplication to the Pope and withdrew; but first she knelt there before the seat of judgment; although the King twice raised her up, asked permission of the King that, as it was a question which concerned the honour and conscience of herself and of the house of Spain, he would grant her full permission to write and send messengers to [the Emperor] and to his Holiness," . . .—*Brewer*, ii. 491.

"take some *pitie* vpon *me, for I*
"*am a poore woman, and a stranger,*
"*borne out of your dominion;*
"*hauing heere no indifferent* coun-
"sell, & lesse *assurance of freend-*
"*ship. Alas, sir,* [in] *what haue I*
"*offended you,* or *what* occasion of
"*displeasure* haue I shewed you;
"intending *thus to put me* from
"you after this sort? I take God
"to my iudge, *I haue beene to you*
"*a true & humble wife,* euer *con-*
"*formable to your will* and pleasure;
"that neuer contraried or gaine-
"said any thing thereof, and, being
"alwaies contented with all things
"wherein you had any delight,
"whether little or much, without
"grudge or displeasure, I loued
"for your sake all them whome
"you loued, whether they were
"my freends or enimies.

"*I haue beene your wife* these
"*twentie yeares* and more, *&* you
"*haue* had *by* me diuerse children.
"*If* there be anie iust cause that
"*you can* alleage against me,
"either of dishonestie, or matter
"lawfull to put me from you, I
"am content to depart to my
"shame and rebuke: and if there
"be none, then I praie you to let
"me haue iustice at your hand.
"*The king your father was* in his
"time *of excellent wit,* and the
"*king of Spaine, my father, Fer-*
"*dinando, was reckoned one* of *the*
"*wisest princes that reigned* in
"Spaine *manie yeares before. It*
"*is not to be* doubted, but *that they*
"*had gathered* as *wise counsel*lors
"vnto *them of euerie realme,* as to
"their wisedoms they thought
"meet, *who deemed* the *marriage*

Borne out of your Dominions; hauing heere
No Iudge *indifferent,* nor no more *assurance*
Of equall *Friendship* and Proceeding.
Alas, Sir,
In *what haue I offended you? what* cause
Hath my behauiour giuen to your *displeasure,*
That *thus* you should proceede *to put me* off,
And take your good Grace from me?
Heauen witnesse,
I haue bene to you a true and humble Wife,
At all times *to your will conformable;*
Euer in feare to kindle your Dislike,
Yea, subiect to your Countenance;
Glad, or sorry,
As I saw it inclin'd! When was the houre
I euer contradicted your Desire,
Or made it not mine too? Or which of your Friends
Haue I not stroue to loue, although I knew
He were mine Enemy? what Friend of mine,
That had to him deriu'd your Anger, did I
Continue in my Liking? nay, gaue notice
He was from thence discharg'd? Sir, call to minde,
That *I haue beene your Wife,* in this Obedience,
Vpward of *twenty yeares, and haue* bene blest
With many *Children by* you: *if,* in the course
And processe of this time, *you can* report,
And proue it too, against mine Honor aught,
My bond to Wedlocke, or my Loue and Dutie,
Against your Sacred Person, in God's name
Turne me away! and let the fowl'st Contempt
Shut doore vpon me, and so giue me vp
To the sharp'st kinde of Iustice! Please you, Sir,
The King, your Father, was reputed for
A Prince most Prudent, *of* an *excellent*
And vnmatch'd *Wit,* and Iudgement: *Ferdinand,*
My Father, King of Spaine, was reckon'd one
The wisest Prince, that there had *reign'd,* by *many*

and pithie speech in presence of the court.

[I desire you to do me justice. How have I offended you?]

[I have been a dutiful wife.]

[We have been married these twenty years.]

[If there be a real cause for my divorce, I will submit; if not, let me have justice.]

The queene iustifieth the mariage [: Our fathers were wise men, and they deemed our marriage lawful.]

[I desire a respite till I can have counsel from my friends in Spain.]

"betweene you and me good and
"*lawfull*, &c. *Wherefore, I hum-*
"*blie* desire *you to spare me*, vntill
"*I may* know what counsell *my*
"*freends in Spaine* will aduertise
"me to take, and, *if* you will *not*,
"then *your pleasure be fulfilled.*"

A *yeare before: it is not to be*
question'd,
That they had gather'd a wise Councell
to them
Of euery Realme, that did debate this 52
Businesse,
Who deem'd our *Marriage lawfull.*
Wherefore I humbly
Beseech *you*, Sir, *to spare me, till I may*
Be, by *my Friends in Spaine*, aduis'd;
whose Counsaile
I will implore. *If not*, i'th'name of God, 56
Your pleasure be fulfill'd!

Wolsey and Campeggio object to a delay of the trial (ll. 57-68). Katharine[1] then brings an accusation against Wolsey (ll. 75-84):

I do beleeue
(Induc'd by potent Circumstances) that 76
You are mine Enemy; and make my Challenge,
You shall not be my Judge: for it is you
Haue blowne this Coale betwixt my Lord, and me;
(Which Gods dew quench!) Therefore, I say againe, 80
I *vtterly abhorre*, yea, from my Soule,
Refuse you for my *Iudge;* whom, yet once more,
I hold my *most malicious* Foe, and thinke not
At all a Friend to truth!

Wolsey denies the charge (ll. 84-105); but Katharine is unmoved (ll. 118-121):

I do refuse you for my Iudge; and heere,
Before you all, *Appeale vnto the Pope*,
To bring my *whole Cause* 'fore his Holinesse, 120
And *to be iudg'd* by *him!*

The source of this part of scene iv. (ll. 68-121) is the following passage, derived by Holinshed from Polydore Vergil (688/4):

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[1] In November, 1528, the two legates visited Katharine at Bridewell, and told her that they had been appointed judges of the legality of her marriage. After maintaining its lawfulness, she said: "'But of thys trouble I onely may thanke you, my lorde Cardinall of Yorke; for because I haue wondered at your hygh pride & vainglory, and abhorre your volupteous life and abhominable Lechery, and litle regard your presumpteous power and tiranny, therfore of malice you haue kindled thys fyre and set thys matter a broche; & in especial for y^e^ great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambicion and make you Pope by force; and therfore you haue sayed more then once that you would trouble him and hys frendes, and you haue kept hym true promyse, for, of al hys warres and vexacions, he only may thanke you, and as for me, hys poore aunte and kynswoman, what trouble you put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commyt my cause according to the truth.' The cardinall of Yorke excused himself, saying, that he was not the begynner nor the mouer of the doubte, & that it was sore agaynst hys wyl that euer y^e^ mariage should come in question; but he sayd that, by his superior, the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Iudge to heare

[*Hol.* iii. 908/1/35.] Heere is to be noted, that the queene in presence of the whole court most greeuouslie accused the cardinall of vntruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice ; which had sowne dissention betwixt hir and the king hir husband: and therefore openlie protested, that she did *vtterlie abhorre, refuse*, and forsake such a *judge*, as was not onelie a *most malicious* enimie to hir, but also a manifest aduersarie to all right and iustice ; and therewith did she *appeale vnto the pope*, committing hir *whole cause to be judged* of *him*.

The queene accuseth cardinall Wolsie.

She appeleth to the pope.

Katharine's refusal of Wolsey as her judge (ll. 118-121) is succeeded by this stage direction : "She Curtsies to the King, and offers to depart." Campeggio draws attention to her movement, whereupon Henry cries (l. 125) :

Kin. *Call her againe !*
Crier. *Katherine, Q. of England, come into the Court !*
Gent. Ush. *Madam, you* are *cald* backe.
Que. What need you note it ? pray you, keep *your way :*
When you are cald, returne ! (Now the Lord helpe,
They vexe me past my patience !) Pray you, passe on !
I will not tarry ; no, nor euer more
Vpon this businesse my appearance make
In any of their *Courts !*
[Exeunt Queene, and her Attendants.

In the play Katharine's departure is preceded by her dispute with Wolsey (ll. 68-121), but, after Cavendish's report of her speech to Henry, the passage which forms my next excerpt immediately ensues :

[*Hol.* iii. 907/2/21. *Stow*, 913.] With that she arose vp, making a lowe curtesie to the king, and departed from thence.

[Katharine curtsied to Henry and departed.]

The king, being aduertised that shee was readie to go out of the house, commanded the crier to *call hir againe ;* who called hir by these words : "*Katharine, queene of England, come into the court !*" With that quoth maister Griffith,[1] "*Madame, you* be *called* againe." "On, on" (quoth she) "it maketh no matter, *I will not tarrie*, go on *your waies !*" And thus she departed,

The queene departing out of the court is called againe.

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the cause, which he sware on his professyon to heare indifferently ; but, whatsoeuer was said, she beleued hym not, and so the Legates toke their leaue of her & departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, (which was present,) and by me translated as nere as I could."—*Halle*, 755.

[1] *Cavendish* says (i. 152) that Katharine "took her way straight out of the house, leaning (as she was wont always to do) upon the arm of her General Receiver, called Master Griffith."

without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and neuer would appeare after *in anie court.*

When Katharine is gone Henry closes a speech in her praise by saying (ll. 141-143):

Shee's Noble borne;
And, like her true Nobility, she ha's
Carried her selfe towards me.

Wolsey then addresses Henry (ll. 143-149):

Wol. Most gracious *Sir,*
In humblest manner *I require your Highnes,* 144
That it shall please you *to declare,* in hearing
Of all these eares, (for where I am rob'd and bound,
There must I be vnloos'd, although not there
At once and fully satisfide,) *whether* euer *I* 148
Did broach *this* busines *to your* Highness; . . .

I continue to quote excerpts derived by Holinshed from Stow's paraphrase of Cavendish:

[*Hol.* iii. 907/2/33. *Stow,* 913.] The king, perceiuing she was departed, said these words in effect: "For as much" (quoth he) "as the queene is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, "that shee hath beene to me as true, as obedient, and as conform- "able a wife, as I would wish or desire. She hath all the vertuous "qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie "other of a baser estate; *she is* also surelie a *noble* woman *borne;* "hir conditions will well declare the same."[1]

[Henry's praise of Katharine.]

With that quoth Wolseie the cardinall: "*Sir, I* most humblie "*require your highnesse, to declare,* before all this audience, *whether* "*I* haue beene the cheefe and first mouer of *this* matter vn*to your* "maiestie or no, for I am greatlie suspected heerein."

The cardinall requireth to haue that declared which was well enough known.

Henry's oration (ll. 155-209; 217-230) and the intervening answer of Longland Bishop of Lincoln (ll. 211-217) follow Wolsey's request:

Kin. *My Lord Cardinall,*
I doe *excuse you;* yea, vpon mine Honour, 156

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[1] On November 8, 1528, at Bridewell, Henry spoke thus of Katharine to an assemblage of nobles, judges, counsellors, and others whose attendance had been commanded: "I assure you all that, beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is discended, (as you wel know,) she is a woman of moste *gentlenes,* of moste humilitie and buxumnes; yea, and of al good qualities apperteignynge to nobilitie she is wythoute comparyson, as I this .xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment; so that yf I were to mary agayne, if the mariage myght be good, I would surely chose her aboue al other women."—*Halle,* 755. In II. iv. 137-139, Henry praises her "sweet *gentlenesse,*" meekness, and obedience.

I free you from't; . . .
But will you be more iustifi'de? You euer
Haue wish'd the sleeping of this busines; . . .
My Conscience first receiu'd a tendernes,
Scruple, and pricke, *on certaine* Speeches vtter'd
By th' Bishop of Bayon, then *French Embassador;*
Who had beene hither sent on the debating
A[1] *Marriage* 'twixt *the Duke of Orleance, and*
Our Daughter Mary: i'th'Progresse of this busines,
Ere a determinate resolution, *hee*
(I meane the Bishop) did require a *respite;*
Wherein he might *the King his* Lord *aduértise,*
Whether our Daughter were *legitimate,*
Respecting *this* our *Marriage with* the Dowager,
Sometimes our *Brothers Wife.* This "respite" shooke
The bosome[2] *of my Conscience*, enter'd me,
Yea, with a splitting[3] power, and made to tremble
The region of my Breast; which forc'd such way,
That many maz'd considerings did throng,
And prest in with this Caution. First, me *thought*
I stood not in the smile of Heauen; who had
Commanded Nature, that my Ladies wombe,
If it conceiu'd a male-child by me, should
Doe no more Offices of life to't then
The Graue does to th' dead: for her *Male Issue*
Or *di'de* where they were made, or shortly *after*
This *world* had ayr'd them. Hence I tooke a thought,
This was a Iudgement on me; that my Kingdome
(Well worthy the best Heyre o'th' World) should not
Be gladded in't by me: then followes, that
I weigh'd *the danger* which my *Realmes stood in*
By this my issues faile; and that gaue to me
Many a groaning throw. Thus hulling in
The wild Sea of my Conscience, I did steere
Toward this remedy, whereupon we are
Now present heere together; that's to say,
I meant to rectifie *my Conscience* (which
I then did feele full sicke, and yet not well)
By all the Reuerend Fathers of the Land,
And Doctors learn'd.—First, I began in priuate
With *you, my Lord of Lincolne;* you remember
How vnder my oppression I did reeke,
When I first mou'd you.
B. Lin. Very well, my Liedge.
Kin. I haue spoke long: be pleas'd your selfe to say
How farre you satisfide me.
Lin. So please your Highnes,
The question did at first so stagger me,

[1] *A*] Rowe (ed. 2). *And* F.
[2] *bottom*] Theobald. Cp. next excerpt from *Hol.* [3] *splitting*] F2. *spitting* F.

(Bearing a State of mighty moment in't,
And consequence of dread,) that I committed
The daringst Counsaile which I had, to *doubt;*
And did entreate your Highnes to this course,
Which you are running heere.
Kin. *I* then *mou'd you,*
My Lord of Canterbury; and got your leaue
To make this present Summons: vnsolicited
I left no Reuerend Person in this Court;
But by particular consent proceeded
Vnder your hands and *Seales:* therefore, goe on;
For no dislike i'th' world against *the person*
Of the good Queene, but the sharpe thorny points
Of my alleadgëd reasons, driue'[1] this forward:
Proue but *our Marriage* lawfull, by my Life
And Kingly Dignity, we are *contented*
To weare our mortall State to come with her,
(Katherine our Queene,) before the primest Creature
That's Parragon'd o'th' World!

With these lines compare the speeches of Henry and Longland, as they appear in Holinshed:

[Wolsey did not wish the lawfulness of Henry's marriage to be examined.]

[*Hol.* iii. 907/2/46. *Stow*, 914.] "*My lord cardinall*" (quoth the king) "*I* can well *excuse you* in this matter, marrie" (quoth he) "you haue beene rather against me in the tempting heereof, than "a setter forward or moouer of the same. The speciall cause, that "mooued me vnto this matter, was a certeine scrupulositie that "pricked *my conscience,* vpon *certeine* words spoken at a time "*by the bishop*[2] *of Baion,* the *French ambassador,*[3] *who had beene* "*hither sent,* vpon *the debating* of *a marriage* to be concluded "betweene *our daughter* the ladie *Marie,* and *the duke of Orleance,* "second son to the king of France.

[The Princess Mary's legitimacy questioned.]

"Upon the resolution and determination whereof, *he* desired "*respit* to *aduertise the king his* maister thereof, *whether our* "*daughter* Marie should be *legitimate* in respect of *this* my "*marriage with* this woman, being *sometimes* my *brothers wife.*

The king confesseth that the sting of conscience

"Which words, once conceiued within *the* secret bottome *of my* "*conscience,* ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my con-

[1] *drive*] Pope. *driues* F

[2] *time by the bishop*] Cavendish. *time when it was, by the bishop* Hol. and Stow.

[3] A mistake. The ambassador to whom these words were officially attributed was Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes.

"science was incontinentlie accombred, vexed, and disquieted; *made him mislike this marriage.*
"whereby I *thought* my selfe to be greatlie in danger of God's
"indignation. Which appeared to be (as me seemed) the rather,
"for that he sent vs no issue male, and all such *issues male,* as my said
"wife had by me, *died* incontinent *after* they came into the *world;* [He had no male issue.]
"so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe.

"Thus, *my conscience* being tossed in the waues of a scrupulous
"mind, and partlie in despaire to haue [*p.* 908] anie other issue than
"I had alredie by this ladie now my wife, it behooued me further to
"consider the state of this *realme,* and *the danger* it *stood in* for [His realm was in danger for lack of a prince to succeed him.]
"lacke of a prince to succeed me. *I* thought it good in release of
"the weightie burthen of *my* weake *conscience,* . . . to attempt the
"law therin, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more
"lawfullie, . . . not for anie displeasure or misliking of *the*
"queenes *person* and age; with whome I would be as well *contented*
"*to* continue, if *our mariage* may stand with the laws of God, as
"with anie woman aliue.

"In this point consisteth all this doubt that we go about now
"to trie by the learning, wisedome, and iudgement of you our
"prelats and pastors of all this our realme and dominions, now
"heere assembled for that purpose; . . . Wherein, after that I
"perceiued my conscience so doubtfull, I mooued it in confession
"to *you, my Lord of Lincolne,* then ghostlie father. And, for so [He moved the matter in confession to Longland; and obtained licence to try it from Warham and the other bishops.]
"much as then you your selfe were in some *doubt,* you mooued me
"to aske the counsell of all these my lords: wherevpon *I mooued*
"*you, my lord of Canturburie,* first to haue your licence, in as much
"as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in question, and
"so I did of all you, my lords: to which you granted *vnder your*
"*seales,* heere to be shewed."

At the close of Henry's speech Campeggio says (ll. 230-235):

Camp. So please your Highnes,
The Queene being absent, 'tis a needfull fitnesse,
That we *adiourne* this *Court till* further *day;* 232
Meane while must be an earnest motion
Made to *the Queene, to call backe her Appeale*
She intends vnto his Holinesse.

Holinshed omitted a dispute between Warham and Fisher, which succeeded the royal speech, and was silenced by Henry.

[*Hol.* iii. 908/1/33. *Stow,* 915.] After that the king rose [The court adjourned.]
vp, and the *court* was *adiourn*ed vn*till* another *daie.*

Notwithstanding Katharine's appeal,

[*Hol.* iii. 908/1/45. *Polyd. Verg.*, 688/11.] the legats sat weekelie, and euerie daie were arguments brought in on both parts, and proofes alleaged for the vnderstanding of the case, and still they assaied if they could by anie meanes procure *the queene to call backe hir appeale*, which she vtterlie refused to doo.

[Katharine urged to call back her appeal.]

Campeggio's proposal to adjourn is accepted by Henry (l. 240), but not without an aside (ll. 235-237):

Kin. I may perceiue
These Cardinals trifle with me: I abhorre 235
This dilatory sloth, and trickes of Rome.

Holinshed copied Polydore Vergil's remark (688/14) that the

[*Hol.* iii. 908/1/50.] king would gladlie haue had an end in the matter, but, when the legats draue time, and determined vpon no certeine point, he conceiued a suspicion that this was doone of purpose, that their dooings might draw to none effect or conclusion.

The king mistrusteth the legats of seeking delaies.

Act III. sc. i.—"Enter Queene and her Women, as at worke." A Gentleman announces that

the two great Cardinals 16
Wait in the presence.
Queen. Would they speake with me?
Gent. They wil'd me say so, Madam.

Katharine bids her Gentleman invite them to "come neere" (l. 19); and presently the Cardinals enter.

The court at Black-Friars closed its sessions in the latter part of July, 1529.[1] It was opened, as we have seen (p. 458, n. 1, above) on June 18. Time passed in fruitless discussion, until one day, after the court had adjourned, Henry's impatience obliged Wolsey and Campeggio to make a direct appeal to Katharine.[2]

Wols. Peace to your Highnesse!
Queen. Your Graces find me heere part of a Houswife: 24
I would be all, against the worst may happen.
What are *your pleasures with me*, reuerent Lords?
Wol. May *it please* you, Noble Madam, *to* withdraw
Into your priuate *Chamber*, *we* shall giue *you* 28
The full *cause of our comming.*
Queen. *Speake it* heere:
There's nothing I haue done yet, o' my Conscience,
Deserues a Corner: would all other Women

[1] "Cardinall Campeius sayd y^t they myght not syt after Iuly, tyll October, all whyche season was a vacacyon in the Courte of Rome, and, their court beynge a member of the Courte of Rome, they must nedes do the same."—*Halle*, 758.

[2] *Cavendish*, i. 160, 161.

Could speake this with as free a Soule as I doe!
My Lords, I care not, (so much I am happy
Aboue a number,) if my actions
Were tri'de by eu'ry tongue, eu'ry eye saw 'em,
Enuy and base opinion set against 'em,
I know my life so euen. . . .
Out with it boldly! . . .
Card. [*Wol.*] Tanta est erga te mentis integritas, Regina serenissima,—
Queen. O, *good my Lord*, no Latin! . . .
Pray, *speake in English!*

Wolsey replies (ll. 54-61):

We come not by the way of Accusation,
To taint that honour euery good Tongue blesses,
Nor to betray you any way to sorrow;
(You haue too much, good Lady!) but *to know*
How you stand minded *in* the waighty difference
Betweene the King and you; and to deliuer,
Like free and honest men, *our* iust *opinions*,
And comforts to your[1] cause.
Camp. Most honour'd Madam,
My Lord of Yorke, (out of his Noble nature,
Zeale and obedience he still bore *your Grace*,)
Forgetting, like a good man, your late Censure
Both of his truth and him, which was too farre,
Offers, as I doe, in a signe of peace,
His Seruice and his Counsell.

"To betray me," Katharine murmurs. Then she addresses the Cardinals (ll. 68-80):

My Lords, I thanke you both *for your good wills;*
Ye speake like honest men; (pray God, ye proue so!)
But how *to make* ye *sodainly* an *Answere*,
In such a poynt of weight, so neere mine Honour,
(More neere my Life, I feare,) with my weake wit,
And to such men of grauity and learning,
In truth, I know not. *I was* set *at worke*
Among my Maids; full little (God knowes) looking
Either for such men, or *such* businesse.
For her sake that I haue beene, (for I feele
The last fit of my Greatnesse,) good your Graces,
Let me haue time and Councell for my Cause.
Alas, I am a Woman frendlesse, hopelesse!
Wol. Madam, you wrong the Kings loue with these feares:
Your hopes and friends are infinite.
Queen. *In England*
But little *for my profit:* can *you thinke, Lords*,
That *any English man* dare giue *me* Councell?

[1] *your*] F2. *om.* F1.

Or be a knowne *friend, 'gainst* his Highnes *pleasure,*
(Though he be growne so desperate to be honest,)
And liue a *Subiect? Nay, forsooth,* my Friends,
They that must weigh out my afflictions, 88
They that *my trust* must grow to, liue *not heere:*
They are (as all my other comforts) far hence,
In mine owne Countrey, Lords.

Queene Katharine and the cardinals haue communication in hir priuie chamber [; but at first she required them to speak in her Presence Chamber].

[*Hol.* iii. 908/2/2. *Stow,* 916.] The cardinals being in the queenes chamber of presence, the gentleman usher aduertised the queene that the cardinals were come to speake with hir. With that she rose vp, &, with a skeine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, where the cardinals were attending. At whose comming quoth she, "*What* is *your plesure* "*with me?*" "If *it please* your grace" (quoth cardinall Wolseie) "*to* go *into your* priuie *chamber, we* will shew *you the cause of our* "*comming.*" "My lord" (quoth she) "if yee haue anie thing to "saie, *speake it* openlie before all these folke; for I feare nothing "that yee can saie against me, but that I would all the world "should heare and see it, and therefore speake your mind." Then began the cardinall to speake to hir in Latine. "Naie, *good my* "*lord*" (quoth she) "*speake* to me *in English.*"[1]

[Wolsey addressed her in Latin.]

[He and Campeggio desired to know her mind in regard to the marriage question, and to counsel her.]

"Forsooth" (quoth the cardinall) "good madame, if it please "you, *we come* both *to know* your mind *how you* are disposed to "doo *in* this matter *betweene the king and you, and* also *to* declare "secretlie *our opinions and* counsell vnto you: which we doo "onelie for verie *zeale and obedience* we beare vnto *your grace.*" "*My lord*" (quoth she) "*I thanke you for your good will; but to* "*make* you *answer* in your request I cannot so *suddenlie,* for *I was* "set *among my maids at worke,* thinking *full little* of anie *such* "matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better "head than mine to make answer: for I need counsell in this case "which toucheth me so neere, & for anie counsell or freendship "that I can find *in England,* they are not *for my profit.* What, "*thinke you,* my *lords,* will *anie Englishman* counsell *me, or be*

The queene refuseth to make sudden answer in so weightie a matter as the diuorse [: she had just come from working with her maids].

[She said that no

[1] *speake to me in English, for I can (I thanke God) both speake and vnderstand English, although I vnderstand some latin.*] Stow., om. Hol. Cp. Katharine's words (III. i. 43, 44):

"I am not such a Truant since my comming,
As not to know the Language I haue liu'd in": . . .

"*freend* to me *against* the K[ings] *pleasure* that is his *subiect?* "*Naie, forsooth.* And as for my counsell in whom I will put *my* "*trust, they* be *not here, they* be in Spaine *in my owne countrie.* [Englishman could advise her; her friends were in Spain.]

"And, my lords, I am a poore woman, lacking wit, to answer "to anie such noble persons of wisedome as you be, in so weightie "a matter, therefore I praie you be good to me, poore woman, "destitute of freends here in a forren region," . . . [She entreated the cardinals' pity.]

Campeggio responds by offering his counsel (ll. 93-97):

> Put your maine cause into the King's protection;
> Hee's louing and most gracious: 'twill *be much*
> Both for your *Honour better*, and your Cause;
> For, if *the tryall of* the *Law* o'retake ye, 96
> You'l part away disgrac'd.

The object of the Cardinals' mission to Katharine was

[*Hol.* iii. 908/1/70. *Stow*, 916.] to persuade with hir by their wisdoms, and to aduise hir to surrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne consent & will, which should *be much better* to hir *honour*, than to stand to *the triall of law*, and thereby to be condemned, which should seeme much to hir dishonour. [Henry wished Katharine to leave the settlement of the marriage question to him.]

Katharine's anger is roused by this perfidious advice, but, growing calm at last, she says, as the scene ends (ll. 181, 182):

> Come, reuerend Fathers,
> Bestow *your Councels* on me!

We are not told by Cavendish how Katharine received the legates' proposition.[1] After her appeal,—"I praie you be good to me, poore woman, destitute of freends here in a forren region,"—she added:

[*Hol.* iii. 908/2/41. *Stow*, 917.] "and *your counsell* also I will be "glad to heare." And therewith she tooke the cardinall [Wolsey] by the hand, and led him into hir priuie chamber with the other cardinall, where they tarried a season talking with the queene. [She retired with the cardinals to her Privy Chamber.]

Act III. sc. ii.—Norfolk, Suffolk, "Surrey," and the Lord Chamberlain enter. Norfolk says (ll. 1-3):

> If you will now vnite in your Complaints,
> And force them with a Constancy, the Cardinall
> Cannot stand vnder them: . . .

Suffolk explains how Wolsey has forfeited Henry's favour (ll. 30-36):

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[1] *Cavendish* says (i. 164) that "we, in the other chamber, might sometime hear the queen speak very loud, but what it was we could not understand."

The Cardinals Letters to the Pope miscarried,
And came to th'eye o'th'King: wherein was read,
How that the Cardinall did intreat his Holinesse 32
To stay the Iudgement o'th'Diuorce; for if
It did take place, "I do" (quoth he) "perceiue
"My King is tangled in affection to
"A Creature of the Queenes, Lady Anne Bullen." 36

After a while Wolsey enters and soliloquizes upon his intention of uniting Henry to the Duchess of Alençon,[1] for the purpose of preventing the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn (ll. 85-101). Soon Henry enters and elicits from Wolsey great professions of loyalty, which the King brings to a close by giving the Cardinal two papers, with these words (ll. 201-203):

Read o're this;
And after, this [the Letter to the Pope]; and then to Breakfast with
What appetite you haue!
[Exit King, frowning vpon the Cardinall: the Nobles throng after him, smiling and whispering.

Polydore Vergil (688/16) was the original authority for part of my next excerpt, down to the sentence ending, "honor and dignitie." He asserts that, while the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was being debated at Black-Friars,

The kings affection and good will to the ladie Anne Bullen.

[*Hol.* iii. 908/2/70.] the cardinall of Yorke was aduised that the king had set his affection vpon a yoong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the queene. This was a [*p.* 909] great griefe vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the diuorse tooke place. Wherfore he began with all diligence to disappoint that match, which, by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in, the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the iudgement of the diuorse, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose.

[If Henry were divorced he would marry Anne Boleyn.]

The secret working and dissimulation of cardinall Wolseie [to hinder the divorce].

Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, but that the same came to the kings knowledge, who tooke so high displeasure with such his cloked dissimulation, that he determined to abase his degree, sith as an vnthankefull person he forgot himselfe and

The king cõceiueth displeasure against the cardinall [on this account].

[1] An anachronism. See p. 453, n. 2, above.

his dutie towards him that had so highlie aduanced him to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceiued the cardinall to be in displeasure, they began to accuse him of such offenses as they knew might be proued against him, and thereof they made a booke conteining certeine articles, to which diuerse of the kings councell set their hands.

Edw. Hall [, 759].

Articles exhibited against the cardinall [by the nobles].

Before Wolsey entered, Suffolk mentioned (ll. 56-60) a circumstance which would be sure to confirm the resentment felt by Henry on discovering the letter to the Pope.

Cardinall Campeius
Is stolne away to Rome ; hath ta'ne no leaue ;
Ha's left the cause o'th'King vnhandled ; and
Is posted, as the Agent of our Cardinall,
To second all his plot.

When the day came for the Legates' judgment to be delivered, Campeggio thus addressed the Court assembled at Black-Friars :[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 908/2/57. *Stow*, 917.] "I will not giue iudgement "till I haue made relation to the pope of all our proceedings; "whose counsell and commandement in this case I will obserue: "the case is verie doubtfull, and also the partie defendant will "make no answer here, but dooth rather appeale from vs, suppos- "ing that we be not indifferent. Wherfore I will adiourne this "court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome." And with that the court was dissolued, and no more doone. This protracting of the conclusion of the matter, king Henrie tooke verie displeasantlie. Then cardinall Campeius tooke his leaue of the king[2] and nobilitie, and returned towards Rome.

Cardinall Campeius refuseth to giue iudgement.

[The Court was dissolved, and Campeggio returned to Rome.]

From my last excerpt it appears that Campeggio took leave of Henry before returning to Rome. The Legate's clandestine departure was perhaps inferred by the dramatist from the somewhat misleading expressions used by Foxe,[3] who says (ii. 967/2) that Campeggio

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[1] On July 23 Campeggio prorogued the Court to October 1, 1529.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. p. 2589.

[2] Campeggio took leave of Henry at Grafton Regis, on September 20, 1529. —Alward to Cromwell (*Ellis*, I. i. 309). *Cavendish*, i. 179. The testimony of Alward and Cavendish—both of whom accompanied Wolsey to Grafton—does not differ save in regard to the time of the day when Campeggio and Wolsey took leave of Henry.

[3] At the end of the paragraph which contains my quotation, *Foxe* gives as a reference, "Ex Hallo." *Halle* (759) records Campeggio's farewell of Henry.

[Campeggio left Henry's cause undetermined.]

craftily shifted hym self out of the realme before the day came appoynted for determination, leauing his suttle felow behynd hym to wey with the king in the meane time, while the matter might be brought vp to the court of Rome.

In a subsequent reference to the same subject Foxe adds (ii. 1023/1) that, when the Legates observed the dangerous tendency of the question which they were expected to decide,

[Henry had a liking for Anne Boleyn, who was a Lutheran.]

Cardinall Campeius slippeth frō the kyng.

& especially because the Cardinall of Yorke perceaued the kyng to cast fauour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be *a Lutheran*,[1] they thought best to winde them selues out of that brake by tyme, & so Cardinal Campeius, dissemblyng the matter, conueyed himselfe home to Rome agayne, . . .

While Wolsey was musing, Henry entered "reading of a Scedule" (l. 106). Showing it to Norfolk and Suffolk the King said, with reference to Wolsey (ll. 120-128):

> This morning,
> Papers of State he sent me to peruse,
> As I requir'd: and wot you what I found
> There, (on my Conscience, put vnwittingly?)
> Forsooth, an Inuentory, thus importing,
> The seuerall parcels of his Plate, his Treasure,
> Rich Stuffes, and Ornaments of Houshold, which
> I finde at such proud Rate, that it out-speakes
> Possession of a Subiect.

Steevens pointed out (*Var. Sh.*, xix. 412) that a somewhat similar mischance befel Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, who had two books precisely like in outward appearance, one describing "the whole estate of the kingdome," the other containing an account of his private means. Henry VIII. sent Wolsey for the former book, and Ruthal inadvertently gave the private volume

[*Hol.* iii. 796/2/60.] to the cardinall to beare vnto the king.

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[1] When Wolsey is soliloquizing on the necessity of preventing Anne Boleyn from becoming Queen, he says (III. ii. 97-101):

> "What though I know her *vertuous*
> And well deseruing? yet I know her for
> *A* spleeny *Lutheran*; and not wholsome to
> Our cause, that she should lye i' th' bosome of
> Our hard rul'd King."

Elsewhere (ii. 1056/1) *Foxe* speaks thus of Anne Boleyn: "But because touchyng the memorable vertues of this worthy Queene, partly we haue sayd some thyng before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her *vertuous* life (the Lord so permittyng) by other who then were about her, I will cease in this matter further to proceede." I find no mention in *Halle* or *Hol.* of her Lutheranism.

The cardinall, hauing the booke, went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by himselfe) vnderstanding the contents thereof, he greatlie reioised; hauing now occasion (which he long sought for) offered vnto him to bring the bishop into the king's disgrace.

The bishops owne booke disaduantageable to himselfe.

Wherefore he went foorthwith to the king, deliuered the booke into his hands, and breefelie informed the king of the contents thereof; putting further into the kings head, that if at anie time he were destitute of a masse of monie, he should not need to seeke further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred thousand pounds.

The "Scedule," which Henry entered reading, is the first of the two papers examined by Wolsey when the King and Nobles are gone. It proves to be

> th'Accompt
> Of all that world of Wealth I haue drawne together
> For mine owne ends; indeed, to gaine the Popedome, 212
> And fee my Friends in Rome.

In February, 1529, false news of the Pope's death reached England.[1] Wolsey aspired after the Papacy, and therefore wrote to Gardiner,

[*Foxe*, ii. 963/2.] willing hym to sticke for no coste, so farre as sixe or seuen thousand poundes woulde stretche: for more he sayd he would not geue for the triple crowne.[2]

[Wolsey's bid for the triple crown.]

Finding the second paper to be the letter to the Pope, Wolsey despairs of regaining Henry's confidence (ll. 220-227). Then re-enter

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[1] *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5269.

[2] Gardiner was journeying towards Rome in January, 1529.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5237. He reached it on February 15, 1529.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5294. In February, 1529, Henry, believing Clement to be dead, sent instructions to Gardiner and others that they should, if necessary, endeavour to procure Wolsey's election as Pope by "promises of spiritual promotions, offices, dignities, rewards of money, and other things, to show them what Wolsey will give up if he enters into this dangerous storm and troublous tempest for the relief of the Church; all of which benefices shall be given to the King's friends, besides other large rewards."—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5270. *Foxe*, ii. 965/2. Henry hoped thus to be divorced from Katharine by Papal sanction, which Wolsey would grant.—*Ibid.* *Foxe* printed a letter from Wolsey to Gardiner (ii. 964/1. *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5272) in which general directions to make promises are given, but no specific sum of money is named. I suspect *Foxe's* 6000 or 7000 pounds for the Popedom to be the 5000 or 6000 ducats offered by Wolsey for bulls to hold Winchester.—Wolsey to Sir Gregory Casale and Peter Vannes, Feb. 20, 1529 (*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 5313).

(III. ii.) "the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the Earle of Surrey,[1] and the Lord Chamberlaine."

Nor. Heare *the King's pleasure,* Cardinall: who commands you
To *render vp the Great Seale* presently
Into our *hands;* and to Confine your selfe
To Asher-house, my Lord *of Winchesters,*[2]
Till you heare further from his Highnesse.
Car. Stay:
Where's your *Commission,* Lords? words cannot carrie
Authority so weighty.
Suf. Who dare crosse 'em,
Bearing *the Kings* will from his *mouth* expressely?
Car. Till I finde more then will or words to do it,
(I meane your malice,) know, Officious Lords,
I dare, and must deny it. . . .
That Seale,
You aske with such a Violence, the King,
(Mine and your Master,) with his owne hand, gaue me;
Bad me *enioy* it, with the Place and Honors,
During my *life;* and, to confirme his Goodnesse,
Ti'de it by *Letters Patents:* . . .

On October 16 (?), 1529,

The cardinall is loth to part from the great seale.

[*Hol.* iii. 909/1/39. *Stow,* 918.] the king sent the two dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Westminster, who went as they were commanded, and, finding the cardinall there, they declared that *the kings pleasure* was that he should sur*render vp the great seale into* their *hands,* and to depart simplie vn*to Asher,* which was an house situat nigh vnto Hampton court, belonging to the bishoprike *of Winchester.* The cardinall demanded of them their *commission* that gaue them such *authoritie;* who answered againe, that they were sufficient commissioners, and had authoritie to doo no lesse by *the kings mouth.* Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie, saieng: that the great seale was deliuered him by the kings person, to *inioy* the ministration thereof, with the roome of the chancellor for the terme of his *life,* whereof for his suertie he had the kings *letters patents.*

[He was ordered to depart to Esher.]

[He demanded the dukes' authority.]

[And refused to surrender the Great Seal, which Henry had given him for life.]

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[1] Norfolk and "Surrey" are historically one; the dramatic twain forming the historical third Duke of Norfolk, whose "Father-in-law" was "Noble Buckingham" (III. ii. 256).

[2] The Bishopric of Winchester became vacant by the death of Richard Foxe in 1528.—*Godwin,* 246. Wolsey afterwards held the see *in commendam,* and was succeeded by Stephen Gardiner.—*Ibid.,* 247. Gardiner is, perhaps, the dramatist's "Lord of Winchester."

Holinshed—copying Stow (919), whose authority was Cavendish (i. 181)—tells us that Wolsey steadily refused to surrender the Great Seal to Norfolk and Suffolk; so that, after the matter had been

[*Hol.* iii. 909/1/58. *Stow*, 919.] greatlie debated betweene them with manie great words,[1]. . . the dukes were faine to depart againe without their purpose, and rode to Windsore to the king, and made report accordinglie; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. Then the cardinall deliuered vnto them the great seale,[2] and was content to depart simplie, taking with him nothing but onelie certeine prouision for his house: and after long talke betweene him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of England, and brought the same to the king.

[Wolsey and the dukes debated the matter with 'manie great words.']

The cardinall discharged of y^e great seale.

"Surrey" reviles Wolsey, and at last desires Norfolk to produce certain articles which have been framed against the Cardinal. But, as these articles are "in the Kings hand" (l. 299), the nobles rehearse them from memory, "Surrey" beginning:[3]

[1] *First, That, without the Kings assent* or knowledge,
You wrought *to be a Legate; by* which power
You maim'd the Iurisdiction *of all Bishops.* 312
[2] *Nor.* Then, That *in all* you writ *to Rome, or* else
To *Forraigne Princes*, "*Ego & Rex meus*"
Was still inscrib'd; in which you brought *the King*
To be your *Seruant.*
[4] *Suf.* Then, That, *without* the knowledge 316
Either of King or Councell, *when* you went
Ambassador to the Emperor, you made bold
To carry *into Flanders the Great Seale.*
[5] Sur. *Item*, You *sent a* large *Commission* 320
To Gregory de Cassado, to conclude,
Without the Kings will, or the States allowance,
A League betweene his Highnesse *and Ferrara.*

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[1] *great and heinous words*] Stow (919). *stout words* Cavendish (i. 182).
[2] On October 17, 1529.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 6025.
[3] Surrey prefaces the articles by saying (III. ii. 294-296):

"Ile startle you
Worse then the Sacring Bell, when the browne Wench
Lay kissing in your Armes, Lord Cardinall!"

Boswell (*Var. Sh.*, xix. 424) illustrated these lines by a story of "a cardynall of Rome" [the Legate John of Crema], who caused much scandal; "for, in y^e euenyng, after he had lewdely blowen his horne, & sayd it was a detestable synne to aryse from y^e syde of a Strumpet, & sacre y^e Body of Cryste, he was taken with a strumpet, to his open shame and rebuke."—*Fab.*, 259. Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Savile, 1596, p. 219)—who was, perhaps, *Fab.'s* authority—places this event under the year 1125.

[7] Suf. *That,* out of meere Ambition, you haue *caus'd*
Your Holy-*Hat to be* stampt *on the Kings Coine.*
[9] *Sur.* Then, *That* you haue *sent innumerable substance*
(By what meanes got, I leaue to your owne conscience)
To furnish *Rome,* and to prepare the wayes
You haue for *Dignities; to the* meere vndooing
Of all *the* Kingdome. *Many more* there are;
Which, since they are of you, and odious,
I will not taint my mouth with.

In December, 1529,[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 912/2/15. *Halle,* 767.] was brought downe to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king against the cardinall;[2] the chiefe wherof were these:

Articles exhibited against the cardinall of Yorke.

1 *First, that* he *without the kings assent* had procured *to be a legat,* by reason whereof he tooke awaie the right *of all bishops* and spirituall persons.

2 Item, *in all* writings which he wrote *to Rome, or* anie other *foreign prince,* he wrote *Ego & rex meus,* I and my king: as who would saie that *the king* were his *seruant.*[3] . . .

4 Item, he *without* the kings assent carried *the* kings *great seale* with him *into Flanders, when* he was sent *ambassador to the emperour.*

5 *Item,* he, without the kings assent, *sent a commission to* sir *Gregorie de Cassado,*[4] knight, *to conclude a league betweene* the king *&* the duke of *Ferrar, without the kings* knowledge. . . .

7 Item, *that* he *caused* the cardinals *hat to be* put *on the kings coine.* . . .

9 Item, *that* he had *sent innumerable substance to Rome,* for the obteining of his *dignities; to the* great impouerishment *of the* realme.

These articles, with *manie more,* read in the common house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was [*sic*] confessed by him.

Before the nobles leave Wolsey, Suffolk adds (ll. 337-344):

Suf. Lord Cardinall, the Kings further pleasure is,
(Because *all those things* you haue *done* of late,

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[1] December 1 is the date of the Articles.—*Calendar (Hen. VIII.),* IV. iii. p. 2714. Parliament was prorogued on December 17.—*Halle,* 768.

[2] See p. 471 above.

[3] Halle has misquoted this article. Wolsey was accused (4) of "having in divers letters and instructions to foreign parts used the expression, 'the King and I,' . . . using himself more like a fellow to your Highness than a subject."—*Calendar (Hen. VIII.),* IV. iii. p. 2712.

[4] Sir Gregory Casale.

By your *power Legatine*,[1] *within this* Kingdome,
Fall *into th'*compasse *of* a *Premunire*,) 340
That therefore such *a Writ* be sued *against* you;
To forfeit all your *Goods, Lands, Tenements,*
Catalles,[2] and whatsoeuer, *and to be*
Out of the Kings protection. This is my Charge. 344

In October, 1529,[3]

[*Hol.* iii. 909/1/32. *Halle*, 760.] the king (being informed that *all those things*, that the cardinall had *doone by* his *power legatine*[4] *within this* realme, were *in the* case *of* the *premunire* and prouision) caused his atturneie Christopher Hales to sue out *a writ* of premunire *against* him; in the which he licenced him to make his atturneie.

The cardinall sued in a premunire.

After Wolsey's retirement to Esher,

[*Hol.* iii. 909/2/43. *Halle*, 760.] in the kings bench, his matter for the premunire, being called vpon, two atturneis, which he had authorised by his warrant signed with his owne hand, confessed the action;[5] and so had iudgement *to forfeit all* his *lands, tenements, goods*, and *cattels, and to be out of the kings protection*: . . .

Iohn Scute, and Edmund Iennie [, Wolsey's attornies].

The cardinall condemned in a premunire.

Wolsey's soliloquy on his fall (ll. 351-372) succeeds the nobles' departure. Then Thomas Cromwell enters; and, in response to Wolsey's question, "What Newes abroad?" answers (ll. 393, 394)

that Sir Thomas Moore is chosen
Lord Chancellor in your place.

On October 25, 1529,[6]

[*Hol.* iii. 910/2/6. *Halle*, 761.] was sir Thomas Moore made lord chancellor.

Sir Thomas Moore lord chancellor.

At the close of the trial-scene (II. iv. 238-240) Henry muttered:

My learn'd and welbelouëd Seruant, Cranmer,
Prethee, returne: with thy approch, I know,
My comfort comes along.

In this scene (III. ii. 64-67) Suffolk told Norfolk that Cranmer

is return'd in his Opinions; which 64
Haue satisfied the King for his Diuorce,

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[1] *Legatine*] Rowe (ed. 2). *Legatiue* F.
[2] *Catalles*] Halle. *Castles* F. *Chattels* Theobald.
[3] October 9 is the date of the bill of indictment preferred by Hales against Wolsey.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 6035.
[4] *legatine*] *legantine* Hol.
[5] On October 30, 1529.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 6035.
[6] *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. 6025.

Together with all famous Colledges
Almost in Christendome: . . .

Suffolk then (l. 74) declared that Cranmer's services were to be rewarded with an archbishopric; and now (ll. 401, 402) Cromwell answers Wolsey's request for more news by the information

That Cranmer is return'd with welcome; 400
Install'd Lord Arch-byshop of Canterbury.

We learn from Foxe (ii. 1754/1) that Cranmer was employed by Henry to write a book in defence of

his [Cranmer's] opinion, whiche was this: that the Bishop of Rome had no suche authoritie as whereby he might dispence with the word of God and the Scripture. . . . And thus, by meanes of D. Cranmers handlyng of this matter with the Kyng, not onely certane learned men were sent abroade to the most part of the vniuersities in Christendome, to dispute the question, but also the same beyng by Commission disputed by the diuines in both the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxforde, it was there concluded that no suche matrimonie was by the word of God lawfull. Whereupon a solemne ambassage was then prepared and sent to the Bishop of Rome, then [March, 1530][1] beyng at Bonony, wherin went the Earle of Wiltshiere, D. Cranmer, D. Stokesley, D. Carne, D. Benet, and diuers other learned men & gentlemen.

[The question of the King's marriage was disputed in the universities abroad and at home.]

The kinges mariage found by Gods word unlawfull.

Doctour Cranmer with other sent to Rome Ambassadour to the Pope.

When the embassy returned to England, Cranmer went to Germany, and discussed the question of Henry's marriage with "diuers learned men" of that nation;

[*Foxe*, ii. 1754/2.] who, verye ambiguouslye heretofore conceiuyng the cause, were fully resolued and satisfied by hym.

[Cranmer satisfied the doubts of the German divines touching Henry's cause.]

This matter thus prosperyng on Doct. Cranmers behalfe, aswell touchyng the kinges question as concernyng the inualiditie of the bishop of Romes authoritie, Bishop Warrham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, wherby that dignity, then beyng in the kynges gift and disposition, was immediatly giuen to Doctour Cranmer,[2] as worthy, for his trauaile, of suche a promotion.

Doctour Cranmer made Archbishop of Cant.

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[1] *Halle*, 769.

[2] Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury on March 30, 1533. —*Reg. Sacr. Angl.*, 76.

Suffolk, as we have seen (p. 478 above), speaks of the sanction given to Henry's divorce by "famous Colledges" abroad. These "determinations" were made known to the Commons on March 30, 1531, by Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, who, after reminding the House of the doubtful legality of Henry's marriage, proceeded thus:

[*Hol.* iii. 923/2/28. *Halle*, 775.] "Wherefore the king, like a "vertuous prince, willing to be satisfied in his conscience, & also "for the suertie of his realme, hath, with great deliberation, con- "sulted with profound clerkes, & hath sent my lord of London "here present, to the chiefe vniuersities of all christendome, to "know their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And "although that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had "beene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet, bicause they be in his "realme, and to auoid all suspicion of parcialitie, he hath sent "into the realme of France, Italie, the popes dominions, and "Venecians, to know their iudgement in that behalfe, which haue "concluded, written, and sealed their determinations according as "you shall heare read."

Namelie, Edmund Bonner [John Stokesley. See p. 487, below].

Before Wolsey's entrance the Lord Chamberlain asserted that Henry had "already" married Anne Boleyn (III. ii. 41, 42). Suffolk believed that "shortly" the King's

> second Marriage shall be publishd, and 68
> Her Coronation. *Katherine no more*
> Shall *be call'd Queene, but Princesse Dowager,*
> And *Widdow* to *Prince Arthur.*

The last piece of news which Cromwell tells Wolsey is

> that the Lady *Anne,*
> Whom the King hath in secrecie long married,
> This day was view'd in open as his Queene, 404
> Going to Chappell; and the voyce is now
> Onely about her Corronatiön.

The exact date of Anne Boleyn's marriage cannot be ascertained.[1]

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[1] Cranmer—writing on June 17, 1533, to our ambassador at the Emperor's Court—says: "But nowe Sir you may nott ymagyn that this Coronacion [Anne Boleyn's coronation, described in a previous part of the letter] was before her mariege, for she was maried muche about sainte Paules daye last [January 25, 1533], as the condicion therof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe sumwhat bygg with chylde. Notwithstandyng yt hath byn reported thorowte a greate parte of the realme that I maried her; whiche was playnly false, for I myself knewe not therof a fortenyght after yt was donne."—*Ellis*, I. ii. 39. According to *Stow* (946) Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn on January 25, 1533. On April 9, 1533, Norfolk told the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, that Henry had married Anne more than two

According to Halle, Henry, after taking leave of Francis on October 30, 1532,

The king returneth into England. He marrieth the lady Anne Bullongne.

[*Hol.* iii. 929/1/56. *Halle*, 794.] staied at Calis for a conuenient wind till tuesdaie the twelfth[1] of Nouember at midnight, and then taking his ship, landed at Douer the next daie about fiue of the clocke in the morning. And herewith vpon his returne, he married priuilie the ladie Anne Bullongne the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of Nouember, and the feast daie of saint Erkenwald; which marriage was kept so secret, that verie few knew it till Easter next insuing, when it was perceiued that she was with child.

On April 12 (Easter Eve), 1533, Anne Boleyn

Queene Anne['s coronation day appointed].

[*Hol.* iii. 929/2/40. *Halle*, 795.] went to hir closet openlie as queene; and then the king appointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on Whitsundaie next following: . . .

In 1533,[2] it was enacted by Parliament

Queene Katharine to be named princesse Dowager.

[*Hol.* iii. 929/2/29. *Halle*, 795.] that queene *Katharine* should *no more be called queene, but princesse Dowager*, as the *widow* of *prince Arthur*.

Dismissing Cromwell, Wolsey says:

> Seeke the King;
> (That Sun, I pray, may neuer set!) I haue told him
> What, and how true, thou art: he will aduance thee; . . . 416

Cromwell answers:

> Beare witnesse, all that haue not hearts of Iron, 424
> With what a sorrow Cromwel leaues his Lord!
> The King shall haue my seruice; but my prayres,
> For euer and for euer, shall be yours.

---

months ago.—Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, ii., appendix, note D, p. 339 (citing Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 41). On May 10, 1533, Chapuys wrote that the marriage was generally believed to have taken place on January 25.—*Ibid.* (citing Vienna Archives, P.C. 228, i. fol. 61).

[1] *thirteenth*] Hol. Tuesday was November 12. *Hol.* was misled by a mistake in *Halle* (794), whereby we read that Henry "landed at Douer the morowe after [Tuesday], beyng the .xiiii. daie of Nouember." As November 14 is the feast of S. Erkenwald, *Hol.* was betrayed into the further error of assigning Henry's landing and marriage to "the same daie." *Halle* says (794): "The kyng, after his returne, maried priuily the lady Anne Bulleyn, on sainct Erkenwaldes daie," . . .

[2] *Halle*, 795. The act is 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22 (*Statutes*, iii. 472).

Cromwell was in Wolsey's service[1] for

[*Foxe*, ii. 1150/2.] a certayne space of yeares, growing vp in office and authoritie, till at length he was preferred to be sollicitour to the Cardinall. *Cromwell solliciter to the Cardinall.*

In Lent, 1530,[2] "diuerse" of Wolsey's

[*Hol.* iii. 913/2/17. *Halle*, 769.] seruants departed from him to the kings seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell, one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe dooer for him in the suppression of abbeies. *Thomas Crumwell aduanced to the kings seruice.*

Having obtained a seat in the Parliament which met on November 3, 1529, Cromwell answered every charge made against Wolsey in the Commons; and thus, for his

[*Stow*, 926. *Cavendish*, i. 208.] behauior in his Masters cause, he grew into such estimation in euerie mans opinion, that hee was esteemed to be the most[3] faithfull seruaunt to his Master of all other; wherein hee was greatlie of all men commended. [Cromwell praised for his fidelity to Wolsey.]

From the same source (*Stow*, 930; *Cavendish*, i. 229) we learn that Cromwell was esteemed not only for his ability, but also for his

true and faithfull demeanor towards his lord and master.

After again commending Cromwell to Henry's service, Wolsey says:

> prythee, leade me in:
> There take an Inuentory of all I haue,
> To the last peny; 'tis the Kings: . . . 452

On October 17, 1529, when Norfolk and Suffolk had departed with the Great Seal, Wolsey

[*Hol.* iii. 909/1/69. *Stow*, 919.] called all his officers before him, and tooke accompt of them for all such stuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his gallerie were set diuerse tables, where-vpon laie a great number of goodlie rich stuffe, as whole peeces of *The cardinall calleth all his officers to accounts.*

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[1] A petition placed after the grants of December 1524 is addressed to "Master Cromwell, councillor to the lorde Legate."—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. i. 979. There are earlier papers in Cromwell's handwriting relating to Wolsey's public business; for example, a draft of a petition dated September 22, 1524.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. i. 681.

[2] In Lent, 1530, Wolsey was ordered by Henry to reside in the province of York.—*Halle*, 769. Cromwell then left Wolsey and became Henry's servant. —*Ibid.* Wolsey set forth on his journey northwards in the beginning of Passion Week (April 11, 1530.)—*Cavendish*, i. 241.

[3] *cause, he grew . . . the most*] Cavendish. *cause, grew so in euerie mans opinion, how that hee was the most* Hol. and Stow.

silke of all colours, veluet, sattin, damaske, taffata, grograine, and other things. Also, there laie a thousand peeces of fine Holland cloth.

[Inventories of Wolsey's stuff.] There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting the contents of the same, and so was there inuentaries of all things in order against the kings comming. . . .

[Wolsey's officers were to account to Henry for the stuff in their charge.] Thus were all things prepared, [Wolsey] giuing charge of the delivery thereof unto the king, to every officer within his office: for the order[1] was such, that euerie officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to his office by indenture.

Wolsey's reflections on his fall close with these memorable words:

O Cromwel, Cromwel!
Had I but *seru'd* my *God* with halfe the Zeale
I seru'd my *King, he would not in* mine Age 456
Haue left *me* naked to mine Enemies!

On November 29, 1530, when Wolsey was dying, he said to Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower:

The cardinall ascribeth his fall to the iust iudgement of God. [*Hol.* iii. 917/1/45. *Stow*, 940.] "I see the matter how it is "framed;[2] but if *I had serued God* as diligentlie as *I* haue doone "the *king, he would not haue* giuen *me* ouer *in* my greie haires: "but it is the iust reward that I must receiue for the diligent "paines and studie that I haue had to doo him seruice; not "regarding my seruice to God, but onelie to satisfie his pleasure."

Act IV. sc. i.—The two Gentlemen, who appeared in Act II. sc. i., meet again. Their "last encounter" was when Buckingham "came from his Triall" (ll. 4, 5). They now take their stand to see Anne Boleyn "passe from her Corronation" (ll. 2, 3). Between these events a historic interval of more than twelve years elapsed.

The First Gentleman has in his hand a list

Of those that claime their Offices this day,
By custome of the Coronatiön. 16
The Duke of Suffolke is the first, and claimes
To be High Steward; next, the Duke of Norfolke,
He to be Earle Marshall: you may reade the rest.

Proclamation for the [*Hol.* iii. 930/1/35. *Halle*, 798.] In the beginning of Maie [1533], the king caused open proclamations to be made, that all

[1] *charge of . . . for the order*] Cavendish. *charge of all the said stuffe, with all other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to the king, to make answer to their charge: for the order* Hol. and Stow.

[2] Wolsey presaged the truth; which was, that Kingston had been sent to convey him to the Tower.—*Cavendish*, i. 304, &c. The date of Wolsey's death is given by *Cavendish* (i. 319).

men that claimed to doo anie seruice, or execute anie office at the solemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put their grant three weekes after Easter in the Starrechamber before Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward of England, and the lord chancellor, and other commissioners. The duke of Norffolke claimed to be erle marshall, and to exercise his office at that feast; . . .

coronation of queene Anne.

The seuerall claimes of diuerse honorable and worshipfull persons.

The Second Gentleman asks:

But, I beseech you, what's become of Katherine,
The Princesse Dowager? How goes her businesse?
1 That I can tell you too. *The Archbishop* 24
Of Canterbury, accompanied with other
Learnëd and Reuerend Fathers of his Order,
Held a late Court at *Dunstable, sixe miles* off
From Ampthill, where the Princesse lay; to which 28
She was often *cyted by* them, but *appear'd not:*
And, to be short, *for* not *Appearance, and*
The Kings late Scruple, *by the* maine *assent*
Of all these *Learnëd men she was diuorc'd,* 32
And the late *Marriage* made *of none effect*: . . .

The Parliament which reassembled, after prorogation, on February 4, 1533, passed an act forbidding appeals to Rome;[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 929/2/58. *Halle,* 796.] for that in ancient councels it had beene determined, that a cause rising in one prouince should be determined in the same.

This matter was opened with all the circumstances to the ladie Katharine Dowager (for so was she then called), the which persisted still in hir former opinion, and would reuoke by no meanes hir appeale to the court of Rome. Wherevpon *the archbishop of Canturburie, accompanied with* the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincolne, and diuers other *learned* men in great number, rode to *Dunstable,* which is *six miles from Ampthill, where the princesse* Dowager *laie;* and there *by* one Doctor Lee *she was cited* to appeare before the said archbishop in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dunstable, and at the daie of appearance she *appeared not,* but made default; and so she was called peremptori[li]e [*p.* 930] euerie daie fifteene daies togither, *and,* at the last, *for*

Anno reg. 25.

The ladie Katharine, Dowager, called peremptorilie [before

[1] *Halle,* 789, 795. The act is 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22 (*Statutes,* iii. 472, 473).

Cranmer's court at Dunstable, and divorced for non-appearance].

lacke of *appearance, by the assent of all* the *learned men* there present, *she was diuorsed*[1] from the king, *and the mariage* declared to be void and *of none effect.*

The trumpets now sound, and the procession enters in the manner set forth by the following stage direction :

The Order of the Coronation.

1 A liuely Flourish of Trumpets.
2 Then, two *Iudges.*
3 *Lord Chancellor,* with Purse and Mace before him.
4 Quirristers, *singing.* Musicke.
5 *Maior* of *London,* bearing the *Mace.* Then *Garter, in his Coate of Armes,* and on his head he wore a Gilt Copper Crowne.[2]
6 *Marquesse Dorset,* bearing a *Scepter of Gold,* on his head a Demy Coronall of Gold. With him, *the Earle of* Surrey, bearing *the Rod of* Siluer *with the Doue,* Crowned with an Earles Coronet. Collars of Esses.
7 *Duke of Suffolke, in his Robe of Estate,* his Coronet on his head, bearing *a long white* Wand, as *High Steward.* With him, *the* Duke of Norfolke, *with the Rod of Marshalship,* a Coronet on his head. Collars of Esses.
8 A *Canopy borne by foure of the* Cinque-*Ports ;* vnder it, *the Queene in* her *Robe ; in her haire* richly adorned with Pearle, Crowned. On each side her, *the Bishops of London and Winchester.*
9 *The Olde Dutchesse of Norfolke,* in a Coronall of Gold, wrought with Flowers, bearing *the Queenes Traine.*
10 Certaine *Ladies* or Countesses, with plaine Circlets of Gold without Flowers.[3]

Anne Boleyn was crowned on June 1, 1533.[4] In the morning of that day a procession was formed which escorted her from Westminster Hall to a throne placed between the choir and high altar of the Abbey.

The comelie order & araie kept on the coronation daie of euerie attendant in his degree.

[*Hol.* iii. 933/1/1. *Halle,* 802.] First went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knights, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloks of scarlet, after them the *iudges* in their mantels of scarlet and coiffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lords, euerie man hauing a white lace on his left sleeue; then followed

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[1] On May 23, 1533, as we learn from Cranmer's letter (cited at p. 479, n. 1, above).—*Ellis,* I. ii. 36.

[2] Before the procession returned to Westminster Hall, "euerie king of armes put on a crowne of coper and guilt."—*Hol.* iii. 933/1/70. *Halle,* 803.

[3] When the kings of arms put on crowns of copper gilt, "euerie countesse [donned] a plaine circlet of gold without flowers."—*Hol.* iii. 933/1/69. *Halle,* 803. These crowns and circlets "were worne till night."—*Ibid.*

[4] *Halle,* 802.

barons and vicounts in their parlement robes of scarlet. After them came earls, marquesses, and dukes in their robes of estate of crimsin veluet furred with ermine, poudered according to their degrees. After them came the *lord chancellor* in a robe of scarlet open before, bordered with lettise; after him came the kings chapell and the moonks solemnelie *singing* with procession, then came abbats and bishops mitered, then sargeants and officers of armes; then after them went the *maior of London* with his *mace*, and *garter in his cote of armes;* then went the *marquesse Dorset* in a robe of estate, which bare the *sceptre of gold;* and *the earle of* Arundell, which bare *the rod of* iuorie *with the doue;* both togither.

[The Judges.]

[The Lord Chancellor.]

[The King's chapel, singing.]

[The Mayor of London.]

[Garter.]

[Marquess Dorset.]

Then went alone the earle of Oxford, high chamberleine of England, which bare the crowne; after him went the *duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate* also, for that daie being *high steward* of England, hauing *a long white* rod in his hand; and *the* lord William Howard[1] *with the rod of* the *marshalship;* and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded foorth *the queene in* a circot and *robe* of purple veluet furred with ermine, *in hir here*, coiffe, and circlet as she had the saturdaie; and ouer hir was *borne* the *canopie by foure of the* fiue *ports*, all crimsin with points of blue and red hanging on their sleeues; and *the bishops of London and Winchester* bare vp the laps of the queenes robe. *The queencs traine*, which was verie long, was borne by *the old duches of Norffolke;* after hir folowed *ladies* being lords wiues.

[The Duke of Suffolk, Lord William Howard, representing the Duke of Norfolk.]

The queene vnder a canopie borne by foure of the cinque ports.

[The Bishops of London and Winchester.]

[The old Duchess of Norfolk.]

[Ladies being Lords' wives.]

The procession passes over the stage, and goes out with a great flourish of trumpets. An interval is supposed to elapse before a Third Gentleman enters, and, joining the twain who have hitherto played chorus, gives them an account of the coronation:

> The rich streame
> Of Lords and Ladies, hauing *brought* the Queene
> *To* a prepar'd *place in the Quire*, fell off
> A distance from her; while her Grace sate downe
> To *rest a while*, some halfe an houre or so,
> *In a rich Chaire* of State, . . .
> At length, her Grace rose, and with modest paces
> Came to the Altar; where she kneel'd, and, Saint-like,

[1] In the Queen's procession from the Tower to Westminster Hall, on May 31, "rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles rod, deputie to his brother the duke of Norffolk, marshall of England; which was ambassador then in France."—*Hol.* 931/2/40. *Halle*, 800. *Hol.* has this sidenote: "The two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke in their offices."

Cast her faire eyes to Heauen, and pray'd deuoutly:
Then rose againe, and bow'd her to the people:
When, by *the Arch-byshop of Canterbury*,
She had all the Royall makings of a Queene;
As, holy Oyle, *Edward* Confessors *Crowne*,
The Rod, and Bird of Peace, and all such Emblemes,
Laid Nobly on her: which perform'd, *the Quire*,
With all the choysest Musicke of the Kingdome,
Together *sung* "*Te Deum.*" So she parted,
And with *the same* full State pac'd backe againe
To Yorke-Place, where the Feast is held.

The ceremony subsequent to the procession is thus described:

The maner of the coronatiō as it was then vsed.

[*Hol.* iii. 933/1/47. *Halle*, 803.] When she was thus *brought to* the high *place* made *in the* middest of the church, betweene the *queere* and the high altar, she was set *in a rich chaire.* And after that she had *rested a while*, she descended downe to the high altar, and there prostrate hir selfe while *the archbishop of Canturburie* said certeine collects: *then* she *rose*, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe; where, after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the *crowne* of saint *Edward* on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and *the rod* of iuorie with the doue in the left hand; and then all *the queere soong Te Deum*, &c. . . .

[Anne Boleyn anointed and crowned by Cranmer.]

[The quire sang *Te Deum.*]

When the queene had a little reposed hir, the companie returned in *the same* order that they set foorth; and the queene went crowned, and so did the ladies aforesaid. . . . Now when she was out of the sanctuarie and appeered within the palace, the trumpets plaied maruellouslie freshlie; then she was brought to Westminster hall, & so to hir withdrawing chamber: . . .

The queene and the ladies in their pompe [return to Westminster Hall].

The last speaker's wrong designation of Henry's new palace is corrected by the First Gentleman:

Sir,
You must *no more* call it *Yorke-Place*, that's past;
For, since the Cardinall fell, that Title's lost:
'Tis now the Kings, and call'd White-Hall.

In January, 1531,[1] Henry

[*Hol.* iii. 923/1/11. *Halle*, 774.] came to his manour of Westminster, which before was called Yorke place: for after that the

[1] After keeping Twelfth Night, 1531, at Greenwich.—*Halle*, 774.

cardinall was attainted in the premunire, & was gone northward, he made a feoffement of the same place to the king, and the chapiter of the cathedrall church of Yorke by their writing confirmed the same feoffement; & then the king changed the name and called it the kings manor of Westminster,[1] and *no more Yorke place.*

[Wolsey's former abode called no more York Place.]

The Second Gentleman asks:

What two Reuerend Byshops
Were those that went on each side of the Queene? 100
3 Stokesley and Gardiner; the one of Winchester,
Newly preferr'd from the Kings Secretary;
The other, London.

Gardiner was consecrated Bishop of Winchester on December 3, 1531.[2] In 1530 the bishopric of London

[*Hol.* iii. 909/2/55. *Halle,* 761.] was bestowed on doctor Stokesleie,[3] then ambassadour to the vniuersities beyond the sea for the kings mariage.

[Stokesley made Bishop of London.]

The Second Gentleman remarks upon Gardiner's dislike to Cranmer. The Third Gentleman answers that Cranmer will find an ally in

Thomas Cromwell; 108
A man in much esteeme with th'King, and truly
A worthy Friend. The King ha's made him Master
O'th'Iewell House,
And one, already, of the Priuy Councell.

After Anne Boleyn's coronation had been ordained to take place on Whit Sunday, 1533, the assessment of fines payable by those who should refuse knighthood

[*Hol.* iii. 929/2/46. *Halle,* 795.] was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maister of the kings iewell house,[4] & councellor to the king, a man newlie receiued into high fauour.

[Cromwell master of the King's jewel house.]

Act IV. sc. ii.—In Act IV. sc. i. the First Gentleman, after relating the circumstances of Katharine's divorce, added (ll. 34, 35):

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[1] By the Act 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 12 (*Statutes,* iii. 668) this former residence of the Archbishops of York was annexed to the old palace of Westminster, and the whole was to be known as "the Kynges Paleys at Westmynster." The index to *Halle* has: "York Place called now whyt hall." In 1530 a petition is spoken of as having been made to Wolsey "when he lay at the White Hall, then called York's Place."—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), IV. iii. p. 2969.

[2] *Reg. Sacr. Angl.*, 76.

[3] Stokesley was consecrated Bishop of London on November 27, 1530.—*Reg. Sacr. Angl.*, 76.

[4] Cromwell was made Master of the Jewel House on April 14, 1532.—*Pat.* 23 H. VIII., p. 2, m. 36 (H. S.).

Since which, she was remou'd to Kymmalton,
Where she remaines now sicke.

The second scene of Act IV. opens with the following stage direction:

Enter Katherine, Dowager, sicke; lead [led] betweene Griffith, her Gentleman Vsher, and Patience, her Woman.

About the middle of the scene a messenger announces to Katharine (l. 106),

A Gentleman, sent from the King, to see you.

Griffith goes out and re-enters with Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, whom Katharine thus addresses:

If my sight faile not,
You should be Lord Ambassador from the Emperor,
My Royall Nephew, and your name Capuchius.

Chapuys's reasons for presenting himself at Kimbolton are:

First, mine owne seruice to your Grace; the next,
The Kings request that I would visit you;
Who greeues much for your weaknesse, and by me
Sends you his Princely Commendatiöns,
And heartily entreats you take good comfort.

Before dismissing the ambassador, Katharine says to her woman:

Patience, is that Letter,
I caus'd you write, yet sent away?
Pat. No, Madam.
Kath. Sir, I most humbly pray you to deliuer
This to my Lord the King.
Cap. Most willing, Madam.
Kath. In which I haue commended to his goodnesse
The Modell of our chaste loues, his yong daughter,
(The dewes of Heauen fall thicke in Blessings on her!)
Beseeching him to giue her vertuous breeding;
(She is yong, and of a Noble modest Nature;
I hope she will deserue well;) and a little
To loue her for her Mothers sake, that lou'd him,
Heauen knowes how deerely! My next poore Petition
Is, that his Noble Grace would haue some pittie
Vpon my wretched women, that so long
Have follow'd both my Fortunes faithfully:
Of which there is not one, I dare auow,
(And now I should not lye,) but will deserue,
For Vertue, and true Beautie of the Soule,
For honestie, and decent Carriäge,
A right good Husband, let him be a Noble:
And, sure, those men are happy that shall haue 'em.
The last is, for my men; (they are the poorest,
But pouerty could neuer draw 'em from me;)
That they may haue their wages duly paid 'em,

And something ouer, to remember me by:
If Heauen had pleas'd to haue giuen me longer life,
And able meanes, we had not parted thus.
These are the whole Contents: . . .

In December, 1535,[1] the

1536.

The ladie Katharine Dowager deceaseth.

[*Hol.* iii. 939/2/13. *Polyd. Verg.* 690/6.] princesse Dowager lieng at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse, whereof the king being aduertised, appointed the emperors ambassador that was legier here with him, named Eustachius Caputius, to go to visit hir, and to doo his commendations to hir, and will hir to be of good comfort. The ambassador with all diligence did his duetie therein, comforting hir the best he might; but she, within six daies after, perceiuing hir selfe to wax verie weake and feeble, and to feele death approching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand good father vnto hir: and further desired him to haue some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had serued hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further, that it would please him to appoint that hir seruants might haue their due wages, and a yeeres wages beside. This in effect was all that she requested, and so immediatlie herevpon she departed this life the seuenth[2] of Ianuarie at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborow.

[Chapuys was sent to her by Henry.]

[Her letter to Henry.]

The messenger, who announced Chapuys's arrival, did not kneel. She rebuked the "sawcy Fellow" for his lack of reverence; and Griffith told him that he was to blame,

Knowing she will not loose her wonted Greatnesse,
To vse so rude behauiour.

The messenger then entreated her "Highnesse pardon"; his "hast" made him "vnmannerly." Katharine, however, demanded that she should never see him again (ll. 100-108).

This incident may have been suggested by the latter clause of the

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[1] Hearing that Katharine was very ill, Eustace Chapuys, Charles V.'s ambassador, "went to ask the King for leave to visit her, which he obtained, with some trouble."—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), X. 60. Chapuys set off on December 30, 1535, arrived at Kimbolton on January 2, 1536, and left again on January 5.—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), X. 28, 59. She gave him audience twice on the day of his arrival, and afterwards he had one audience on each day of his attendance at Kimbolton. She died on January 7, 1536.—*Ibid.*

[2] *seuenth*] Calendar. *eight* Hol.

ensuing excerpt. On December 17, 1533,[1] Henry sent to Katharine the Duke of Suffolk, who

[*Hol.* iii. 936/2/7. *Halle*, 808.] discharged a great sort of hir houshold seruants, and yet left a conuenient number to serue hir like a princesse; which were sworne to serue hir not as queene, but as princesse Dowager. Such as tooke that oth she vtterlie refused, and would none of their seruice; so that she remained with the lesse number of seruants about hir.

[Katharine rejected servants who did not serve her as Queen.]

Before she entered Katharine had learnt from Griffith that Wolsey was dead (ll. 5-7). To her question how the Cardinal died Griffith answered:

Well, the voyce goes, Madam:
For after the stout Earle Northumberland
Arrested him at Yorke, and brought him forward
(As a man sorely tainted) to his Answer,
He fell *sicke* sodainly, and grew so ill
He could not sit *his Mule.*
Kath. Alas, poore man!
Grif. At last, with easie Rodes, *he came to Leicester,*
Lodg'd in the Abbey; *where the* reuerend *Abbot,*
With all his Couent, honourably receiu'd him;
To whom he gaue these words, "O, *Father Abbot,*
"An old man, broken with the stormes of State,
"Is *come to lay* his weary *bones among* ye;
"Giue him a little earth for Charity!"
So *went to bed:* where eagerly his sicknesse
Pursu'd him still; and, three nights after this,
About the houre of eight, (which he himselfe
Foretold should be his last,) full of Repentance,
Continuall Meditations, Teares, and Sorrowes,
He gaue his Honors to the world agen,
His blessëd part to Heauen, and slept in peace.

On November 4, 1530, Wolsey was arrested at Cawood Castle (Yorkshire), by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.[2] The Cardinal left Cawood, under arrest, on November 6,[3] and on November 8 reached Sheffield Park, where for a fortnight he enjoyed the hospitality of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.[4] On November 22 Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, arrived at Sheffield Park, charged with the duty of conveying Wolsey to London. On the same day—but before he knew of Kingston's arrival—Wolsey was seized with a sudden illness.[5]

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[1] *Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), VI. 1541. [2] *Cavendish*, i. 268, 275-280.
[3] *Cavendish*, 283, 284, 288. [4] *Cavendish*, 293, 299.
[5] *Cavendish*, 299-302. As to this date cp. 310, 311, 313-319.

Though his disorder increased he began his journey to London, and, on November 26, rode from Nottingham[1]

[*Hol.* iii. 917/1/10. *Stow*, 940.] to Leicester abbeie, and by the waie waxed so *sicke* that *he* was almost fallen from *his mule;* so that it was night before *he came to* the abbeie of *Leicester, where* at his comming in at the gates, *the abbat with all his conuent* met him with diuerse torches light; whom they *honorablie receiued* and welcomed.

To whom the cardinall said: "*Father abbat*, I am *come* hither "*to lay* my *bones among* you"; riding so still vntill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he allighted from his mule, and master Kingston led him vp the staires, and as soone as he was in his chamber he *went to bed.* This was on the saturday at night; and then increased he sicker and sicker, vntill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: so on tuesdaie, saint Andrewes euen, master Kingston came to him and bad him good morrow, (for it was about six of the clocke,) and asked him how he did?

In less than two hours after Kingston's morning salutation, Wolsey was at the point of death:

[*Hol.* iii. 917/1/65. *Stow*, 940.] & incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should loose their master. [Wolsey died at eight in the morning, as he had predicted.]

Having heard how Wolsey died, Katharine says:

So may he rest; his Faults lye gently on him!
Yet thus farre, Griffith, giue me leaue to speake him,
And yet with Charity. He *was* a man
Of an vnbounded *stomacke*, euer ranking
Himselfe with Princes; one that, *by suggestion*,
Ty'de all the Kingdome: *Symonie* was faire play;
His owne Opinion was his Law: *i'th'presence*
He would say vntruths; *and* be euer *double*
Both in his words *and meaning:* he *was* neuer
(But where he meant to Ruine) *pittifull:*
His Promises were, as he then was, Mighty;
But his performance, as he is now, Nothing:

[1] *Cavendish*, i. 311-313.

Of his owne *body he was* ill, *and gaue*
The Clergy ill example.

With Katharine's leave, Griffith thus proceeded to "speake" Wolsey's "good":

This Cardinall, 48
Though from an humble Stocke, *vndoubtedly*
Was fashion'd *to* much *Honor* from his Cradle.
He was a Scholler, and *a ripe* and good one;
Exceeding wise, faire spoken, and perswading: 52
Lofty and sowre *to* them that lou'd him not;
But, *to those* men that *sought* him, sweet as Summer.
And though he were vnsatisfied in *get*ting,
(Which was a sinne,) yet *in bestowing,* Madam, 56
He was most *Princely:* euer witnesse for him
Those twinnes of Learning, that he rais'd in you,
Ipswich and *Oxford!* one of which fell with him,
Vnwilling to out-liue the good that did it; 60
The other (though *unfinish'd*) *yet* so Famous,
So excellent in Art, and still so rising,
That *Christendome* shall euer speake his Vertue.
His Ouerthrow heap'd Happinesse vpon him; 64
For then, and not till then, he felte himselfe,
And found the Blessednesse of being little:
And, to adde greater Honors to his Age
Then man could giue him, he dy'de fearing God. 68

For comparison with Katharine's unfavourable judgment of Wolsey I quote the following passage, taken by Holinshed from Halle (774):

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hal. Clxxxxiiij The description of the cardinall.

[*Hol.* iii. 922/2/48.] This cardinall . . . *was of a* great *stomach,* for he compted *himselfe* equall *with princes,* & *by* craftie *suggestion* gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on *simonie,* and *was* not *pittifull,* and stood affectionate in *his owne opinion: in* open *presence he would* lie and *saie vntruth, and* was *double both in* speach *and meaning:* he would promise much & performe little: *he was* vicious *of his bodie, & gaue the clergie euill example:* . . .

Griffith's defence should be compared with another estimate of Wolsey, which forms my next quotation:

The description of cardinall Wolseie, set downe by

[*Hol.* iii. 917/2/20.] *This cardinall* (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland[1] describeth him) *was* a man *vndoubtedly* borne *to honor:* I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers

[1] In the dedication of an account of Ireland (*Hol.* ii.), Raphael Holinshed acknowledged his obligation to Campian's "two bookes of the Irish histories."

sonne; *exceeding wise; faire spoken;* high minded; full of reuenge; vitious of his bodie; *loftie to* his enimies, were they neuer so big; *to those* that accepted and *sought* his freendship woonderfull courteous; *a ripe* schooleman; thrall to affections; brought a bed with flatterie; insatiable to *get,* and more *princelie in bestowing,* as appeareth by his two colleges at *Ipswich and Oxenford,* the one ouerthrowne with his fall, *the other vnfinished,* and *yet,* as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances, incomparable thorough *Christendome;* whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, bicause he let it stand. He held and inioied at once the bishopriks of Yorke, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbeie of saint Albons, diuerse priories, sundrie fat benefices "In commendam:"[1] a great preferrer of his seruants, an aduancer of learning, stout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this *his ouerthrow.* Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honor than all the pompe of his life passed.

Edmund Campian.

[Wolsey's colleges at Ipswich and Oxford.]

[His benefices.]

[His character (continued).]

[His exemplary death.]

Act V. sc. i.—Gardiner and Lovell meet. Hearing from Lovell that Queen Anne is in labour and in great extremity, Gardiner wishes that she, together with Cranmer and Cromwell, were dead. "As for Cromwell," answers Lovell, he

> Beside that of the Iewell-House[2] is made Master
> O'th'Rolles, and the Kings Secretary; . . .

[*Hol.* iii. 938/1/6. *Stow,* 962.] The one and twentith of September [1534], doctor Tailor, master of the rolles, was discharged of that office; and Thomas Cromwell sworne in his place, the ninteenth of October.[3]

[Cromwell made Master of the Rolls.]

In Holinshed, iii. 940/1/15 (Stow, 964), "Thomas Cromwell secretarie" is mentioned as being one of the four persons who brought Anne Boleyn to the Tower on May 2, 1536; but I find no record of his appointment in Halle, Holinshed, Stow, or Foxe.[4]

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[1] I have substituted quotation commas for the original italics of *In commendam.*

[2] See p. 487, n. 4, above.

[3] Cromwell was made Master of the Rolls on October 8, 1534.—*Pat.* 26 H. VIII. p. 2, m. 1 (H. S.).

[4] A letter from Henry Marquis of Exeter to Cromwell, dated April 7, 1534, is addressed: "Master Secretary."—*Calendar* (*Hen. VIII.*), VII. 446. In a document dated April 12, 1534, appointing Cromwell to be one of the plenipotentiaries for concluding peace with Scotland, he is called "Primarius Secretarius noster."—*Rymer,* xiv. 536.

"Th' Árchbyshop," adds Lovell,

Is the Kings hand and tongue; and who dare speak
One syllable against him?

Touching the folly of those persons who hoped to ruin Cranmer through the conspiracy which is dramatized in sc. iii. Act V., Foxe remarks (ii. 1760/1):

The king a great supporter of Cranmer.

And it was muche to be marueiled that they would goe so farre with hym, thus to seeke his vndoyng, this well vnderstandyng before, that the kyng moste entirely loued him, and alwaies would stande in his defence, who soeuer spake againste hym: as many other tymes the kynges pacience was, by sinister informations, against hym tried.

Gardiner replies that there are some who dare accuse Cranmer;

and I my selfe haue ventur'd
To speake my minde of him: and, indeed, this day,
(Sir, I may tell it you,) I thinke I haue
Incenst the Lords o'th'Councell, that he is
(For so I know he is, they know he is)
A most Arch-Heretique, a Pestilence
That does infect the Land: with which they moued,
Haue broken with the King; who . . .
hath commanded,
To morrow Morning to the Councell Boord
He be conuented.

In (?) 1544,[1]

The Papistes [—incited by Gardiner —] busy to bring the Archbyshop out of credit with the King.

[They told Henry that

[*Foxe*, ii. 1759/1.] certaine of the Counsaile, whose names neede not to bee repeated, by the entisement and prouocation of his [Cranmer's] auncient enemy the Bishop of Winchester, and other of the same secte, attempted the Kyng againste hym; declaryng plainely that the realme was so infected with heresies and heretickes, that it was daungerous for his highnesse farther

[1] According to *Foxe* (ii. 1759/1) these counsellors attacked Cranmer "not long after" the time when Cromwell was in the Tower. Cromwell was committed to the Tower on June 10, 1540 (*Lords' Journals*, i. 143/2), and remained there until he was beheaded on the 28th of July.—*Halle*, 839. But the attempt to ruin Cranmer is placed under the year 1544 by Strype, who, in regard to the latter date, says: "I leave Fox to follow [Ralph] Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, in his manuscript declaration of the said Archbishop."—Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 176. Of the authority cited Strype speaks thus: "There is an original writing of this Morice's hand, preserved in the Benet-library [the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge], entitled, *A declaration, &c.*, which he drew out for the use, and by the command, of Archbishop Parker."—Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 615.

to permit it vnreformed, . . . [1759/2]. The kyng, perceiuyng their importune sute against the Archebishoppe, (but yet meanyng not to haue hym wronged, and vtterly giuen ouer vnto their handes,) graunted to them that they should, the nexte daie, committe hym to the Tower for his triall.

the spread of heresy ought to be checked.] [Henry consented that Cranmer should be committed to the Tower.]

Gardiner goes out and Henry enters with Suffolk (l. 55). Suffolk's exit is followed by the entrance of Sir Anthony Denny, who thus addresses the King (ll. 80, 81):

> Sir, I haue brought my Lord the Arch-byshop,
> As you commanded me.

As Henry desires Cranmer's immediate presence, Denny goes out and re-enters with the Archbishop. The King then bids Lovell and Denny "Auoyd the Gallery." When they are gone Henry says to Cranmer, who has knelt:

> Pray you, arise,
> *My* good and gracious *Lord of Canterburie.*
> Come, you and I must walke a turne together;
> *I* haue *Newes* to *tell you*: . . .
> I haue, and most vnwillingly, of late
> Heard many greeuous, I do say, my Lord,
> Greeuous complaints of you; which, being consider'd,
> Haue mou'd Vs and our Councell, that you shall
> This Morning come before vs; where, I know,
> You cannot with such freedome purge your selfe,
> But that, till further Trial in those Charges
> Which will require your Answer, you must take
> Your patience to you, and be well contented
> To make your house our Towre: *you a* Brother of vs,
> It fits we thus proceed, *or else no witnesse*
> Would *come* against you.
> *Cran.* I humbly thanke your Highnesse;
> And am right glad to catch this good occasion
> Most throughly to be winnowed, where my Chaffe
> And Corne shall flye asunder: for, I know,
> There's none stands vnder more calumnious tongues,
> Then I my selfe, poore man!
> *King.* Stand vp, good Canterbury:
> Thy Truth and thy Integrity is rooted
> In vs, thy Friend. Giue me thy hand, stand vp:
> Prythee, let's walke. Now, by my Holydame,
> *What manner of man* are *you?* My Lord, *I* look'd
> *You would haue* giuen me your Petition, that
> I should haue *tane* some *paines to* bring *together*
> Your selfe *and your Accusers;* and to haue heard you,
> *Without indurance,* further. . . .
> *Know you not*
> How your *state* stands *i'*th'world, *with the whole world?*

Your *Enemies* are *many*, and not small; their practises
Must beare the same proportion; and not euer
The Iustice and the Truth o'th'question carries
The dew o'th'Verdict with it: at *what* ease
Might corrupt mindes *procure Knaues* as corrupt
To sweare *against you!* such things haue bene done.
You are Potently oppos'd; and with a Malice
Of as great Size. Weene *you* of *better lucke*,
(I meane, in periur'd Witnesse,) *then your Master*,
(Whose Minister you are,) whiles heere he liu'd
Vpon this naughty Earth? Go to, go to:
You take a Precepit for no leape of danger,
And wooe your owne destruction. . . .
Be of good cheere;
They *shall* no more *preuaile* then we giue way to.
Keepe comfort to you; and this Morning see
You do appeare before *them: if they* shall chance,
In charging you with matters, to *commit you*,
The best *perswasions* to the contrary
Faile not to *vse*, and with what vehemencie
Th'occasion shall instruct you: *if intreaties*
Will render you no remedy, *this Ring*
Deliuer them, and your Appeale to vs
There make before them. (Looke, the good man weeps!
He's honest, on mine Honor. Gods blest Mother!
I sweare he is true-hearted; and a soule
None better in my Kingdome!) Get you gone,
And do as I haue bid you. [Exit Cranmer.

I resume my historical excerpts from the point where we learn that Cranmer's enemies had obtained permission to "committe hym to the Tower for his triall" (p. 495 above).

The King sent Syr Antony Deny at midnight for the Archbyshop.

[*Foxe*, ii. 1759/2.] When Nighte came, the Kyng sent Sir Anthonie Denie, aboute Midnight, to Lambeth, to the Archbishop, willyng hym forthwith to resorte vnto hym at the Courte. The message doen, the Archbishop speedily addressed hym self to the Court, and commyng into the Galerie where the kyng walked, and taried for hym, his highnesse saied: "Ah, *my Lorde of "Canterburie, I* can *tell you newes.* For diuers waightie consider-"ations it is determined by me and the Counsaile, that you to "morrowe at nine of the clocke shall bee committed to the "Tower, . . . the Counsail haue requested me . . . to suffer "them to commit you to the Tower, *or els no* man dare *come* "forthe, as *witnesse* in these matters, *you* beyng *a* Counsellour."

[Henry and the Council intended to commit Cranmer to the Tower.]

When the kyng had said his minde, the Archbishop kneeled

doune, and saied: "I am content, if it please your grace, with all "my harte, to go thether at your highnes commaundemente; and "I moste humbly thanke your Maiestie that I maie come to my "triall, for there bee that haue many waies sclaundered me, and "nowe this waie I hope to trie my self not worthy of suche "report." *The Archbyshops answere to the King*

The Kyng, perceiuyng the mannes vprightness, ioyned with suche simplicitie, saied: "Oh Lorde, *what maner a man* be *you?* What "simplicitie is in you! *I* had thought that *you would* rather *haue* "sued to vs to haue *taken* the *paines to* haue heard you *and your* "*accusers together*, for your triall, *without* any suche *indurance.* "Doe *not you knowe* what *state* you bee *in with the whole worlde,* "and how *many* greate *enemies* you haue? Doe you not consider "*what* an easie thyng it is to *procure* three or fower false *knaues* "*to* witnesse *againste you?* Thinke *you* to haue *better lucke* that "waie *then your Maister* Christe had? I see by it, you will runne "headlonge to your vndoyng, if I would suffer you. Your enemies "*shall* not so *preuaile* against you, for I haue otherwise deuised "with my selfe, to keepe you out of their handes. Yet, notwith- "standing, to morrowe, when the Counsaile shall sitte, and sende "for you, resort vnto *them*, and *if, in chargyng you with* this "*matter, they* doe *commit you* to the Tower,[1] . . . *vse* for your selfe "as good *perswasions* . . . as you maie deuise, and, *if* no *intreatie* "or reasonable request will serue, then *deliuer* vnto *them this* my "*ryng;*" (whiche then the Kyng deliuered vnto the Archbishoppe;) . . . "for," (saied the Kyng then vnto the Archbishoppe,) "so "sone as thei shall see this my ryng, thei knowe it so wel that "they shall vnderstande that I haue resumed the whole cause "into myne owne handes and determination, and that I haue "discharged them thereof." [Henry was astonished at Cranmer's simplicity.] *The Kinges favorable care & consideration toward ye Archbyshop of Canterbury.* *The King sendeth his signet in the behalfe of the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

The Archebishoppe, perceiuyng the kynges benignite so muche to him wardes, had muche a doe to forbeare teares. "Well," saied the kyng, "goe your waies, my Lorde, and doe as I haue bidden "you." My Lorde, humblyng hym self with thankes, tooke his leaue of the kynges highnesse for that night. [Cranmer "had muche a doe to forbeare teares."] [He thanked Henry, and departed.]

[1] See p. 500, n. 1, below.

An "Olde Lady"—who appeared with Anne Boleyn in sc. iii., Act II.—now enters and tells Henry that a daughter has been born to him (V. i. 158-165).

The birth of Elizabeth is thus recorded:

[Birth of Elizabeth.] [*Hol.* iii. 934/2/1. *Halle*, 805.] The seuenth of September [1533], being sundaie, betweene three & foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the queene was deliuered of a faire yoong ladie, . . .

Act V. sc. ii.—Cranmer is discovered at the door of the Council Chamber. He says (ll. 1-4):

I hope I am not too late; and yet the Gentleman,
That was sent to me from the Councell, pray'd me
To make great hast.—All fast? What meanes this?—Hoa!
Who waites there? Sure, you know me?
Enter [Door-]Keeper.
Keep. Yes, my Lord;
But yet I cannot helpe you.
Cran. Why?
Keep. Your Grace must waight till you be call'd for.

Dr. Butts enters, and, witnessing the affront offered to Cranmer, murmurs to himself:

This is a Peece [1] of Malice. I am glad
I came this way so happily: the King
Shall vnderstand it presently. [Exit Buts.
Cran. [*aside*] 'Tis *Buts*,
The Kings Physitian: . . .

Butts re-enters with the King, "at a Windowe aboue," and says:

Buts. Ile shew your Grace the strangest sight—
King. What's that, Buts?
Butts. I thinke your Highnesse saw this many a day.
Kin. Body a me! where is it?
Butts. There, my Lord:
The high promotion of his Grace of Canterbury;
Who holds his State at dore, 'mongst Purseuants,
Pages, and Foot-boyes!
Kin. Ha! 'Tis he, indeed.
Is this the Honour they doe one another?
'Tis well there's one aboue 'em yet. I had thought
They had parted so much honesty among 'em,
(At least, good manners,) as not thus to suffer
A man of his Place, and so neere our favour,
To dance attendance on their Lordships pleasures,
And at the dore too, like a Post with Packets.
By holy Mary, Butts, there's knauery:
Let 'em alone, and draw the Curtaine close:
We shall heare more anon.

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[1] *Peece*] *Peere* F.

The incident here dramatized is thus related by Foxe (ii. 1759/2):

The Archbyshop, being one of the Counsel, made to stand at the Counsail chamber dore, waytyng.

On the morowe, about ix. of the clock before noone, the Counsaile sent a gentleman Husher for the Archebishop, who, when he came to the Counsail chamber dore, could not bee let in, but of purpose (as it seemed) was [1760/1] compelled there to waite among the Pages, Lackeis, and seruyng men, all alone. Doctor *Buttes, the kynges Phisition*, resortyng that waie, and espiyng howe my Lorde of Canterburie was handled, went to the kynges highnesse and saied: "My lorde of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is "well promoted: for nowe he is become a lackey or a seruyng "man; for yonder he standeth this halfe hower, without the "Counsail chamber doore, amongest them." "It is not so," quoth the kyng, "I trowe; nor the Counsaile hath not so little dis-"cretion as to vse the Metropolitane of the Realme in that sort, "specially beyng one of their owne number: but *let them alone*" (saied the kyng) "and *we shall heare more* sone."

Doctor Buttes, ye kinges Phisition, a friend of the Archbyshops [,told Henry how Cranmer was treated].

[Henry resolved not to interfere for a while.]

Act V. sc. iii.—The scene is laid in the Council-Chamber. When the counsellors are seated, "Norfolk" addresses the door-keeper:

Who waits there? 4

Keep. Without, my Noble Lords?
Gard. Yes.
Keep. My Lord Archbishop;
And ha's done halfe an houre to know your pleasures.
Chan. Let him come in.
Keep. [*To Cran.*] Your Grace may enter now.
Cranmer [enters and] approches the Councell Table.[1]

The Lord Chancellor then censures Cranmer, because

you, that best should teach vs,
Haue misdemean'd your selfe, and not a little,
Toward the King first, then his Lawes, in filling
The whole Realme, by your teaching *&* your *Chaplaines,* 16
(For so we are inform'd,) with new opinions,
Diuers and dangerous; which are *Heresies,*
And, not reform'd, may proue *pernicious.*

Gardiner adds:

. . . If we suffer 24
(Out of our easinesse and childish pitty
To one mans Honour) this contagious sicknesse,
Farewell all Physicke! and what followes then?
Commotions, vprores, with a general Taint 28
Of the whole State: as, of late dayes, our neighbours,

[1] See Additional Note on p. 507.

The vpper *Germany*, can deerely witnesse,
Yet freshly pittied in our memories.

When Cranmer's enemies drew Henry's attention to the spread of heresy in England, they urged (see pp. 494, 495 above) "that it was daungerous for his highnesse farther to permit it"

[*Foxe*, ii. 1759/1.] vnreformed, lest peraduenture, by long sufferyng, suche contention should arise and ensue in the realme among his subiectes, that thereby might spryng horrible *commotions* and *vprores*, like as in some partes of *Germanie* it did not long agoe: the enormitie whereof they could not impute to any so muche as to the Archbishop of Canterburie, who, *by* his own preachyng *and* his *Chapleins*, had filled *the whole realme* full of diuers *pernicious heresies*.

[The late commotions in Germany due to heretical teaching.]

The Archbyshop . . . accused to the king [, of preaching heresy].

Cranmer's speech in answer to this charge closes with the request

That, in this case of Iustice, my Accusers,
Be what they will, may stand forth face to face,
And freely vrge against me![1]
Suff. Nay, my Lord,
That cannot be: you are *a Counsellor*,
And, by that vertue, *no man* dare *accuse* you.
Gard. My Lord, because we haue busines of more moment,
We will be short with you. 'Tis *his Highnesse* pleasure,
And our consent, for better tryall of you,
From hence you be *committed to the Tower;*
Where, being but a priuate man againe,
You shall know many dare accuse you boldly,
More then (I feare) you are prouided for.

Having been informed that Cranmer "had filled the whole realme full of diuers pernicious heresies," Henry "would needes knowe" the Archbishop's

[*Foxe*, ii. 1759/2.] accusers. Thei [Cranmer's enemies] aunswered that, forasmuche as he was *a Counseller*, *no man* durst take vpon hym to *accuse* him; but, if it would please *his highnesse* to *committe* hym *to the Tower* for a tyme, there would bee accusations and proofes enough againste him; for otherwise iuste testimonie and witnesse against hym would not appeere; "and

[If Cranmer were not committed to the Tower, witnesses would not appear against him.]

[1] During their private conference, Henry said to Cranmer (see p. 497 above): "if, in chargying you with this matter, they [the Council] doe commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them a Counseller, that you maie haue your accusers brought before them, and that you maie aunswere their accusations before them, without any further induraunce, and vse for your selfe as good perswasions that waie, as you maie deuise," . . .

"therefore your highnesse" (saied they) "muste needes giue vs the "Counsaill libertie and leaue to commit hym to duraunce."

Cranmer's committal to the Tower is delayed through an altercation. Angered by Cromwell's mild censure for being "a little too sharpe" with the Archbishop, Gardiner retorts:

Doe not I know you for a Fauourer 80
Of this new Sect? ye are not sound.
Crom. Not sound?
Gard. Not sound, I say.
Crom. Would you were halfe so honest!
Mens prayers then would seeke you, not their feares.

Foxe says of Cromwell (ii. 1159/2):

Three thinges in the L. Cromwell. 1. Zeale. 2. Wisdome. 3. Authoritie.

In this worthy and noble person, besides diuers other eminent vertues, iij. thinges especially are to bee considered, to wytte, florishyng authoritie, excellyng wysedome, and feruent zeale to Christ & to his Gospell.[1] First as touching his feruent zeale in settyng forward the sinceritie of Christen fayth, . . . more can not almost be wyshed in a noble man, and scarse the lyke hath bene sene in any.

[1160/2] Thus, . . . as he was labouring in the common wealth, and doyng good to the poore afflicted Saintes, helpyng them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continuallye huntyng for matter agaynst hym, that they neuer ceased till in the end they, by false traynes and crafty surmises, brought him out of the kinges fauour.

Ste. Gardiner chiefe enemie to the L. Cromwell.

The chiefe and principal enemie against him was Steuen Gardiner, Byshop of Winchester, . . .

Foxe gives the following description of Gardiner (ii. 1679/1):

[Character of Gardiner.]

He was of a proude stomake and high minded, in his owne opinion and conceite flatteryng hym selfe to muche; in wit craftie and subtile; toward his superiour flattering and faire spoken;[2] to his inferiours fierce; against his equal stout and enuious, namely if in iudgement and sentence hee any thyng withstode him:

---

[1] "This Cromwell was at that tyme [1538] the chief frend of the Gospellers."—*Foxe*, 1097/2.

[2] Cp. the rebuke addressed by Henry to Gardiner (V. iii. 126, 127):

"To me you cannot reach, you play the Spaniell,
And thinke with wagging of your tongue to win me;" . . .

[He and Cromwell were stout opponents.]

as appered betwene the good Lord Cromwell and hym in the reigne of king Henry, beyng of like hautines of stomacke, . . .

Cromwell's taunt—"would you were halfe so honest"—may be illustrated by a passage (ii. 1679/1) in which Foxe pointed out the apparent contradictions of Gardiner's teaching:

[Either Gardiner held contradictory opinions or he was a time-server.]

And as touching diuinitie, he was so variable waueryng with tyme, that no constant censure can be geuen what to make of hym. If his doyngs & writynges were accordyng to his conscience, no man can rightlye say whether he was a right protestant or Papist. If he wrote otherwise then he thought, for feare, or to beare with time, then was he a double depe dissembler before God and man, to say & vnsay, to write & vnwrite, to sweare and forsweare, so as he did.

The Lords of the Council agree that Cranmer shall be sent to the Tower (ll. 87-92). He asks:

> Is there no other way of mercy,
> But I must needs to th' Tower, my Lords?

The Bishop of Winchester answers slightingly, and calls for the Guard, to whom he commits Cranmer. Cranmer then replies:

> Stay, good *my Lords*,
> I haue a little yet to say. Looke there, my Lords;
> By vertue of that Ring, *I* take *my cause*
> Out of the gripes of cruell men, *and* giue it
> *To* a most Noble Iudge, the King my Maister.

At their interview on the night before the council-meeting, Henry bade Cranmer, "if no intreatie or reasonable request will serue, then deliuer vnto them this my ryng" (p. 497 above);

[Cranmer was to appeal from the Council to the King.]

[*Foxe*, ii. 1759/2.] and saie vnto them: "if there be no "remedie, *my Lordes*, but that I must needes goe to the Tower, "then *I* reuoke *my cause* from you, *and* appeale *to* the Kynges "owne persone, by this his token vnto you all," . . .

Henry had foreseen what would happen. After waiting a "halfe hower" (see p. 499 above),

The Archbyshop called before the Counsaile.

The Counsaile being sette against ye Archbishop, hee sheweth the kynges ring & appealeth from them.

[*Foxe*, ii. 1760/1] the Archbishop was called into the Counsaill Chamber: to whom was alledged, as before is rehearsed. The Archbishop aunswered in like sort as the kyng had aduised hym: & in the ende, when he perceiued that no maner of perswasion or intreatie could serue, he deliuered to them the Kynges rynge, reuoking his cause into the Kynges handes.

Recognizing the ring, Suffolk exclaims:

'Tis the right Ring, by Heau'n! *I told* ye all,
When we *first* put *this* dangerous stone a rowling
'T*wold* fall vpon our selues.
Norf. *Doe you thinke*, my Lords,
The King will suffer but the little finger
Of *this man* to be vex'd?
Cham. 'Tis now too certaine:
How *much more* is *his Life* in value with him?
Would I were fairely out on't!
Crom. My mind gaue me
In seeking *tales and* Informations
Against this man, . . .
Ye blew the fire that burnes ye: . . .

Foxe relates (ii. 1760/1) that, Cranmer having delivered to them Henry's ring, and the

whole Counsaile beyng thereat somewhat amased, the Erle of Bedford, with a loude voice, confirmyng his woordes with a solemne othe, saied: "*when* you *first* began *this* matter, my Lordes, *I tolde* "you what *would* come of it. *Doe you thinke* that *the Kyng will* "*suffer this mannes finger to* ake? *muche more* (I warrant you) "wil he defende *his life* against brablyng varlettes. You doe but "comber your selues to heare *tales &* fables *against* hym."

[The Earl of Bedford reminded the Council that he had warned them not to seek witness against Cranmer.]

Immediately after Cromwell's speech (l. 113) Henry enters "frowning on them, takes his Seate." The King sternly answers (ll. 122-129) a flattering address from Gardiner (ll. 114-121), reassures Cranmer (ll. 130-133), and then says:

I had *thought I had had men* of some vnderstanding
And wisedome *of my Councell;* but *I finde* none.
Was it *discretion*, Lords, to let this man,
This good man, (few of you deserue that Title,)
This honest man, *wait* like a lowsie Foot-boy
At Chamber dore? and one as great as *you* are?
Why, what a shame was this! Did my *Commission*
Bid ye so farre forget your selues? *I* gaue ye
Power, *as* he was *a Counsellour*, to *try him*,
Not as a Groome: there's *some of* ye, *I* see,
More out of Malice then Integrity,
Would trye him to the vtmost, had ye meane;
Which ye shall neuer haue while I liue.
Chan. Thus farre,
My most dread Soueraigne, may it like your Grace,
To let my tongue excuse all. What was purpos'd
Concerning his Imprisonment, *was rather*
(If there be faith in men) *meant for his Tryall*,
And faire *purgation* to the world, *then malice*,
I'm sure, in me!
Kin. *Well, well, my Lords*, respect him;

Take him, and vse him well, hee's worthy of it.
I will say thus much for him, *if a Prince* 156
May be beholding to a *Subiect*, I
Am, for his loue and seruice, so to him.
Make me *no more adoe*, but all embrace him.

After recording the Earl of Bedford's speech, Foxe proceeds thus (ii. 1760/1) :

[The Council surrendered Cranmer's matter to Henry's decision.]

And so, incontinently vpon the receipt of the kynges token, thei al rose, and caried to the king his ring; surrendering that matter, as the order and vse was, into his own handes.

The kinges wordes to the counsaile in defence of the Archbishop.

When thei wer all come to the kynges presence, his highnes, with a seuere countenaunce, said vnto them: "Ah, my lordes, *I* "*thought I had had* wiser *men of my counsaile* then now *I finde* "you. What *discretion was* this in you, thus to make the Primate "of the Realme, *& one* of *you* in office, to *waite at* the Counsail "*chamber dore* amongest seruyng men! You might haue con- "sidered that he was a Counseller as well as you, and you had no "suche *commission* of me so to handle hym. *I* was content that "you should *trie him as a Counseller*, and *not as a* meane subiect. "But now *I* well perceiue that things be doen against him "maliciously, and, if *some of* you might haue had your minds, you "*would* haue *tried him to the vttermost.* But I do you all to wit, "and protest, that *if a Prince maie bee beholdyng* vnto his *subiecte*"; and so (solem[n]ly laiyng his hande vpon his breaste) saied: "by "the faithe I owe to God, I take this man here, my Lorde of "Canterburie, to be of al other a moste faithfull subiecte vnto vs, "and one to whom we are muche beholding": giuyng hym greate commendations otherwise. And with that one or twoo of the chiefest of the Counsaile, making their excuse, declared, that, in requesting his induraunce, it *was rather meante for his triall, and* his *purgation* against the common fame and sclaunder of the worlde, *then* for any *malice* conceiued against him: "*Well, well,* "*my Lordes,*" quoth the kyng, "*take hym and well vse hym,* as "*he is worthie* to be, and *make no more ado.*" And with that euery man caught hym by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers, whiche might easely be doen with that man.

[The excuse offered by "one or twoo of the chiefest of the Counsaile."]

The Lordes of the Counsaile glad to bee friendes againe with the Archbishop.

Henry "once more" bids Gardiner embrace Cranmer; and, observing,

as this command is obeyed, the Archbishop's "ioyfull teares," remarks (ll. 176-178):

> The *common* voyce, I see, is verified
> Of thee, which sayes thus: "*Doe my Lord of Canterbury*
> "*A shrewd turne, and* hee's *your friend* for euer."

According to Foxe (ii. 1756/1) Cranmer's forgiving disposition was so notorious

that it came into a *common* prouerbe: "*Do* vnto *my Lord of Canter-* "*bury* displeasure or *a shrewed turne, and* then you may be sure "to haue him *your frend* whiles he lyueth." [Cranmer's gentle nature renowned in a proverb.]

Act V. sc. v.—In sc. iii., Act V., Henry desired Cranmer to be the godfather of "a faire young Maid that yet wants Baptisme" (l. 162); adding: "You shall haue two noble Partners with you; the old "Duchesse of Norfolke, and Lady Marquesse Dorset:" . . .

The return of the christening party to the Palace is set forth in the following stage direction, with which sc. v. opens:

> Enter Trumpets, sounding: Then two Aldermen, L. Maior, Garter, Cranmer, Duke of Norfolke with his Marshals Staffe, Duke of Suffolke, two Noblemen bearing great standing Bowles for the Christening Guifts: Then foure Noblemen bearing a Canopy, vnder which the Dutchesse of Norfolke, Godmother, bearing the Childe richly habited in a Mantle, &c., Traine borne by a Lady: Then followes the Marchionesse Dorset, the other Godmother, and Ladies. The Troope passe once about the Stage, and Garter speakes.
>
> *Gart.* Heauen, from thy endlesse *goodnesse, send prosperous life, long,* and euer happie, *to the high and Mighty Princesse of England, Elizabeth!*
>
> Flourish. Enter King and Guard.

Addressing the godparents, Henry says (ll. 13-15):

> My Noble Gossips, y'haue beene too Prodigall:
> I thanke ye *heartily;* so shall this Lady,
> When she ha's so much English.

The christening

[*Hol.* iii. 934/2/5. *Halle,* 805, 806.] was appointed on the wednesdaie next following [Elizabeth's birth on Sunday, Sept. 7, 1533]; and was accordinglie accomplished on the same daie, with all such solemne ceremonies as were thought conuenient. The godfather at the font was the lord archbishop of Canturburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Norffolke, & the old marchionesse [Date of Elizabeth's christening.] [Her godparents.]

Dorset, widowes;[1] and at the confirmation the ladie marchionesse of Excester was godmother: the child was named Elizabeth.

Edw. Hall. Cxvij. [805.]

[The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London present at her christening.]

Upon the daie of the christening, the maior, sir Stephan Peacocke, in a gowne of crimsin veluet, with his collar of S S, and all the aldermen in scarlet, with collars and chaines, and all the councell of the citie with them, tooke their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another barge; and so rowed to Greenwich, where were manie lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled.

When the procession to the church was formed

[The old Duchess of Norfolk and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were in the procession to the church.]

[*Hol.* iii. 934/2/47. *Halle*, 805, 806.] the old dutches of Norffolke bare the child in a mantell of purple veluet, with a long traine furred with ermine. The duke of Norffolke with his marshall rod went on the right hand of the said dutches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of armes. The countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childs mantell; and betweene the countesse of Kent and the child went the earle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the earle of Darbie on the left hand, supporting the said traine: in the middest, ouer the said child, was borne a canopie by the lord Rochford, the lord Husee, the lord William Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the elder; after the child followed manie ladies and gentlewomen. . . .

A canopie borne ouer the yoong princesse.

[Garter's proclamation.]

When the ceremonies and christening were ended, Garter, cheefe king of armes, cried alowd, "God of his infinite *goodnesse* "*send prosperous life & long to the high and mightie princesse of* "*England, Elizabeth:*" & then the trumpets blew. Then the archbishop of Canturburie gaue to the prnicesse a standing cup of gold: the dutches of Norffolke gaue to hir a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearle: the marchionesse of Dorset gaue three gilt bolles, pounced, with a couer: and the marchionesse of Excester gaue three standing bolles, grauen, all gilt, with a couer. . . . [*Hol.* iii. 935/1/3. *Halle*, 806.] Then they set forwards, the trumpets going before in the same order towards the kings palace, as they did when they came thitherwards, sauing

Rich gifts giuen to the princesse.

[The procession returned in the same order.]

[1] *widowes*] Halle. *widow* Hol.

that the gifts that the godfather and the godmothers gaue were borne before the child by foure persons, that is to saie: First, sir Iohn Dudleie bare the gift of the ladie of Excester, the lord Thomas Howard the yoonger bare the gift of the ladie of Dorset, the lord Fitzwater bare the gift of the ladie of Norffolke, and the earle of Worcester bare the gift of the archbishop of Canturburie, . . .

Who bare the gifts presented to the princesse.

In this order they brought the princesse to the Q[ueen's] chamber, & tarried there a while with the maior & his brethren the aldermen, and at the last the dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke came out from the K., thanking them *hartilie;* who commanded them to giue thanks in his name: which being doone, with other courtesies, they departed, & so went to their barges.

[Norfolk and Suffolk thanked the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Henry's name.]

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Page 499. The late Mr. Watkiss Lloyd showed (*Notes and Queries*, 7th S. vii. 203, 204) that Halle was the source of the following passage in the Lord Chancellor's address to Cranmer (V. iii. 10—15):

> *we all* are *men*,
> In our owne natures *fraile* and capable
> *Of* our flesh; few are *Angels:* out of which *frailty*
> *And* want *of wisdome*, you, that best should teach vs,
> *Haue misdemean'd* your *selfe*, and not a little,
> *Toward the King* first, then *his Lawes*, . . .

Parallel phrases exist in a speech made on September 1, 1531, by John Stokesley, Bishop of London (*Halle*, 783), under these circumstances: Soon after Wolsey's death legal proceedings were commenced against the spiritual peers on the ground that the clergy had incurred the penalties of a premunire through supporting the Cardinal's exercise of his legatine powers. Convocation averted a trial of the case by voting Henry £100,000 for his pardon (*Halle*, 774). When soliciting the help of the priests of his diocese in raising the sum, Stokesley said:

> My frendes *all*, you knowe well that *wee* bee *men frayle of* condicion and no *Angels*, and by *frayltie and* lacke *of wysedome* wee *haue misdemeanee* our *selfe toward the kyng* our Soueraygne Lord and *his lawes*, so that all wee of the Cleargy were in the Premunire; . . .

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